





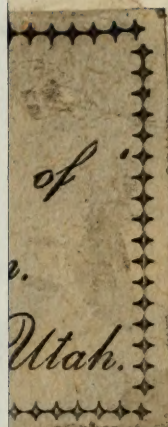
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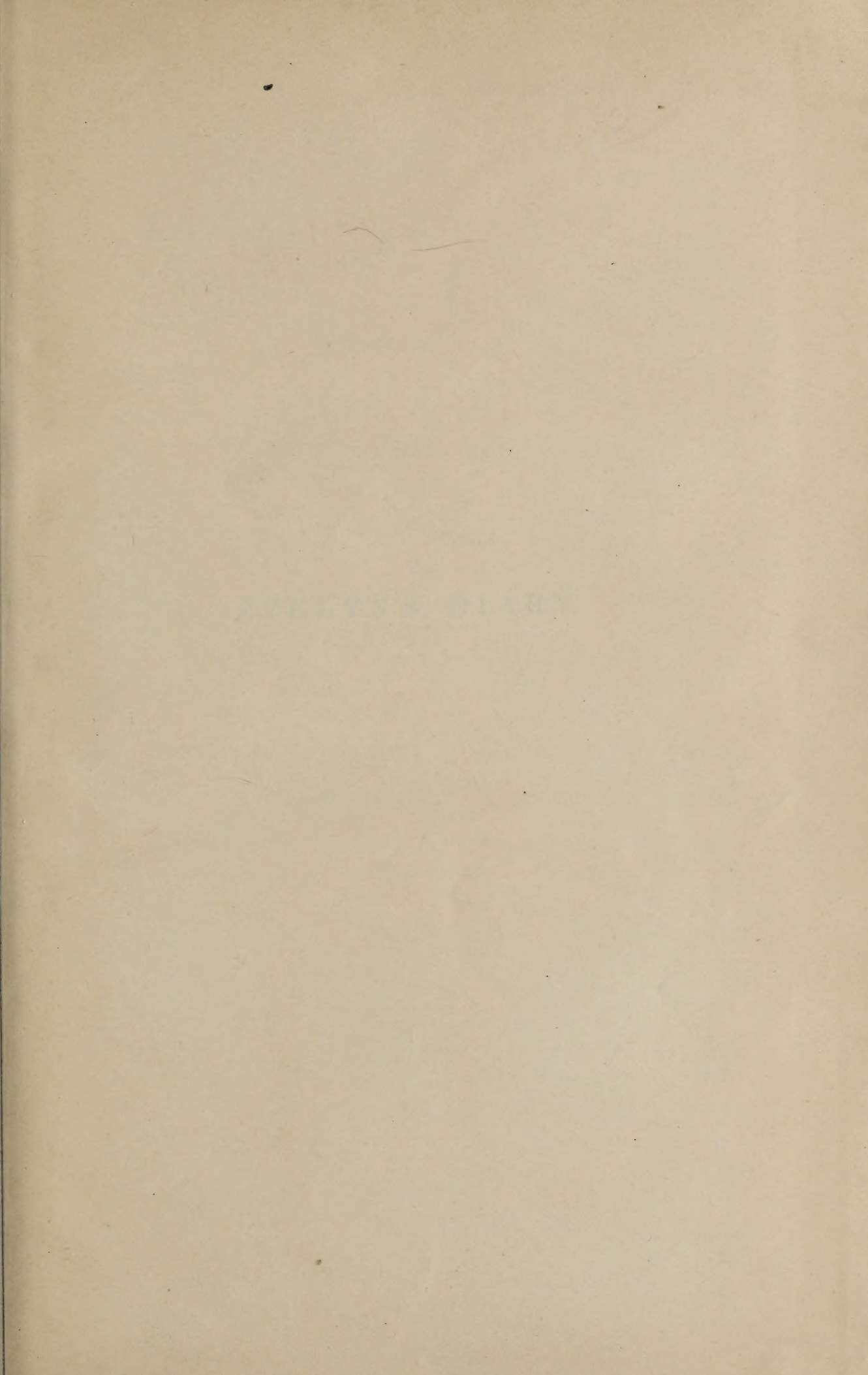
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DIARY

CORRESPONDENCE

JOHN EVELYN, M.R.S.

EVELYN'S DIARY



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DIARY  
AND  
CORRESPONDENCE  
OF  
JOHN EVELYN, F.R.S.

TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED

*The Private Correspondence*

BETWEEN

KING CHARLES I AND SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS

AND BETWEEN

SIR EDWARD HYDE, AFTERWARDS EARL OF CLARENDON,  
AND SIR RICHARD BROWNE

EDITED FROM THE ORIGINAL MSS. AT WOTTON

BY

WILLIAM BRAY, ESQ., F.A.S.



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## INTRODUCTION

MR. EVELYN lived in the busy and important times of King Charles I, Oliver Cromwell, King Charles II, King James II, and King William, and early accustomed himself to note such things as occurred, which he thought worthy of remembrance. He was known to, and had much personal intercourse with, the Kings Charles II and James II ; and he was in habits of great intimacy with many of the ministers of these two monarchs, and with many of the eminent men of those days, as well amongst the clergy as the laity. Foreigners distinguished for learning, or arts, who came to England, did not leave it without visiting him.

In the first edition of *Biographia Britannica*, in folio, Dr. Campbell has given a long article relating to this gentleman. Dr. Hunter, in his edition of the *Sylva*, in 1776, has copied great part of what Dr. Campbell had written. Dr. Kippis added several particulars in the second edition of *Biographia*, in 1793 ; and Mr. Chalmers gives some further information in his *Biographical Dictionary*, in 8vo., 1816. But the following pages will still contribute more extensive and important particulars of this eminent man. They will show that he did not travel merely to count steeples, as he expresses himself in one of his letters : they will develop his private character as one of the most amiable kind. With a strong predilection for monarchy, with a personal attachment to King Charles II and King James II, formed when they resided at Paris, he was yet utterly averse to the arbitrary measures of these monarchs.

Strongly and steadily attached to the doctrine and practice of the Church of England, he yet felt the most liberal sentiments for those who differed from him in opinion. He lived in intimacy with men of all persuasions ; nor did he think it necessary to break connection with any one who had ever been induced to desert the Church of England, and embrace the doctrines of that of Rome. In writing to the brother of a gentleman thus circumstanced, in 1659, he expresses himself in this admirable manner : ‘ For the rest, we must commit to Providence the success of times and mitigation of proselytical fervours ; having for my own particular a very great charity for all who sincerely adore



the Blessed Jesus, our common and dear Saviour, as being full of hope that God (however the present zeal of some, and the scandals taken by others at the instant [present] affliction of the Church of England may transport them) will at last compassionate our infirmities, clarify our judgments, and make abatement for our ignorances, superstructures, passions, and errors of corrupt times and interests, of which the Romish persuasion can no way acquit herself, whatever the present prosperity and secular polity may pretend. But God will make all things manifest in his own time, only let us possess ourselves in patience and charity. This will cover a multitude of imperfections.'

He speaks with great moderation of the Roman Catholics in general, admitting that some of the laws enacted against them might be mitigated ; but of the Jesuits he had the very worst opinion, considering them as a most dangerous society, and the principal authors of the misfortunes which befel King James II, and of the horrible persecutions of the Protestants in France and Savoy.

He must have conducted himself with uncommon prudence and address ; for he had personal friends in the Court of Cromwell, at the same time as he was corresponding with his father-in-law, Sir Richard Browne, the ambassador of King Charles II at Paris ; and at the same period as he paid his court to the King, he maintained his intimacy with a disgraced minister.

In his travels, he made acquaintance not only with men eminent for learning, but with men ingenious in every art and profession.

His manners we may presume to have been most agreeable : for his company was sought by the greatest men, not merely by inviting him to their own tables, but by their repeated visits to him at his own house ; and this was equally the case with regard to the ladies, of many of whom he speaks in the highest style of admiration, affection, and respect. He was master of the French, Italian, and Spanish languages. That he had read a great deal is manifest ; but at what time he found opportunities for study, it is not easy to say. He acknowledges himself to have been idle, while at Oxford ; and, when on his travels, he had little time for reading, except when he stayed about nineteen weeks in France, and at Padua, where he was likewise stationary for several months. At Rome, he remained a considerable time ; but, whilst there, he was so continually engaged in viewing the great variety of interesting objects to be seen in that city, that he could have found little leisure for reading. When resident

in England, he was so much occupied in the business of his numerous offices, in paying visits, in receiving company at home, and in examining whatever was deemed worthy of curiosity, or of scientific observation, that it is astonishing how he found the opportunity to compose the numerous books which he published, and the much greater number of papers, on almost every subject, which still remain in manuscript<sup>a</sup>; to say nothing of the very extensive and voluminous correspondence which he appears to have carried on during his long life, with men of the greatest eminence in Church and State, and the most distinguished for learning, both Englishmen and foreigners. In this correspondence he does not seem to have made use of an amanuensis; and he has left transcripts in his own hand of great numbers of letters both received and sent. He observes, indeed, in one of these, that he seldom went to bed before twelve, or closed his eyes before one o'clock.

He was happy in a wife of congenial disposition with his own, of an enlightened mind, who had read much, and was skilled in etching and painting, yet attentive to the domestic concerns of her household, and a most affectionate mother. Of her personal attractions an idea may be formed from a most exquisite drawing in pencil, executed by that celebrated French artist, Nanteuil, in 1650, of which several engravings have been made.

So many particulars of Mr. Evelyn have been given in *Biographia Britannica*<sup>b</sup>, and in Mr. Chalmers's valuable memoir in *The Biographical Dictionary*, that it is unnecessary to repeat them; but some circumstances have been there omitted, and others, which are mentioned, admit of elucidation, or addition. Such it is proposed to notice here, in addition to the foregoing personal sketch.

His grandfather, George, was not the first of the family who settled in Surrey. John, father of this George, was of Kingston, in 1520, and married a daughter of David Vincent, Esq., Lord of the Manor of Long Ditton, near Kingston, which afterwards came into the hands of George, who there carried on the manufacture of gunpowder. He purchased very considerable estates in Surrey, and three of his sons became heads of three families, viz., Thomas, his eldest son, at Long Ditton; John at Godstone, and Richard at Wotton. Each of these three families had the title of Baronet conferred on it at different

<sup>a</sup> Amongst these is a Bible bound in three volumes, the pages filled with notes. See Appendix to this Edition for a list of Evelyn's published and unpublished writings, as far as it has been possible to ascertain them.

<sup>b</sup> Second Edition, 1793, vol. v.



times, viz., that at Godstone, in 1660; Long Ditton, in 1683; and Wotton, in 1713.

The manufacture of gunpowder was carried on at Godstone as well as at Long Ditton; but it does not appear that there ever was any mill at Wotton, or that the purchase of that place was made with such a view. Nor does it appear, from the words quoted in the *Biographia*, that Mr. Evelyn's grandfather *planted* the timber, with which Wotton was, and always has been, so well stored. The soil produces it naturally, and, in addition to what has been planted, it has at all times been carefully preserved.

It may be not altogether incurious to observe, that though Mr. Evelyn's father was a man of very considerable fortune, the first rudiments of this son's learning were acquired from the village school-master over the porch of Wotton Church. Of his progress at another school, and at College, he himself speaks with great humility; nor did he add much to his stock of knowledge, whilst he resided in the Middle Temple, to which his father sent him, with the intention that he should apply to what he calls 'an impolished study', which he says he never liked. More will be said of this in a subsequent page.

The *Biographia* does not notice his tour in France, Flanders, and Holland, in 1641, when he made a short campaign as a volunteer in an English regiment then in service in Flanders<sup>a</sup>.

Nor does it notice his having set out, with intent to join King Charles I at Brentford; and subsequently desisting when the result of that battle became known, on the ground that his brother's as well as his own estates were so near London as to be fully in the power of the Parliament, and that their continued adherence would have been certain ruin to themselves without any advantage to his Majesty. In this dangerous conjuncture he asked and obtained the King's leave to travel. Of these travels, and the observations he made therein, an ample account is given in this *Diary*.

The national troubles coming on before he had engaged in any settled plan for his future life, it appears that he had thought of living in the most private manner, and that, with his brother's permission, he had even begun to prepare a place for retirement at Wotton. Nor did he afterwards wholly abandon his intention, if the plan of a college, which

<sup>a</sup> This expression is, perhaps, hardly applicable to the fact of Evelyn's having witnessed a siege merely as a curious spectator. He reached the camp on the 2nd, and left it on the 8th of August, 1641. It is certain, however, that during these six days he took his turn on duty, and trailed a pike.—See *Diary*, p. 14.

he sent to Mr. Boyle in 1659, was really formed on a serious idea. This scheme is given at length in *Biographia*, and in Dr. Hunter's edition of *Sylva* in 1776; but it may be observed that he proposes it should not be more than twenty-five miles from London.

As to his answer to Sir George Mackenzie's panegyric on Solitude, in which Mr. Evelyn takes the opposite part, and urges the preference to which public employment and an active life is entitled,—it may be considered as the playful essay of one who, for the sake of argument, would controvert another's position, though in reality agreeing with his opinions; if we think him serious in two letters to Mr. Abraham Cowley, dated 12th March and 24th August, 1666, in the former of which he writes: 'You had reason to be astonished at the presumption, not to name it affront, that I, who have so highly celebrated recess, and envied it in others, should become an advocate for the enemy, which of all others it abhors and flies from. I conjure you to believe that I am still of the same mind, and that there is no person alive who does more honour and breathe after the life and repose you so happily cultivate and advance by your example; but, as those who praised dirt, a flea, and the gout, so have I public employment in that trifling Essay, and that in so weak a style compared with my antagonist's, as by that alone it will appear I neither was nor could be serious, and I hope you believe I speak my very soul to you.'

Sunt enim Musis sua ludicra mista Camœnis  
Otia sunt——'

In the other, he says, 'I pronounce it to you from my heart as oft as I consider it, that I look on your fruitions with inexpressible emulation, and should think myself more happy than crowned heads, were I, as you, the arbiter of mine own life, and could break from those gilded toys to taste your well-described joys with such a wife and such a friend, whose conversation exceeds all that the mistaken world calls happiness.' But, in truth, Mr. Evelyn's mind was too active to admit of solitude at all times, however desirable it might appear to him in theory.

After he had settled at Deptford, which was in the time of Cromwell, he kept up a constant correspondence with Sir Richard Browne (his father-in-law), the King's Ambassador at Paris; and though his connexion must have been known, it does not appear that he met with any interruption from the government here. Indeed, though he remained



a decided Royalist, he managed so well as to have intimate friends even amongst those nearly connected with Cromwell ; and to this we may attribute his being able to avoid taking the Covenant, which he says he never did take. In 1659, he published *An Apology for the Royal Party* ; and soon after printed a paper which was of great service to the King, entitled *The late News, or Message from Brussels Unmasked*, which was an answer to a pamphlet designed to represent the King in the worst light.

On the Restoration, we find him very frequently at Court ; and he became engaged in many public employments, still attending to his studies and literary pursuits. Amongst these, is particularly to be mentioned the Royal Society, in the establishment and conduct of which he took a very active part. He procured Mr. Howard's library to be given to them ; and by his influence, in 1667, the Arundelian Marbles were obtained for the University of Oxford.

His first appointment to a public office was in 1662, as a commissioner for reforming the buildings, ways, streets, and encumbrances, and regulating hackney-coaches in London. In the same year, he sat as a commissioner on an enquiry into the conduct of the Lord Mayor, &c., concerning Sir Thomas Gresham's charities. In 1664, he was in a commission for regulating the Mint ; in the same year was appointed one of the commissioners for the care of the sick and wounded in the Dutch war ; and he was continued in the same employment in the second war with that country.

He was one of the commissioners for the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral, shortly before it was burnt, in 1666. In that year, he was also in a commission for regulating the farming and making saltpetre ; and in 1671, we find him a commissioner of Plantations on the establishment of the Board, to which the Council of Trade was added in 1672.

In 1685, he was one of the commissioners of the Privy Seal, during the absence of the Earl of Clarendon (who held that office), on his going Lord Lieutenant to Ireland. On the foundation of Greenwich Hospital, in 1695, he was one of the commissioners ; and, on 30th June, 1696, laid the first stone of that building. He was also appointed Treasurer, with a salary of £200 a year ; but he says that it was a long time before he received any part of it.

When the Czar of Muscovy came to England, in 1698, proposing to instruct himself in the art of shipbuilding, he was desirous of having the

use of Sayes Court, in consequence of its vicinity to the King's dock-yard at Deptford. This was conceded ; but during his stay he did so much damage, that Mr. Evelyn had an allowance of £150 for it. He especially regrets the mischief done to his famous holly-hedge, which might have been thought beyond the reach of damage. But one of Czar Peter's favourite recreations had been to demolish the hedges by riding through them in a wheelbarrow.

In October, 1699, his elder brother, George Evelyn, dying without male issue, aged eighty-three, he succeeded to the paternal estate ; and, in May following, he quitted Sayes Court, and went to Wotton, where he passed the remainder of his life, with the exception of occasional visits to London, where he retained a house. In the great storm of 1703, he mentions in his last edition of *Sylva*, about 1000 trees were blown down in sight of his residence.

He died at his house in London, 27th February, 1705-6, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and was buried at Wotton. His lady survived him nearly three years, dying 9th February, 1708-9, in her seventy-fourth year, and was buried near him at Wotton. The inscriptions on their tombs, and on those of his father and mother, are subjoined. His personal character was truly amiable. In the relative duties of father, husband, and friend, few could exceed him.

Of Mr. Evelyn's children, a son, who died at the age of five, and a daughter, who died at the age of nineteen, were almost prodigies. The particulars of their extraordinary endowments, and the profound manner in which he was affected at their deaths, may be seen in this volume, and cannot be read without exciting the most tender emotions.

One daughter was well and happily settled ; another less so ; but she did not survive her marriage more than a few months. The only son who lived to the age of manhood, inherited his father's love of learning, and distinguished himself by several publications.

Mr. Evelyn's employment as a commissioner for the care of the Sick and Wounded was very laborious ; and, from the nature of it, must have been extremely unpleasant. Almost the whole labour was in his department, which included all the ports between the river Thames and Portsmouth ; and he had to travel in all seasons and weathers, by land and by water, in the execution of his office, to which he gave the strictest attention. It was rendered still more disagreeable by the great difficulty which he found in procuring money for support of



the prisoners. In the library at Wotton, are copies of numerous letters to the Lord Treasurer and Officers of State, representing, in the strongest terms, the great distress of the poor men, and of those who had furnished lodging and necessaries for them. At one time, there were such arrears of payment to the victuallers, that, on landing additional sick and wounded, they lay some time in the streets, the publicans refusing to receive them, and shutting up their houses. After all this trouble and fatigue, he found as great difficulty in getting his accounts settled<sup>a</sup>. In January, 1665-6, he formed a plan for an Infirmary at Chatham, which he sent to Mr. Pepys, to be laid before the Admiralty, with his reasons for recommending it ; but it does not appear that it was carried into execution.

His employments, in connection with the repair of St. Paul's (which, however, occupied him but a brief time), as in the Commission of Trade and Plantations, and in the building of Greenwich Hospital, were much better adapted to his inclinations and pursuits.

As a commissioner of the Privy Seal in the reign of King James II, he had a difficult task to perform. He was most steadily attached to the Church of England, and the King required the Seal to be affixed to many things incompatible with the welfare of that Church. This, on some occasions, he refused to do, particularly to a license to Dr. Obadiah Walker to print Popish books<sup>b</sup> : and on other occasions he absented himself, leaving it to his brother-commissioners to act as they thought fit. Such, however, was the King's estimation of him, that no displeasure was evinced on this account.

Of Mr. Evelyn's attempt to bring Colonel Morley (Cromwell's Lieutenant of the Tower immediately preceding the Restoration) over to the King's interest, an imperfect account is given in *Biographia*, partly taken from the additions to Baker's *Chronicle*, which was pub-

<sup>a</sup> On 2nd October, 1665, he writes to the Lord Chancellor, Lord Arlington, Sir William Coventry, and Sir Philip Warwick, complaining of want of money for the prisoners : praying that whilst he and his brother-commissioners adventure their persons and all that is dear to them, in this uncomfortable service, they may not be exposed to ruin, and to a necessity of abandoning their care ; and adding that they have lost their officers and servants by the pestilence, and are hourly environed with the saddest objects of perishing people. ' I have ', says he, ' fifteen places full of sick men, where they put me to unspeakable trouble ; the magistrates and justices, who should further us in our exigencies, hindering the people from giving us quarters, jealous of the contagion, and causing them to shut the doors at our approach.'

<sup>b</sup> Dr. Walker had been a member of the Church of England, but had renounced it, and turned Papist.

lished with a continuation in 1696. The fact is, that there was great friendship between these gentlemen, and Mr. Evelyn did endeavour to engage the Colonel in the King's interest. He saw him several times, and put his life into his hands by writing to him on 12th January, 1659-60<sup>a</sup>; he did not succeed, and Colonel Morley was too much his friend to betray him : but so far from the Colonel having settled matters privately with Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, or General Monk<sup>b</sup>, as there described, he was obliged, when the Restoration took place, actually to apply to Mr. Evelyn to procure his pardon ; who obtained it accordingly, though, as he states, the Colonel was obliged to pay a large sum of money for it. This could not have happened, if there had been any previous negotiation with General Monk.

There are some mistakes in *Biographia* as to Mr. Evelyn's Works<sup>c</sup>. Dr. Campbell, who wrote in the original edition, took some pains to vindicate Mr. Evelyn's book, entitled, *Navigation and Commerce, their Origin and Progress*, from the charge of being an imperfect work, unequal to the expectation excited by the title. But the Doctor, who had not the information which this journal so amply affords on this subject, was not aware that what was so printed was nothing more than an introduction to *The History of the Dutch War*; a work undertaken by Mr. Evelyn at the express command of King Charles II, and the materials for which were furnished by the Officers of State. The completion of this work, after considerable progress had been made in it, was put a stop to by the King himself, for what reason does not appear ; but perhaps it was found that Mr. Evelyn was inclined to tell too much of the truth concerning a transaction, which it will be seen by his journal that he utterly reprobated. His copy of the *History*, as far as he had proceeded, he put into the hands of his friend, Mr. Pepys, of the Admiralty, who did not return it ; but as the books and manuscripts belonging to Mr. Pepys passed into the possession of Magdalen College, Cambridge, it was hoped it might be there preserved. The Editor went to Cambridge for the purpose of seeing it ; and was favoured with access to the library, and with the most obliging personal

<sup>a</sup> A copy of this letter, with a note of Evelyn's subjoined, is given among the illustrations.

<sup>b</sup> Colonel Morley's name is scarcely mentioned in the account of General Monk's conduct on this occasion, written by John Price, D.D. (who was sent to him on the King's behalf, and had continual intercourse with him), published in 1680, and reprinted by Baron Maseres, in 1815.

<sup>c</sup> For an attempt to draw out a correct list of such as have been published, see Appendix.



attendance of the Hon. Mr. Fortescue, one of the Fellows of the College ; but, after a diligent search for several hours, it could not be found.

Dr. Campbell understood *The Mystery of Jesuitism* to be a single volume ; but there were three published in different years. The translation of the second was undertaken by Mr. Evelyn at the express desire of Lord Clarendon and his son, as appears by a letter of Mr. Evelyn to Lord Cornbury, dated 9th February, 1664. The third was translated by Dr. Tonge for Mr. Evelyn ; but a fuller statement of this will be found in a note to one of the entries of the *Diary*<sup>a</sup>.

In giving a list of his publications, the authors of the *Biographia* say, ' As several of these treatises were printed before the author's return to England, and others without his name, we must depend on the general opinion of the world, and the authority of Mr. Wood for their being his ; yet there is no great reason to suspect a mistake<sup>b</sup>.' They add, ' We know nothing of the *Mundus Muliebris* ; or, the Ladies' Dressing Room unlocked, except that it has had a place in the Catalogue of our Author's Works, from which therefore we have no right to remove it<sup>c</sup>.'

There is no doubt of his being the author. Under 1685, Mr. Evelyn, in his account of his daughter Mary, says, she ' put in many pretty symbols in the *Mundus Muliebris*, wherein is an enumeration of the immense variety of the modes and ornaments belonging to the sex '.

In a letter to Lord Cornbury, dated 9th February, 1664, he speaks of having written a Play.

The authors of the *Biographia* remark of his residence abroad, that ' The account which Mr. Boyle received from Mr. Evelyn<sup>d</sup>, of the method used by the Italians for preserving snow in pits, is an admirable specimen of that care with which he registered his discoveries, as well as the curiosity which prompted him to inquire into everything worthy of notice, either natural or artificial, in the countries through which he passed. It is much to be regretted that a work so entertaining and instructive as a History of his Travels would have been, appeared, even to so indefatigable a person as he was, a task too laborious for him to undertake ; for we should then have seen, in a clear and true light, many things in reference to Italy which are now very indistinctly and partially represented ; and we should also have met with much new matter never touched before, and of which we shall now probably never hear at all<sup>e</sup>.'

<sup>a</sup> P. 365.

<sup>b</sup> *Biog. Brit.*, vol. v., 2nd Edit., p. 611, note E.

<sup>c</sup> *Biog. Brit.*, vol. v., 2nd Edit., p. 624, note S.

<sup>d</sup> Boyle's *Works*, vol. ii., p. 306.

<sup>e</sup> *Biog. Brit.*, vol. v., p. 610, note D.

What is thus said of Mr. Evelyn's travels is partly supplied in the present *Diary*, but not so fully as could be wished. That he made many observations which will not be found here, appears by the above quotation from Mr. Boyle ; and by an account of the manner of making bread in France, which he communicated to Mr. Houghton, a Fellow of the Royal Society, who published it in some papers which he printed in 1681, and following years.

From the numerous authors who have spoken in high terms of Mr. Evelyn, we will select the two following notices of him.

In the *Biographia*, Dr. Campbell says, ' It is certain that very few authors who have written in our language deserve the character of able and agreeable writers so well as Mr. Evelyn, who, though he was acquainted with most sciences, and wrote upon many different subjects, yet was very far, indeed the farthest of most men of his time, from being a superficial writer. He had genius, he had taste, he had learning ; and he knew how to give all these a proper place in his works, so as never to pass for a pedant, even with such as were least in love with literature, and to be justly esteemed a polite author by those who knew it best<sup>a</sup>.'

Horace Walpole (afterwards Earl of Orford), in his *Catalogue of Engravers*, gives us the following admirably drawn character, pp. 85, 86 : ' If Mr. Evelyn had not been an artist himself, as I think I can prove he was, I should yet have found it difficult to deny myself the pleasure of allotting him a place among the arts he loved, promoted, patronised ; and it would be but justice to inscribe his name with due panegyric in these records, as I have once or twice taken the liberty to criticise him. But they are trifling blemishes compared with his amiable virtues and beneficence ; and it may be remarked that the worst I have said of him is, that he knew more than he always communicated. It is no unwelcome satire to say, that a man's intelligence and philosophy is inexhaustible. I mean not to write his life, which may be found detailed in the new edition of his *Sculptura*, in Collins's *Baronetage*, in the *General Dictionary*, and in the new *Biographical Dictionary* ; but I must observe, that his life, which was extended to eighty-six years, was a course of inquiry, study, curiosity, instruction, and benevolence. The works of the Creator, and the minute labours of the creature, were all objects of his pursuit. He unfolded the perfection of the one, and assisted the imperfection of the other. He adored

<sup>a</sup> *Biog. Brit.*, vol. v., p. 614, note I.



from examination ; was a courtier that flattered only by informing his Prince, and by pointing out what was worthy of him to countenance ; and really was the neighbour of the Gospel, for there was no man that might not have been the better for him. Whoever peruses a list of his works, will subscribe to my assertion. He was one of the first promoters of the Royal Society ; a patron of the ingenious and the indigent ; and peculiarly serviceable to the lettered world ; for, besides his writings and discoveries, he obtained the Arundelian Marbles for the University of Oxford, and the Arundelian Library for the Royal Society.—Nor is it the least part of his praise, that he who proposed to Mr. Boyle the erection of a Philosophical College for retired and speculative persons, had the honesty to write in defence of active life against Sir George Mackenzie's *Essay on Solitude*. He knew that retirement, in his own hands, was industry and benefit to mankind ; but in those of others, laziness and inutility.'

His son, Mr. John Evelyn, was of Trinity College, Oxford, and, when about fifteen years old, wrote that elegant Greek Poem, which is prefixed to the second edition of *Sylva*. He translated Rapin on Gardens, in four books, written in Latin verse. His father annexed the second book of this to the second edition of his *Sylva*. He also translated from the Greek of Plutarch the life of Alexander the Great, printed in the fourth volume of *Plutarch's Lives, by several Hands* ; and from the French, *The History of the Grand Viziers Mahomet and Achmet Coprogli*. There are several poems of his, of which some are printed in Dryden's *Miscellanies*, and more in Nicol's *Collection of Poems*.

In December, 1688, he was presented to the Prince of Orange, at Abington, by Colonel Sidney and Colonel Berkley ; and was one of the volunteers in Lord Lovelace's troop, when his Lordship secured Oxford for the Prince. In 1690, he purchased the place of chief clerk of the Treasury ; but, in the next year, he was by some means removed from it by Mr. Guy, who succeeded in that office. In August, 1692, he was made one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland, from whence he returned to England in 1696, in very ill health, and died 24th March, 1698, in his father's lifetime.

He married Martha, daughter and co-heir of Richard Spencer, Esq., a Turkey merchant, by whom he had two sons and three daughters. The eldest son, and the eldest daughter, Martha-Mary, and youngest daughter, Jane, died infants. The surviving daughter, Elizabeth,

married Simon Harcourt, Esq., son of the Lord Chancellor Harcourt. On September 18th, 1705, the son John, who had succeeded his grandfather at Wotton, married Anne, daughter of Edward Boscawen, Esq., of the county of Cornwall ; and by letters patent dated 30 July, 1713, was created a Baronet. He inherited the virtue and the taste for learning, as well as the patrimony, of his ancestors ; and lived at Wotton, universally loved and respected. He built a library there, forty-five feet long, fourteen wide, and as many high, for the reception of the large and curious collection of books made by his grandfather, father, and himself, where they now remain. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, was long the first Commissioner of the Customs, and died 15th July, 1763, in the eighty-second year of his age.

By his lady, who died before him, he had several children, and was succeeded by John, the eldest, who married Mary, daughter of Hugh Boscawen, Viscount Falmouth, and died 11th June, 1767, in the 61st years of his age. He was Clerk of the Green Cloth to Frederick Prince of Wales, father of George III, and to that King when Prince of Wales, and after he came to the Crown. He represented the borough of Helston in several Parliaments, and to the time of his death. He had only one son, Frederick, who succeeded to the title and estate, and three daughters. Of the daughters, two died unmarried ; the third, Augusta, married the Rev. Dr. Henry Jenkin, Rector of Wotton and Abinger ; but she died without issue. Sir Frederick was in the army in the early part of his life ; and was in **Elliot's Light-Horse**, when that regiment so highly distinguished themselves in the famous battle of Minden, in Germany, in 1759. He married Mary, daughter of William Turton, Esq., of Staffordshire, and, dying without issue in 1812, he left his estate to his lady. She lived at Wotton, where she fully maintained the honour and great respect which had so long attended the family there. Her taste for botany was displayed in her garden and greenhouse, where she had a curious collection of exotic, as well as native shrubs and flowers. The library shared her attention. Besides making additions to it, she had a complete catalogue arranged by Mr. Upcott, of the London Institution.

This lady by her will returned the estate to the family, devising it to John Evelyn, Esq., descended from George Evelyn, the purchaser of the estate in 1579.



The following are epitaphs to the memory of the writer of this Diary, and part of his family, interred in the Dormitory adjoining Wotton Church.

For his Grandfather, who settled at Wotton, on an alabaster monument, written by Dr. Comber, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, and afterwards Dean of Durham :

D. O. M. S.

Georgio Evelino, Arm. non minùs  
Vitæ et Morum exemplo, quàm dignitate  
conspicuo, quem plenum annis (inoffensæ  
vitæ decurso itinere, quale sibi optâ-  
verint Magni illi, qui inanem strepitum  
tranquillitati posthabendum putârunt)  
Mors immatura abstulit, namq ;  
rebus omnibus, Deo omnia benè vertente,  
affluens, quibus vita beata efficitur,  
repetito non infelici delectu matrimo-  
nio, Liberos ad filios 16 octoque  
filias, penè octogenarius decessit senex :  
Parenti clarissimo, et benè merenti  
Richardus Evelinus, filiorum natu minimus,  
Monumentum cum carmine mœrens  
posuit, quod non tam Patris vivo hominum  
ore victuri, quàm propriæ Pietatis  
testimonium esset.  
Obiit 30 die Maii, An. Dom. 1603.  
Ætatis suæ 73.

On another alabaster monument are the figures of a man and his wife kneeling, and five children ; below is this inscription :

Epitaphium

verè generosi, et prænobilis Viri, D. Richardi  
Evelini armigeri, in agro Surriensi, hîc  
subter in terrâ conditi.

Quem Pietas, Probitas, claris natalibus ortum,  
Prolis amor dulcis, Vitaq. labe carens,  
Religionis opus, quem Vota Precesq ; suorum,  
Et morum niveus candor, aperta manus,  
Reddebant olim clarum patriæq ; suisq ;  
Vertitur in cineres hâc Evelinus humo.  
Lector, ne doleas, cum sis mortalis, abito,  
Et sortis non sis immemor ipse tuæ.

Obiit Quinquagenarius  
corporis statu vegeto, vicesimo die Decembris anno

Salutis humanæ  
 1640, Liberorum quinq. Pater,  
 relictis quatuor superstitibus, tribus  
 scil. filiis cum  
 unicâ tantùm filiâ.  
 Festinantes sequimur.

On another monument, fixed to the same wall :

To  
 the precious memory of  
 ELLEN EVELYN,  
 the dearly beloved wife of Richard Evelyn, Esq.,  
 a rare example of Piety, Loyalty, Prudence, and Charity,  
 a happy Mother of five Children,  
 George, John, Richard, Elizabeth, and Jane ;  
 who in the 37th year of her age,  
 the 22d of her marriage,  
 and the 1635th of Man's Redemption,  
 put on Immortality,  
 leaving her name as a monument of her perfections,  
 and her Perfections as a precedent for imitation.  
 Of her great worth to know, who seeketh more,  
 Must mount to Heaven, where she is gone before.

On a white marble, covering a tomb shaped like a coffin, raised about three feet above the floor, is inscribed :

Here lies the Body  
 of JOHN EVELYN, Esq.,  
 of this place, second son  
 of Richard Evelyn, Esq. ;  
 who having serv'd the Publick  
 in several employments, of which that  
 of Commissioner of the Privy-Seal in the  
 Reign of King James the 2d was most  
 honourable, and perpetuated his fame  
 by far more lasting monuments than  
 those of Stone or Brass, his learned  
 and usefull Works, fell asleep the 27 day  
 of February 1705-6, being the 86 year  
 of his age, in full hope of a glorious  
 Resurrection, thro' Faith in Jesus Christ.  
 Living in an age of extraordinary  
 Events and Revolutions, he learnt  
 (as himself asserted) this Truth,  
 which pursuant to his intention  
 is here declared—



## INTRODUCTION

*That all is vanity which is not honest,  
and that there is no solid wisdom  
but in real Piety.*

Of five Sons and three Daughters  
born to him from his most  
vertuous and excellent Wife,  
Mary, sole daughter and heiress  
of Sir Rich. Browne of Sayes  
Court near Deptford in Kent,  
onely one daughter, Susanna,  
married to William Draper  
Esq., of Adscomb in this  
County, survived him ; the  
two others dying in the  
flower of their age, and  
all the Sons very young, ex-  
cept one named John, who  
deceased 24 March, 1698-9,  
in the 45 year of his age,  
leaving one son, John, and  
one daughter, Elizabeth.

On another monument at the head of, and like the former :

MARY EVELYN,  
the best Daughter, Wife,  
and Mother,  
the most accomplished of women,  
beloved, esteemed, admired,  
and regretted, by all who knew her,  
is deposited in this stone coffin,  
according to her own desire, as near  
as could be to her dear Husband  
JOHN EVELYN,  
with whom she lived almost  
Threescore years,  
and survived not quite three, dying  
at London, the 9 of Feb. 1708-9,  
in the 74th year of her age.

In the Church of St. Nicholas, Deptford, on the east wall, to the south of the altar, is a marble mural tablet, with the following inscription to the two children of Mr. Evelyn, whose early loss he has so feelingly lamented in his Diary :

R. EVELYN, I. F.  
Quiescit hoc sub marmore,  
Unà quiescit quicquid est amabile,  
Patres quod optent, aut quod orbi lugeant ;

Genas decentes non, ut ante, risus  
 Lepore condit amplius ;  
 Morum venustas, quanta paucis contigit,  
 Desideratur omnibus.  
 Linguæ, Latina, Gallica,  
 Quas imbibit cum lacte materno, tacent.  
 Tentârat Artes, artiumque principiis  
 Pietatis elementa hauserat.  
 Libris inhæsit improbo labore  
 Ut sola mors divelleret.  
 Quod indoles, quod disciplina, quod labor  
 Possint, ab uno disceres.  
 Puer stupendus, qualis hic esset senex  
 Si fata vitæ subministrâssent iter !  
 Sed aliter est visum Deo :  
 Correptus ille febriculâ levi jacet,  
 Jacent tot unâ spes Parentum !  
 Vixit Ann. V. M. V. III. super D.  
 Eheu ! delicias breves.  
 Quicquid placet mortale, non placet diu,  
 Quicquid placet mortale, ne placeat nimis.

---

MARY EVELYN,

eldest daughter of John Evelyn,  
 and Mary his Wife, borne the last day of  
 September 1665, att Wootton in  
 the County of Surrey. A beautifull  
 young woman, endowed with shining  
 Qualities both of body and mind, infinitely  
 pious, the delight of her Parents and Friends.  
 She dyed 17 March 1685 at the  
 age of 19 years, 5 months, 17 dayes,  
 regretted by all persons of worth  
 that knew her value.

A tablet adjoining the foregoing, is thus inscribed :

M. S.

Neere this place are deposited ye bodys  
 of Sir RICHARD BROWNE of Sayes-Court in Deptford, Knt ;  
 Of his wife Dame Joanna Vigorus of Langham in Essex,  
 deceased in Nov. 1618 aged 74 years.

This Richard was younger son of the ancient family of  
 Hitcham in Suffolk, seated afterwards at Horsly, in Essex, who  
 being  
 Student in the Temple, was by Robert Dudley, the great Earle of  
 Leicester,  
 taken into the service of the Crowne when he went



Governor of the United Netherlands, and was afterwards  
by Queene Elizabeth made Clearke of the Greene Cloth,  
which honorable office he also continued under King James  
until the

time of his death, May 1604, aged 65 years :

Of Christopher Browne, Esq., son and heire of Sir Richard, who  
deceased in March 1645, aged 70 years ;

Of Thomasin, his wife, da<sup>r</sup> of Benjamin Gonson of Much Bado  
in Essex, Esq. whose grandfather William Gonson, and father  
Benjamin,

were successively Treasurers of the Navy to King Henry VIII.,  
to K. Ed. VI.,

to Queene Mary, and Q. Elizabeth ; and died June 1638, aged  
75 years ;

Of Sir Richard Browne, Knt. and Baronet, onely son of  
Christopher ;

Of his wife Dame Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Pretymen of  
Dry-field in Glocester shire, who deceased vi Octob<sup>r</sup>  
1652, aged 42 years.

This Sir Richard was Gentleman of the Privy Chamber to  
K. Charles y<sup>e</sup> First, and Clearke of the Council of his Ma<sup>ty</sup>, and to  
K. Charles y<sup>e</sup> Second, and (after several foraigne and honorable  
employments)

continued Resident in the Court of France from K. Cha. the I.  
and

from K. Char. II<sup>d</sup> to the French-Kings LEWES XIII. and  
LEWES XIV. from

the years 1641 (the beginning of our un-natural civile-warr)  
untill the happy

Restauration of K. Cha. y<sup>e</sup> II<sup>d</sup> 1660 ; deceased xii Feb. A<sup>o</sup>.  
1682-3 aged 78 y<sup>rs</sup> ;

and (according to ancient custome) willed to be interred in this  
place.

These all deceasing in the true Faith of Christ,  
hope, through his merits, for a joyfull and blessed  
Resurrection. X. A. P. D.

# DIARY

OF

## JOHN EVELYN

I WAS born (at Wotton, in the County of Surrey,) about twenty minutes past two in the morning, being on Tuesday the 31st and last of October, 1620, after my father had been married about seven years<sup>a</sup>, and that my mother had borne him three children; viz. two daughters and one son, about the 33rd year of his age, and the 23rd of my mother's.

My father, named Richard, was of a sanguine complexion, mixed with a dash of choler: his hair inclining to light, which, though exceeding thick, became hoary by that time he had attained to thirty years of age; it was somewhat curled towards the extremities; his beard, which he wore a little peaked, as the mode was, of a brownish colour, and so continued to the last, save that it was somewhat mingled with grey hairs about his cheeks, which, with his countenance, were clear and fresh-coloured; his eyes extraordinary quick and piercing; an ample forehead: in sum, a very well-composed visage and manly aspect: for the rest, he was but low of stature, yet very strong. He was, for his life, so exact and temperate, that I have heard he had never been surprised by excess, being ascetic and sparing. His wisdom was great, and his judgment most acute; of solid discourse, affable, humble, and in nothing affected; of a thriving, neat, silent, and methodical genius; discreetly severe, yet liberal upon all just occasions, both to his children, to strangers, and servants; a lover of hospitality; and, in brief, of a singular and Christian moderation in all his actions; not illiterate, nor obscure, as, having continued Justice of the Peace and of the Quorum, he served his country as High Sheriff, being, as I take it, the last dignified with that office for Sussex and Surrey together, the same year, before their separation<sup>b</sup>. He was yet a studious decliner of honours and titles; being already in that esteem with his country, that they could have added little to him besides their burthen<sup>c</sup>. He was a person of that rare conversation that, upon frequent recollection,

<sup>a</sup> He was married at St. Thomas's, Southwark, 27th January, 1613. My sister Eliza was born at nine at night, 28th November, 1614; Jane, at four in the morning, 16th February, 1616; my brother George at nine at night, Wednesday, 18th June, 1617; and my brother Richard, 9th November, 1622. *Note by Evelyn,*

<sup>b</sup> Formerly the two counties had in general, though not invariably, only one sheriff. In 1637, each county had its sheriff, and so it has continued since.

<sup>c</sup> In proof of Evelyn's assertion may be quoted an old receipt, found at Wotton:

'R<sup>d</sup>, the 29 Oct<sup>r</sup>. 1630, of Rich<sup>d</sup> Evlinge of Wottone, in the countye of Surr' Esq; by waie of composic'one to the use of his Ma<sup>tie</sup>, being apoynted by his Ma<sup>tie</sup> Collecto' for the same, for his Fine for not appearinge at the tyme & place apoynted for receavinge order of Kthood, the somme of fivetey pound I say received.

'THO. CRYMES.'



and calling to mind passages of his life and discourse, I could never charge him with the least passion, or inadvertency. His estate was esteemed about £4000 per annum, well wooded, and full of timber.

My mother's name was Eleanor<sup>a</sup>, sole daughter and heiress of John Standsfield, Esq., of an ancient and honourable family (though now extinct) in Shropshire, by his wife Eleanor Comber, of a good and well-known house in Sussex. She was of proper personage; of a brown complexion; her eyes and hair of a lovely black; of constitution more inclined to a religious melancholy, or pious sadness; of a rare memory, and most exemplary life; for economy and prudence, esteemed one of the most conspicuous in her country: which rendered her loss much deplored, both by those who knew, and such as only heard of her.

Thus much, in brief, touching my parents; nor was it reasonable I should speak less of them to whom I owe so much.

The place of my birth was Wotton, in the parish of Wotton, or Blackheath, in the county of Surrey, the then mansion-house of my father, left him by my grandfather, afterwards and now my eldest brother's. It is situated in the most southern part of the shire; and, though in a valley, yet really upon part of Leith Hill, one of the most eminent in England for the prodigious prospect to be seen from its summit, though by few observed. From it may be discerned twelve or thirteen counties, with part of the sea on the coast of Sussex, in a serene day. The house is large and ancient, suitable to those hospitable times, and so sweetly environed with those delicious streams and venerable woods, as in the judgment of Strangers as well as Englishmen it may be compared to one of the most pleasant seats in the nation, and most tempting for a great person and a wanton purse to render it conspicuous. It has rising grounds, meadows, woods, and water, in abundance.

The distance from London little more than twenty miles, and yet so securely placed, as if it were one hundred; three miles from Dorking, which serves it abundantly with provision as well of land as sea; six from Guildford, twelve from Kingston<sup>b</sup>. I will say nothing of the air, because the pre-eminence is universally given to Surrey, the soil being dry and sandy; but I should speak much of the gardens, fountains, and groves that adorn it, were they not as generally known to be amongst the most natural, and (till this later and universal luxury of the whole nation, since abounding in such expenses) the most magnificent that England afforded; and which indeed gave one of the first examples to that elegance, since so much in vogue, and followed in the managing of their waters, and other elegancies of that nature. Let me add, the contiguity of five or six manors<sup>c</sup>, the patronage of the livings about it, and what Themistocles pronounced for none of the least advantages—the good neighbourhood. All which conspire here to render it an honourable and handsome royalty, fit for the present possessor, my worthy brother, and his noble lady<sup>d</sup>,

<sup>a</sup> She was born 17th November, 1598, in Sussex, near to Lewes.

<sup>b</sup> Eight, and fourteen; and from London a little more than twenty-six measured miles.

<sup>c</sup> Seven manors, two advowsons, and a chapel of ease (Sir John Cotton's).

<sup>d</sup> Lady Cotton, widow, whom Evelyn's elder brother, George, took for his second wife, his first wife having died in 1644. After the latter date, therefore, this portion of Evelyn's *Kalendarium* must have been written. See *post*, p. 9.

whose constant liberality gives them title both to the place and the affections of all that know them. Thus, with the poet :

Nescio quâ natale solum dulcedine cunctos  
Ducit, et immemores non sinit esse sui.

I had given me the name of my grandfather, my mother's father, who, together with a sister of Sir Thomas Evelyn of Long Ditton, and Mr. Comber, a near relation of my mother, were my susceptors. The solemnity (yet upon what accident I know not, unless some indisposition in me) was performed in the dining-room by Parson Higham, the present incumbent of the parish, according to the forms prescribed by the then glorious Church of England<sup>a</sup>.

I was now (in regard to my mother's weakness, or rather custom of persons of quality) put to nurse to one Peter, a neighbour's wife and tenant, of a good, comely, brown, wholesome complexion, and in a most sweet place towards the hills, flanked with wood and refreshed with streams; the affection to which kind of solitude I sucked in with my very milk. It appears, by a note of my father's, that I sucked till 17th January, 1622; or at least I came not home before<sup>b</sup>.

1623. The very first thing that I can call to memory, and from which time forward I began to observe, was this year (1623) my youngest brother being in his nurse's arms, who, being then two days and nine months younger than myself, was the last child of my dear parents.

1624. I was not initiated into any rudiments until near four years of age, and then one Frier taught us at the church-porch of Wotton: and I do perfectly remember the great talk and stir about Il Conde Gondomar, now Ambassador from Spain (for near about this time was the match of our Prince with the Infanta proposed); and the effects of that comet, 1618, still working in the prodigious revolutions now beginning in Europe, especially in Germany, whose sad commotions sprang from the Bohemians' defection from the Emperor Matthias: upon which quarrel the Swedes broke in, giving umbrage to the rest of the princes, and the whole Christian world cause to deplore it, as never since enjoying perfect tranquillity.

1625. I was this year (being the first of the reign of King Charles) sent by my father to Lewes, in Sussex, to be with my grandfather, Standsfield,

<sup>a</sup> I had given me two handsome pieces of very curiously wrought and gilt plate.—*Evelyn*.

<sup>b</sup> The whole of this passage, so characteristic of the writer's tastes and genius, and both the paragraphs before and after it, are printed for the first time in this edition. Portions of the preceding description of Wotton are also first taken from the original; and it may not be out of place to add that, more especially in the first fifty pages of this volume, a very large number of curious and interesting additions are made to Evelyn's text from the Manuscript of the Diary at Wotton.

<sup>c</sup> Evelyn alludes to the insurrection of the Bohemians on the 12th of May, 1618. The emperor died soon after, and the revolted Bohemians offered the crown to the Elector Palatine Frederic, who had married Elizabeth, daughter of James I; whereupon there was great excitement throughout England, in consequence of the backwardness of the king to assist his son-in-law in the struggle for a kingdom, for which the people willingly, as Evelyn in a subsequent page informs us, made 'large contributions.' This is the 'talk and stir' to which Evelyn has just alluded in connection with Count Gondomar, whose influence had been used with James to withdraw him from the Protestant cause.



with whom I passed my childhood. This was the year in which the pestilence was so epidemical, that there died in London 5000 a-week, and I well remember the strict watches and examinations upon the ways as we passed; and I was shortly after so dangerously sick of a fever, that (as I have heard) the physicians despaired of me.

1626. My picture was drawn in oil by one Chanterell, no ill painter.

1627. My grandfather, Standsfield, died this year, on the 5th of February: I remember perfectly the solemnity at his funeral. He was buried in the parish church of All Souls, where my grandmother, his second wife, erected him a pious monument. About this time, was the consecration of the Church of South Malling, near Lewes, by Dr. Field, Bishop of Oxford (one Mr. Coxhall preached, who was afterwards minister); the building whereof was chiefly procured by my grandfather, who having the impropriation, gave 20*l.* a-year out of it to this church. I afterwards sold the impropriation. I laid one of the first stones at the building of the church.

1628-30. It was not till the year 1628, that I was put to learn my Latin rudiments, and to write, of one Citolin, a Frenchman, in Lewes. I very well remember that general muster previous to the Isle of Rhè's expedition, and that I was one day awakened in the morning with the news of the Duke of Buckingham being slain by that wretch, Felton, after our disgrace before La Rochelle. And I now took so extraordinary a fancy to drawing and designing, that I could never after wean my inclinations from it, to the expense of much precious time, which might have been more advantageously employed. I was now put to school to one Mr. Potts, in the Cliff at Lewes, from whom, on the 7th of January, 1630, being the day after Epiphany, I went to the free-school at Southover, near the town, of which one Agnes Morley had been the foundress, and now Edward Snatt was the master, under whom I remained till I was sent to the University<sup>a</sup>. This year, my grandmother (with whom I sojourned) being married to one Mr. Newton, a learned and most religious gentleman, we went from the Cliff to dwell at his house in Southover. I do most perfectly remember the jubilee which was universally expressed for the happy birth of the Prince of Wales, 29th of May, now Charles the Second, our most gracious Sovereign.

1631. There happened now an extraordinary dearth in England, corn bearing an excessive price; and, in imitation of what I had seen my father do, I began to observe matters more punctually, which I did use to set down in a blank almanack. The Lord of Castlehaven's arraignment<sup>b</sup> for many shameful exorbitances was now all the talk, and the birth of the Princess Mary, afterwards Princess of Orange.

1632: 21st October. My eldest sister was married to Edward Darcy, Esq., who little deserved so excellent a person, a woman of so rare virtue. I was not present at the nuptials; but I was soon afterwards sent for into Surrey, and my father would willingly have weaned me from my fondness of my too indulgent grandmother, intending to have placed me

<sup>a</sup> Long afterward, Evelyn was in the habit of paying great respect to his old teacher. See *Correspondence*.

<sup>b</sup> Mervyn Touchet, second Earl of Castlehaven; convicted by a court of twenty-seven lords, with the Lord Keeper, sitting in Westminster Hall, of crimes of the grossest description; and in pursuance of their sentence, executed on Tower Hill, May 14, 1631.

at Eton ; but, not being so provident for my own benefit, and unreasonably terrified with the report of the severe discipline there, I was sent back to Lewes ; which perverseness of mine I have since a thousand times deplored. This was the first time that ever my parents had seen all their children together in prosperity. While I was now trifling at home, I saw London, where I lay one night only. The next day, I dined at Beddington<sup>a</sup>, where I was much delighted with the gardens and curiosities. Thence, we returned to the Lady Darcy's, at Sutton ; thence to Wotton ; and, on the 16th of August following, 1633, back to Lewes.

1633 : *3rd November*. This year my father was appointed Sheriff, the last, as I think, who served in that honourable office for Surrey and Sussex, before they were disjoined. He had 116 servants in liveries, every one liveried in green satin doublets ; divers gentlemen and persons of quality waited on him in the same garb and habit, which at that time (when thirty or forty was the usual retinue of the High Sheriff) was esteemed a great matter. Nor was this out of the least vanity that my father exceeded (who was one of the greatest decliners of it) ; but because he could not refuse the civility of his friends and relations, who voluntarily came themselves, or sent in their servants. But my father was afterwards most unjustly and spitefully molested by that jeering judge, Richardson<sup>b</sup>, for reprieving the execution of a woman, to gratify my Lord of Lindsey, then Admiral<sup>c</sup> : but out of this he emerged with as much honour as trouble. The king made this year his progress into Scotland, and Duke James was born.

1634 : *15th December*. My dear sister, Darcy, departed this life, being arrived to her 20th year of age ; in virtue advanced beyond her years, or the merit of her husband, the worst of men. She had been brought to bed the 2nd of June before, but the infant died soon after her, the 24th of December. I was therefore sent for home the second time, to celebrate the obsequies of my sister ; who was interred in a very honourable manner in our dormitory joining to the parish church<sup>d</sup>, where now her monument stands.

1635. But my dear mother being now dangerously sick, I was, on the 3rd of September following, sent for to Wotton. Whom I found so far spent, that, all human assistance failing, she in a most heavenly manner

<sup>a</sup> The ancient and once magnificent seat of the noble family of the Carews.

<sup>b</sup> Made a Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas in 1626, and of the King's Bench in 1631. There is a monument to him in Westminster Abbey. Fuller says he lived too near the time to permit him to speak fully of him. One of his acts was an order against keeping wakes on Sundays, which Laud, then Bishop of Bath and Wells, took up as an infringement of the rights of bishops, and got him severely reprimanded at the Council-table. He was owner of Starborough Castle, in Lingfield, in Surrey.

<sup>c</sup> Robert Bertie, tenth Baron Willoughby d'Eresby, subsequently created Earl of Lindsey, a Knight of the Garter. He was at different times Lord High Chamberlain, Lord High Admiral, Constable of England, and Governor of Berwick ; and was general of the king's forces at the breaking out of the Civil War. He was in command at the Battle of Edgehill, in 1642 ; but, opposing Prince Rupert's pretensions, he surrendered a responsibility which the weakness of Charles would have had him divide with a 'boy', put himself at the head of his regiment, fought with heroic gallantry, and fell covered with wounds.

<sup>d</sup> Of Wotton.



departed this life upon the 29th of the same month, about eight in the evening of Michaelmas-day. It was a malignant fever which took her away, about the 37th of her age, and 22nd of her marriage, to our irreparable loss, and the regret of all that knew her. Certain it is, that the visible cause of her indisposition proceeded from grief upon the loss of her daughter, and the infant, that followed it; and it is as certain, that when she perceived the peril whereto its excess had engaged her, she strove to compose herself and allay it: but it was too late, and she was forced to succumb. Therefore, summoning all her children then living (I shall never forget it), she expressed herself in a manner so heavenly, with instructions so pious and Christian, as made us strangely sensible of the extraordinary loss then imminent; after which, embracing every one of us, she gave to each a ring with her blessing, and dismissed us. Then, taking my father by the hand, she recommended us to his care; and, because she was extremely zealous for the education of my younger brother, she requested my father that he might be sent with me to Lewes; and so, having importuned him that what he designed to bestow on her funeral, he would rather dispose among the poor, she laboured to compose herself for the blessed change which she now expected. There was not a servant in the house whom she did not expressly send for, advise, and infinitely affect with her counsel. Thus she continued to employ her intervals, either instructing her relations, or preparing of herself.

Though her physicians, Dr. Meverell, Dr. Clement, and Dr. Rand, had given over all hopes of her recovery, and Sir Sanders Duncombe had tried his celebrated and famous powder, yet she was many days impairing, and endured the sharpest conflicts of her sickness with admirable patience and most Christian resignation, retaining both her intellectuals and ardent affections for her dissolution, to the very article of her departure. When near her dissolution, she laid her hand on every one of her children; and, taking solemn leave of my father, with elevated heart and eyes, she quietly expired, and resigned her soul to God. Thus ended that prudent and pious woman, in the flower of her age, to the inconsolable affliction of her husband, irreparable loss of her children, and universal regret of all that knew her. She was interred, as near as might be, to her daughter, Darcy, the 3rd of October, at night, but with no mean ceremony.

It was the 3rd of the ensuing November, after my brother George was gone back to Oxford, ere I returned to Lewes, when I made way, according to instructions received of my father, for my brother Richard, who was sent the 12th after.

1636. This year being extremely dry, the pestilence much increased in London, and divers parts of England<sup>a</sup>.

1637: 13th *February*. I was especially admitted (and, as I remember, my other brother) into the Middle Temple, London, though absent, and as yet at school. There were now large contributions to the distressed Palatinates.

The 10th of December my father sent a servant to bring us necessaries; and, the plague beginning now to cease, on the 3rd of April, 1637, I left school, where, till about the last year, I have been extremely remiss in my

<sup>a</sup> In a letter to their father, written in this year, George Evelyn, John's elder brother, describes, with many curious personal details, a Royal visit to Oxford University.

studies ; so as I went to the University rather out of shame of abiding longer at school, than for any fitness, as by sad experience I found : which put me to re-learn all that I had neglected, or but perfunctorily gained.

10th May. I was admitted a Fellow-commoner of Baliol College, Oxford ; and, on the 29th, I was matriculated in the vestry of St. Mary's, where I subscribed the Articles, and took the oaths : Dr. Baily, head of St. John's, being vice-chancellor, afterwards bishop. It appears by a letter of my father's, that he was upon treaty with one Mr. Bathurst (afterwards Doctor and President), of Trinity College, who should have been my tutor ; but, lest my brother's tutor, Dr. Hobbs, more zealous in his life than industrious to his pupils, should receive it as an affront, and especially for that Fellow-commoners in Baliol were no more exempt from exercise than the meanest scholars there, my father sent me thither to one Mr. George Bradshaw (*nomen invisum* ! yet the son of an excellent father, beneficed in Surrey<sup>a</sup>). I ever thought my tutor had parts enough ; but, as his ambition made him much suspected of the College, so his grudge to Dr. Lawrence, the governor of it (whom he afterwards supplanted), took up so much of his time, that he seldom or never had the opportunity to discharge his duty to his scholars. This I perceiving, associated myself with one Mr. James Thicknesse (then a young man of the foundation, afterwards a Fellow of the house), by whose learned and friendly conversation I received great advantage. At my first arrival, Dr. Parkhurst was master ; and, after his decease, Dr. Lawrence, a chaplain of his Majesty's and Margaret Professor, succeeded, an acute and learned person : nor do I much reproach his severity, considering that the extraordinary remissness of discipline had (till his coming) much detracted from the reputation of that College.

There came in my time to the College one Nathaniel Conopios, out of Greece, from Cyrill, the patriarch of Constantinople, who, returning many years after, was made (as I understand) Bishop of Smyrna. He was the first I ever saw drink coffee ; which custom came not into England till thirty years after<sup>b</sup>.

After I was somewhat settled there in my formalities (for then was the University exceedingly regular, under the exact discipline of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, then Chancellor), I added, as benefactor to the library of the College, these books '*ex dono Johannis Evelyni, hujus Coll. Socio-Commensalis, filii Richardi Evelyni, è com. Surriæ, armigr*' :

*Zanchii Opera*, vols. 1, 2, 3.

*Granado in Thomam Aquinatem*, vols. 1, 2, 3.

Novarini *Electa Sacra*, and Cresolii *Anthologia Sacra* ; authors, it seems, much desired by the students of divinity there.

Upon the 2nd of July, being the first Sunday of the month, I first received the blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in the college chapel, one Mr. Cooper, a Fellow of the house, preaching ; and at this time was the Church of England in her greatest splendour, all things decent, and becoming the Peace, and the persons that governed. The most of the following week I spent in visiting the Colleges, and several rarities of the University, which do very much affect young comers.

<sup>a</sup> Rector of Ockham.

<sup>b</sup> Evelyn should have said 'till twenty years after', not thirty. Coffee was introduced into England, and coffee-houses set up, in 1658.



18th July. I accompanied my eldest brother, who then quitted Oxford, into the country ; and, on the 9th of August, went to visit my friends at Lewes, whence I returned the 12th to Wotton. On the 17th of September, I received the blessed Sacrament at Wotton church, and 23rd of October went back to Oxford.

5th November. I received again the Holy Communion in our college chapel, one Prouse, a Fellow (but a mad one), preaching.

9th December. I offered at my first exercise in the Hall, and answered my opponent ; and, upon the 11th following, declaimed in the chapel before the Master, Fellows, and Scholars, according to the custom. The 15th after, I first of all opposed in the Hall.

The Christmas ensuing, being at a Comedy which the gentlemen of Exeter College presented to the University, and standing, for the better advantage of seeing, upon a table in the Hall, which was near to another, in the dark, being constrained by the extraordinary press to quit my station, in leaping down to save myself I dashed my right leg with such violence against the sharp edge of the other board, as gave me a hurt which held me in cure till almost Easter, and confined me to my study.

1638 : 22nd January. I would needs be admitted into the dancing and vaulting schools ; of which late activity one Stokes, the master, did afterwards set forth a pretty book, which was published, with many witty eulogies before it<sup>a</sup>.

4th February. One Mr. Wariner preached in our chapel ; and on the 25th, Mr. Wentworth, a kinsman of the Earl of Strafford ; after which followed the blessed Sacrament.

13th April. My father ordered that I should begin to manage my own expenses, which till then my tutor had done ; at which I was much satisfied.

9th July. I went home to visit my friends, and, on the 26th, with my brother and sister to Lewes, where we abode till the 31st ; and thence to one Mr. Michael's, of Houghton, near Arundel, where we were very well treated ; and, on the 2nd of August, to Portsmouth, and thence, having surveyed the fortifications (a great rarity in that blessed halcyon time in England), we passed into the Isle of Wight, to the house of my Lady Richards, in a place called Yaverland ; but we returned the following day to Chichester, where, having viewed the city and fair cathedral, we returned home.

About the beginning of September, I was so afflicted with a quartan ague, that I could by no means get rid of it till the December following. This was the fatal year wherein the rebellious Scots opposed the King, upon the pretence of the introduction of some new ceremonies and the Book of Common Prayer, and madly began our confusions, and their own destruction, too, as it proved in event<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Now an extremely scarce book : the title of it is subjoined : *The Vaulting Master, or the Art of Vaulting* ; reduced to a method comprised under certain rules. Illustrated by examples, and now primarily set forth, by Will. Stokes. Printed for Richard Davis, in Oxon, 1665. It is a small oblong quarto, with the author's portrait prefixed, and a number of plates beautifully engraved (most probably by Glover), representing feats of activity on horseback of a somewhat extraordinary kind.

<sup>b</sup> This passage appears first in this edition, but Evelyn saw reason afterwards somewhat to change his tone.

1639: 14th January. I came back to Oxford, after my tedious indisposition, and to the infinite loss of my time; and now I began to look upon the rudiments of music, in which I afterwards arrived to some formal knowledge, though to small perfection of hand, because I was so frequently diverted with inclinations to newer trifles.

20th May. Accompanied with one Mr. J. Crafford (who afterwards being my fellow-traveller in Italy, there changed his religion), I took a journey of pleasure to see the Somersetshire baths, Bristol, Cirencester, Malmesbury, Abingdon, and divers other towns of lesser note; and returned the 25th.

8th October. I went back to Oxford.

14th December. According to injunctions from the Heads of Colleges, I went (amongst the rest) to the Confirmation in St. Mary's, where, after sermon, the Bishop of Oxford laid his hands upon us, with the usual form of benediction prescribed: but this, received (I fear) for the more part out of curiosity, rather than with that due preparation and advice which had been requisite, could not be so effectual as otherwise that admirable and useful institution might have been, and as I have since deplored it.

1640: 21st January. Came my brother, Richard, from school, to be my chamber-fellow at the University. He was admitted the next day, and matriculated the 31st.

11th April. I went to London to see the solemnity of his Majesty's riding through the city in state to the Short Parliament, which began the 13th following, a very glorious and magnificent sight, the King circled with his royal diadem and the affections of his people: but the day after I returned to Wotton again, where I stayed, my father's indisposition suffering great intervals, till April 27th, when I was sent to London to be first resident at the Middle Temple: so as my being at the University, in regard of these avocations, was of very small benefit to me. Upon May the 5th following, was the Parliament unhappily dissolved; and, on the 20th I returned with my brother George to Wotton, who, on the 28th of the same month, was married at Albury to Mrs. Caldwell (an heiress of an ancient Leicestershire family<sup>a</sup>), where part of the nuptials was celebrated.

10th June. I repaired with my brother to the term, to go into our new lodgings (that were formerly in Essex-court), being a very handsome apartment just over against the Hall-court, but four pair of stairs high, which gave us the advantage of the fairer prospect; but did not much contribute to the love of that impolished study, to which (I suppose) my father had designed me, when he paid 145*l.* to purchase our present lives, and assignments afterwards.

London, and especially the Court, were at this period in frequent disorders, and great insolences were committed by the abused and too happy City: in particular, the Bishop of Canterbury's Palace at Lambeth was assaulted by a rude rabble from Southwark, my Lord Chamberlain imprisoned, and many scandalous libels and invectives scattered about the streets, to the reproach of Government, and the fermentation of our since

<sup>a</sup> A daughter of Daniel Caldwell, Esq., by Mary, daughter of George Duncomb, Esq., of Albury. She died 15th May, 1644, and he afterwards married the widow of Sir John Cotton.



distractions : so that, upon the 25th of June, I was sent for to Wotton, and the 27th after, my father's indisposition augmenting, by advice of the physicians he repaired to the Bath.

7th July. My brother George and I, understanding the peril my father was in upon a sudden attack of his infirmity, rode post from Guildford towards him, and found him extraordinary weak ; yet so as that, continuing his course, he held out till the 8th of September, when I returned home with him in his litter.

15th October. I went to the Temple, it being Michaelmas Term.

30th. I saw his Majesty (coming from his Northern Expedition) ride in pomp and a kind of ovation, with all the marks of a happy peace, restored to the affections of his people, being conducted through London with a most splendid cavalcade ; and, on the 3rd November following (a day never to be mentioned without a curse), to that long ungrateful, foolish, and fatal Parliament, the beginning of all our sorrows for twenty years after, and the period of the most happy monarch in the world : *Quis talia fando !*

But my father being by this time entered into a dropsy, an indisposition the most unsuspected, being a person so exemplarily temperate, and of admirable regimen, hastened me back to Wotton, December the 12th ; where, the 24th following, between twelve and one o'clock at noon, departed this life that excellent man and indulgent parent, retaining his senses and piety to the last, which he most tenderly expressed in blessing us, whom he now left to the world and the worst of times, whilst he was taken from the evil to come.

1641. It was a sad and lugubrious beginning of the year, when, on the 2nd of January, 1640-1, we at night followed the mourning hearse to the church at Wotton ; when, after a sermon and funeral oration by the minister, my father was interred near his formerly erected monument, and mingled with the ashes of our mother, his dear wife. Thus we were bereft of both our parents in a period when we most of all stood in need of their counsel and assistance, especially myself, of a raw, vain, uncertain, and very unwary inclination : but so it pleased God to make trial of my conduct in a conjuncture of the greatest and most prodigious hazard that ever the youth of England saw ; and, if I did not amidst all this impeach my liberty nor my virtue with the rest who made shipwreck of both, it was more the infinite goodness and mercy of God than the least providence or discretion of mine own, who now thought of nothing but the pursuit of vanity, and the confused imaginations of young men.

15th April. I repaired to London to hear and see the famous trial of the Earl of Strafford, Lord-Deputy of Ireland, who, on the 22nd of March, had been summoned before both Houses of Parliament, and now appeared in Westminster-hall<sup>a</sup>, which was prepared with scaffolds for the Lords and

<sup>a</sup> On the 15th April Strafford made his eloquent defence, which it seems to have been Evelyn's good fortune to be present at. And here the reader may remark the fact, not without significance, that between the entries on this page of the Diary which relate to Lord Strafford, the young Prince of Orange came over to make love to the Princess Royal, then twelve years old ; and that the marriage was subsequently celebrated amid extraordinary Court rejoicings and festivities, in which the King took a prominent part, during the short interval which elapsed between the sentence and execution of the King's great and unfortunate minister.

Commons, who, together with the King, Queen, Prince, and flower of the noblesse, were spectators and auditors of the greatest malice and the greatest innocency that ever met before so illustrious an assembly. It was Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Earl Marshal of England, who was made High Steward upon this occasion; and the sequel is too well known to need any notice of the event.

On the 27th April, came over out of Holland the young Prince of Orange, with a splendid equipage, to make love to his Majesty's eldest daughter, the now Princess Royal.

That evening, was celebrated the pompous funeral of the Duke of Richmond, who was carried in effigy, with all the ensigns of that illustrious family, in an open chariot, in great solemnity, through London to Westminster Abbey.

On the 12th of May, I beheld on Tower-hill the fatal stroke which severed the wisest head in England from the shoulders of the Earl of Strafford, whose crime coming under the cognizance of no human law or statute, a new one was made, not to be a precedent, but his destruction. With what reluctancy the King signed the execution, he has sufficiently expressed; to which he imputes his own unjust suffering: to such exorbitancy were things arrived.

On the 24th May, I returned to Wotton; and, on the 28th of June, I went to London with my sister Jane, and the day after sat to one Vanderborcht for my picture in oil, at Arundel-house, whose servant that excellent painter was, brought out of Germany when the Earl returned from Vienna (whither he was sent Ambassador-extraordinary, with great pomp and charge, though without any effect, through the artifice of the Jesuited Spaniard, who governed all in that conjuncture). With Vanderborcht, the painter, he brought over Wincellaus Hollar, the sculptor, who engraved not only the unhappy Deputy's trial in Westminster-hall, but his decapitation; as he did several other historical things, then relating to the accidents happening during the Rebellion in England, with great skill; besides many cities, towns, and landscapes, not only of this nation, but of foreign parts, and divers portraits of famous persons then in being; and things designed from the best pieces of the rare paintings and masters of which the Earl of Arundel was possessor, purchased and collected in his travels with incredible expense: so as, though Hollar's were but etched in aqua-fortis, I account the collection to be the most authentic

<sup>a</sup> Henry Vanderborcht, a painter, of Brussels, lived at Frankendale. Lord Arundel, finding Vanderborcht's son Henry at Frankfort, sent him to Mr. Petty, then collecting for him in Italy, and afterwards kept him in his service as long as he lived. Vanderborcht, the younger, was both painter and engraver; he drew many of the Arundelian curiosities, and etched several things both in that and the Royal Collection. A book of his drawings from the former, containing 567 pieces, is preserved at Paris; and is described in the catalogue of L'Orangerie, p. 199. After the death of the Earl, the younger Henry entered into the service of the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles II, and lived in esteem in London for a considerable time; but returned to Antwerp, and died there.

Wincellaus Hollar was born at Prague, in Bohemia, in the year 1607, and came to England in the suite of the Earl of Arundel, in the year 1636. In the troubles he distinguished himself as a Royalist, for which he was imprisoned by the Parliament. He escaped to the continent, but returned at the Restoration, and died in great distress, March 28th, 1677.



and useful extant. Hollar was the son of a gentleman near Prague, in Bohemia, and my very good friend, perverted at last by the Jesuits at Antwerp to change his religion; a very honest, simple, well-meaning man, who at last came over again into England, where he died. We have the whole history of the king's reign, from his trial in Westminster-hall and before, to the restoration of King Charles II, represented in several sculptures, with that also of Archbishop Laud, by this indefatigable artist; besides innumerable sculptures in the works of Dugdale, Ashmole, and other historical and useful works. I am the more particular upon this for the fruit of that collection, which I wish I had entire.

This picture<sup>a</sup> I presented to my sister, being at her request, on my resolution to absent myself from this ill face of things at home, which gave umbrage to wiser than myself that the medal was reversing, and our calamities but yet in their infancy: so that, on the 15th of July, having procured a pass at the Custom-house, where I repeated my oath of allegiance, I went from London to Gravesend, accompanied with one Mr. Caryll, a Surrey gentleman, and our servants where we arrived by six o'clock that evening, with a purpose to take the first opportunity of a passage for Holland. But the wind as yet not favourable, we had time to view the Block-house of that town, which answered to another over against it at Tilbury, famous for the rendezvous of Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1588, which we found stored with twenty pieces of cannon, and other ammunition proportionable. On the 19th July, we made a short excursion to Rochester, and having seen the cathedral, went to Chatham to see the Royal Sovereign, a glorious vessel of burden lately built there, being for defence and ornament, the richest that ever spread cloth before the wind<sup>b</sup>. She carried an hundred brass cannon, and was 1200 tons; a rare sailer, the work of the famous Phineas Pett, inventor of the frigate-fashion of building, to this day practised. But what is to be deplored as to this vessel is, that it cost his Majesty the affections of his subjects, perverted by the malcontent great ones, who took occasion to quarrel for his having raised a very slight tax for the building of this, and equipping the rest of the navy, without an act of Parliament; though, by the suffrages of the major part of the Judges the King might legally do in times of imminent danger, of which his Majesty was best apprised. But this not satisfying a jealous party, it was condemned as unprecedented, and not justifiable as to the Royal prerogative; and, accordingly, the Judges were removed out of their places, fined, and imprisoned<sup>c</sup>.

We returned again this evening, and on the 21st July embarked in a Dutch frigate, bound for Flushing, convoyed and accompanied by five other stout vessels, whereof one was a man-of-war. The next day, at noon, we landed at Flushing.

<sup>a</sup> His own portrait.

<sup>b</sup> Accidentally burnt at Chatham, in 1696.

<sup>c</sup> In such manner Evelyn refers to the tax of Ship-money. But compare this remarkable passage, now first printed from the original, with the tone in which, eight years later, he spoke of the only chance by which monarchy in England might be saved; namely, that of 'doing nothing as to Government but what shall be approved by the old way of a free parliament, and the known laws of the land.' (See *Correspondence*.)

Being desirous to overtake the League<sup>a</sup>, which was then before Genep<sup>b</sup>, ere the summer should be too far spent, we went this evening from Flushing to Middleburg, another fine town in this island, to De Vere, whence the most ancient and illustrious Earls of Oxford derive their family, who have spent so much blood in assisting the state during their wars. From De Vere we passed over many towns, houses, and ruins of demolished suburbs, &c., which have formerly been swallowed up by the sea; at what time no less than eight of those islands had been irrecoverably lost.

The next day, we arrived at Dort, the first town of Holland, furnished with all German commodities, and especially Rhenish wines and timber. It hath almost at the extremity a very spacious and venerable church; a stately senate house, wherein was holden that famous synod against the Arminians in 1618; and in that hall hangeth a picture of 'The Passion', an exceeding rare and much-esteemed piece.

From Dort, being desirous to hasten towards the army, I took waggon this afternoon to Rotterdam, whither we were hurried in less than an hour, though it be ten miles distant; so furiously do those Foremen drive. I went first to visit the great church, the Doole, the Bourse, and the public statue of the learned Erasmus, of brass. They showed us his house, or rather the mean cottage, wherein he was born, over which there are extant these lines, in capital letters:

ÆDIBUS HIS ORTUS, MUNDUM DECORAVIT ERASMUS ARTIBUS,  
INGENIO, RELIGIONE, FIDE.

The 26th July, I passed by a straight and commodious river through Delft to the Hague; in which journey I observed divers leprous poor creatures dwelling in solitary huts on the brink of the water, and permitted to ask the charity of passengers, which is conveyed to them in a floating box that they cast out.

Arrived at the Hague, I went first to the Queen of Bohemia's court<sup>c</sup>, where I had the honour to kiss her Majesty's hand, and several of the Princesses', her daughters. Prince Maurice was also there, newly come out of Germany; and my Lord Finch<sup>d</sup>, not long before fled out of England

<sup>a</sup> The meaning of this expression is, that they should be in time to witness the siege.

<sup>b</sup> On the Waal, a place which, having been greatly strengthened by the Cardinal Infante D. Fernando, in 1635, was at this time besieged by the French and Dutch. There is a full account of the siege in the great work of Aitzema, a man who with extraordinary patience compiled materials for the history of the United Provinces, during the greater part of the seventeenth century. One of his brothers was mortally wounded at this siege.

<sup>c</sup> Elizabeth, daughter of James I, mother of the princes Maurice and Rupert; her youngest daughter was Sophia, Electress of Hanover, whose eldest son was George I. A carefully written life of this Princess, who was not less remarkable for her beauty and spirit, than for her misfortunes, has been written, with illustrations drawn from her unpublished correspondence, by Mrs. Everett Green in *The Princesses of England*, vols. v. and vi.

<sup>d</sup> Sir John Finch, Speaker of the House of Commons in 1627; Attorney-General to the Queen (Henrietta Maria) in 1635; the following year promoted to be Judge of the Common Pleas; afterwards Lord Chief Justice; thence promoted to be Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in 1637; and in April, 1640, advanced to the peerage as Baron Finch. He died in 1660.



from the fury of the Parliament. It was a fasting day with the Queen for the unfortunate death of her husband, and the presence chamber had been hung with black velvet ever since his decease.

The 28th July I went to Leyden ; and the 29th to Utrecht, being thirty English miles distant (as they reckon by hours). It was now Kermas, or a fair, in this town, the streets swarming with boors and rudeness, so that early the next morning, having visited the ancient Bishop's court, and the two famous churches, I satisfied my curiosity till my return, and better leisure. We then came to Rynen, where the Queen of Bohemia hath a neat and well-built palace, or country-house, after the Italian manner, as I remember ; and so, crossing the Rhine, upon which this villa is situated, lodged that night in a countryman's house. The 31st to Nimeguen ; and on the 2nd of August we arrived at the Leagure, where was then the whole army encamped about Genep, a very strong castle situated on the river Waal ; but, being taken four or five days before, we had only a sight of the demolitions. The next Sunday was the thanks-giving sermons performed in Colonel Goring's<sup>a</sup> regiment (eldest son of the since Earl of Norwich) by Mr. Goffe, his chaplain (now turned Roman, and father-confessor to the Queen-mother). The evening was spent in firing cannon and other expressions of military triumphs.

Now, according to the compliment, I was received a volunteer in the company of Captain Apsley, of whose Captain-lieutenant, Honywood (Apsley being absent), I received many civilities.

The 3rd August, at night, we rode about the lines of circumvallation, the general being then in the field. The next day, I was accommodated with a very spacious and commodious tent for my lodging ; as before I was with a horse, which I had at command, and a hut which during the excessive heats was a great convenience ; for the sun piercing the canvass of the tent, it was during the day unsufferable, and at night not seldom infested with mists and fogs, which ascended from the river.

*6th August.* As the turn came about, we were ordered to watch on a horn-work near our quarters, and trail a pike, being the next morning relieved by a company of French. This was our continual duty till the castle was re-fortified, and all danger of quitting that station secured ; whence I went to see a Convent of Franciscan Friars, not far from our quarters, where we found both the chapel and refectory full, crowded with the goods of such poor people as at the approach of the army had fled with them thither for sanctuary. On the day following, I went to view all the trenches, approaches, and mines, &c., of the besiegers ; and, in particular, I took special notice of the wheel-bridge, which engine his Excellency had made to run over the moat when they stormed the castle ; as it is since described (with all the other particulars of this siege) by the author of that incomparable work, *Hollandia Illustrata*. The walls and

<sup>a</sup> This was George, distinguished in the Civil Wars as General Goring, for his military services in the cause of the King. He subsequently obtained additional reputation as a lieutenant-general in the army of the King of Spain employed in the Netherlands. He was the eldest son of Sir George Goring, in 1632 created Baron Goring, and in 1644 raised to the Earldom of Norwich, for his services to Charles I, before and after the troubles. General Goring died before his father, in 1662. (See *Correspondence*.)

ramparts of earth, which a mine had broken and crumbled, were of prodigious thickness.

Upon the 8th August, I dined in the horse-quarters with Sir Robert Stone and his lady, Sir William Stradling, and divers Cavaliers; where there was very good cheer, but hot service for a young drinker, as then I was; so that, being pretty well satisfied with the confusion of armies and sieges (if such that of the United Provinces may be called, where their quarters and encampments are so admirably regular, and orders so exactly observed, as few cities, the best governed in time of peace, exceed it for all conveniences), I took my leave of the Leagure and Camerades; and, on the 12th of August, I embarked on the Waal, in company with three grave divines, who entertained us a great part of our passage with a long dispute concerning the lawfulness of church music. We now sailed by Teil, where we landed some of our freight; and about five o'clock we touched at a pretty town named Bommell, that had divers English in garrison. It stands upon Contribution-land, which subjects the environs to the Spanish incursions. We sailed also by an exceeding strong fort called Lovestein, famous for the escape of the learned Hugo Grotius, who, being in durance as a capital offender, as was the unhappy Barneveldt, by the stratagem of his lady, was conveyed in a trunk supposed to be filled with books only. We lay at Gorcum, a very strong and considerable frontier.

13th August. We arrived late at Rotterdam, where was their annual mart or fair, so furnished with pictures (especially landscapes and droleries, as they call those clownish representations), that I was amazed. Some of these I bought, and sent into England. The reason of this store of pictures, and their cheapness, proceeds from their want of land to employ their stock, so that it is an ordinary thing to find a common farmer lay out two or three thousand pounds in this commodity. Their houses are full of them, and they vend them at their fairs to very great gains. Here I first saw an elephant, who was extremely well disciplined and obedient. It was a beast of a monstrous size, yet as flexible and nimble in the joints, contrary to the vulgar tradition, as could be imagined from so prodigious a bulk and strange fabric; but I most of all admired the dexterity and strength of its proboscis, on which it was able to support two or three men, and by which it took and reached whatever was offered to it; its teeth were but short, being a female, and not old. I was also shown a pelican, or *onocratulas* of Pliny, with its large gullets, in which he kept his reserve of fish; the plumage was white, legs red, flat, and film-footed: likewise a cock with four legs, two rumps and vents: also a hen which had two large spurs growing out of her sides, penetrating the feathers of her wings.

17th. I passed again through Delft, and visited the church in which was the monument of Prince William of Nassau, the first of the Williams, and saviour (as they call him) of their liberty, which cost him his life by a vile assassination. It is a piece of rare art, consisting of several figures, as big as the life, in copper. There is in the same place a magnificent tomb of his son and successor, Maurice. The Senate-house hath a very stately portico, supported with choice columns of black marble, as I remember, of one entire stone. Within, there hangs a weighty vessel of wood, not unlike a butter-churn, which the adventurous woman that



hath two husbands at one time is to wear on her shoulders, her head peeping out at the top only, and so led about the town, as a penance for her incontinence. From hence, we went the next day to Ryswick, a stately country-house of the Prince of Orange, for nothing more remarkable than the delicious walks planted with lime trees, and the modern paintings within.

*19th August.* We returned to the Hague, and went to visit the Hoff, or Prince's Court, with the adjoining gardens full of ornament, close walks, statues, marbles, grotts, fountains, and artificial music. There is to this palace a stately hall, not much inferior to ours of Westminster, hung round with colours and other trophies taken from the Spaniards<sup>a</sup>; and the sides below are furnished with shops. Next day (the 20th) I returned to Delft, thence to Rotterdam, the Hague, and Leyden, where immediately I mounted a waggon, which that night, late as it was, brought us to Haerlem. About seven in the morning after I came to Amsterdam, where being provided with a lodging, the first thing I went to see was a Synagogue of the Jews (being Saturday), whose ceremonies, ornaments, lamps, law, and schools, afforded matter for my contemplation. The women were secluded from the men, being seated in galleries above, shut with lattices, having their heads muffled with linen, after a fantastical and somewhat extraordinary fashion; the men, wearing a large calico mantle, yellow coloured, over their hats, all the while waving their bodies, whilst at their devotions. From thence, I went to a place without the town, called Overkirk, where they have a spacious field assigned them to bury their dead, full of sepulchres with Hebraic inscriptions, some of them stately and costly. Looking through one of these monuments, where the stones were disjointed, I perceived divers books and papers lie about a corpse; for it seems, when any learned Rabbi dies, they bury some of his books with him. With the help of a stick, I raked out several, written in Hebrew characters, but much impaired. As we returned, we stepped in to see the Spin-house, a kind of bridewell, where incorrigible and lewd women are kept in discipline and labour, but all neat. We were showed an hospital for poor travellers and pilgrims, built by Queen Elizabeth of England; and another maintained by the city.

The State or Senate-house of this town, if the design be perfected, will be one of the most costly and magnificent pieces of architecture in Europe, especially for the materials and the carvings. In the Doole is painted, on a very large table, the bust of Marie de Medicis, supported by four royal diadems, the work of one Vanderdall, who hath set his name thereon, 1st September, 1638.

On Sunday, I heard an English sermon at the Presbyterian congregation, where they had chalked upon a slate the psalms that were to be sung, so that all the congregation might see it without the bidding of a clerk. I was told, that after such an age no minister was permitted to preach, but had his maintenance continued during life.

I purposely changed my lodgings, being desirous to converse with the sectaries that swarmed in this city, out of whose spawn came those almost innumerable broods in England afterwards. It was at a Brownist's house, where we had an extraordinary good table. There was in pension with

<sup>a</sup> Westminster-hall used to be so in Term-time, and during the sitting of Parliament, as late as the beginning of the reign of George III.

us my Lord Keeper, Finch, and one Sir J. Fotherbee. Here I also found an English Carmelite, who was going through Germany with an Irish gentleman. I now went to see the Weese-house, a foundation like our Charter-house, for the education of decayed persons, orphans, and poor children, where they are taught several occupations. The girls are so well brought up to housewifery, that men of good worth, who seek that chiefly in a woman, frequently take their wives from this hospital. Thence to the Rasp-house, where the lusty knaves are compelled to work; and the rasping of brasil and logwood for the dyers is very hard labour. To the Dool-house, for madmen and fools. But none did I so much admire, as an Hospital for their lame and decrepit soldiers and seamen, where the accommodations are very great, the building answerable; and, indeed, for the like public charities the provisions are admirable in this country, where, as no idle vagabonds are suffered (as in England they are), there is hardly a child of four or five years old, but they find some employment for it<sup>a</sup>.

It was on a Sunday morning that I went to the Bourse, or Exchange, after their sermons were ended, to see the Dog-market, which lasts till two in the afternoon, in this place of convention of merchants from all parts of the world. The building is not comparable to that of London, built by that worthy citizen, Sir Thomas Gresham, yet in one respect exceeding it, that vessels of considerable burthen ride at the very quay contiguous to it; and indeed it is by extraordinary industry that as well this city, as generally all the towns of Holland, are so accommodated with graffs, cuts, sluices, moles, and rivers, made by hand, that nothing is more frequent than to see a whole navy, belonging to this mercantile people, riding at anchor before their very doors: and yet their streets even, straight, and well paved, the houses so uniform and planted with lime trees, as nothing can be more beautiful<sup>b</sup>.

The next day, we were entertained at a kind of tavern, called the Briloft, appertaining to a rich Anabaptist, where, in the upper rooms of the house,

<sup>a</sup> Until the present edition of this Diary, the entry relating to the Amsterdam Hospital stood thus: 'But none did I so much admire as an hospital for their lame and decrepid soldiers, it being for state, order, and accommodations, one of the worthiest things that the world can show of that nature. Indeed it is most remarkable what provisions are here made and maintained for publick and charitable purposes, and to protect the poor from misery, and the country from beggars.' The passage in the text is from Evelyn's own later correction. The reader will remember with some interest, in connection with this remark on the hospital of Amsterdam, that the first stone of Greenwich Hospital was afterwards laid by Evelyn.

<sup>b</sup> Some slight differences may be marked in the description of the Dutch towns as it stands in the earlier editions. These and other discrepancies are explained in the preface to the present edition; but it may be worth while, where the change does not simply consist, as for the most part is the case, in a more full and careful reproduction of the original text, but, as happens occasionally, in the substitution of Evelyn's later corrections for his earlier and less finished text, to preserve in these notes the text as first printed. '... sluices, moles, and rivers, that nothing is more frequent than to see a whole navy of merchants and others environ'd with streets and houses, every man's bark or vessel at anchor before his very door; and yet the streets so exactly strait, even, and uniform, that nothing can be more pleasing, especially being so frequently planted and shaded with beautiful lime-trees, set in rows before every man's house.'



were divers pretty waterworks, rising 108 feet from the ground. Here were many quaint devices, fountains, artificial music, noises of beasts, and chirping of birds; but what pleased me most was a large pendant candlestick, branching into several sockets, furnished all with ordinary candles to appearance, out of the wicks spouting out streams of water, instead of flames. This seemed then and was a rarity, before the philosophy of compressed air made it intelligible. There was likewise a cylinder that entertained the company with a variety of chimes, the hammers striking upon the brims of porcelain dishes, suited to the tones and notes, without cracking any of them. Many other water-works were shown.

The Keiser's or Emperor's Graft, which is an ample and long street, appearing like a city in a forest; the lime trees planted just before each house, and at the margin of that goodly aqueduct so curiously wharfed with Klinkard brick, which likewise paves the streets, than which nothing can be more useful and neat. This part of Amsterdam is built and gained upon the main sea, supported by piles at an immense charge, and fitted for the most busy concourse of traffickers and people of commerce beyond any place, or mart, in the world. Nor must I forget the port of entrance into an issue of this town, composed of very magnificent pieces of architecture, some of the ancient and best manner; as are divers churches<sup>a</sup>.

The turre's, or steeples, are adorned after a particular manner and invention; the chimes of bells are so rarely managed, that being curious to know whether the motion was from any engine, I went up to that of St. Nicholas, where I found one who played all sorts of compositions from the tablature before him, as if he had fingered an organ; for so were the hammers fastened with wires to several keys put into a frame twenty feet below the bells, upon which (by help of a wooden instrument, not much unlike a weaver's shuttle, that guarded his hand) he struck on the keys and played to admiration. All this while, through the clattering of the wires, din of the too nearly sounding bells, and noise that his wooden gloves made, the confusion was so great, that it was impossible for the musician, or any that stood near him, to hear any thing himself; yet, to those at a distance, and especially in the streets, the harmony and the time were the most exact and agreeable.

The south church is richly paved with black and white marble: the

<sup>a</sup> The description of the Briloft is thus given in the earlier editions: 'There was a lamp of brass, with eight sockets from the middle stem, like those we use in churches, having counterfeit tapers in them, streams of water issuing as out of their wicks, the whole branch hanging loose upon a tack in the midst of a beam, and without any other perceptible commerce with any pipe, so that, unless it were by compression of the air with a syringe, I could not comprehend how it should be done. There was a chime of porcelain dishes, which fitted to clock-work and rung many changes and tunes.' That of the Keiser's Graft stands thus: 'The Keiser's Graft, or Emperor's Street, appears a city in a wood through the goodly ranges of the stately lime-trees planted before each man's door, and at the margin of that goodly aquæ-duct, or river, so curiously wharfed with clincars (a kind of white sun-bak'd brick), and of which material the spacious streets on either side are paved. This part of Amsterdam is gained upon the main sea, supported by piles at an immense charge. Prodigious it is to consider the multitude of vessels which continually ride before this City, which is certainly the most busy concourse of mortals now upon the whole earth, and the most addicted to commerce.'

west is a new fabric ; and generally all the churches in Holland are furnished with organs, lamps, and monuments, carefully preserved from the fury and impiety of popular reformers, whose zeal has foolishly transported them in other places rather to act like madmen than religious.

Upon St. Bartholomew's day, I went amongst the booksellers, and visited the famous Hondius and Bleaw's shop, to buy some maps, atlases, and other works of that kind<sup>a</sup>. At another shop, I furnished myself with some shells and Indian curiosities ; and so, towards the end of August, I returned again to Haerlem by the river, ten miles in length, straight as a line, and of competent breadth for ships to sail by one another. They showed us a cottage where, they told us, dwelt a woman who had been married to her twenty-fifth husband, and being now a widow, was prohibited to marry in future ; yet it could not be proved that she had ever made away with any of her husbands, though the suspicion had brought her divers times to trouble.

Haerlem is a very delicate town, and hath one of the fairest churches of the Gothic design I had ever seen. There hang in the steeple, which is very high, two silver bells, said to have been brought from Damietta, in Egypt, by an earl of Holland, in memory of whose success they are rung out every evening. In the nave, hang the goodliest branches of brass for tapers that I have seen, esteemed of great value for the curiosity of the workmanship ; also a fair pair of organs, which I could not find they made use of in divine service, or so much as to assist them in singing psalms, but only for show, and to recreate the people before and after their devotions, whilst the burgomasters were walking and conferring about their affairs. Near the west window hang two models of ships, completely equipped, in memory of that invention of saws under their keels, with which they cut through the chain of booms, which barred the port of Damietta. Having visited this church, the fish-market, and made some inquiry about the printing-house, the invention whereof is said to have been in this town, I returned to Leyden.

At Leyden, I was carried up to the castle, or Pyrgus, built on a very steep artificial mount, cast up (as reported) by Hengist the Saxon, on his return out of England, as a place to retire to, in case of any sudden inundations.

The churches are many and fair ; in one of them lies buried the learned and illustrious Joseph Scaliger, without any extraordinary inscription, who, having left the world a monument of his worth more lasting than marble, needed nothing more than his own name ; which I think is all engraven on his sepulchre. He left his library to this University.

28th August. I went to see the college and schools, which are nothing extraordinary, and was complimented with a *matricula* by the *magnificus* Professor, who first in Latin demanded of me where my lodging in the town was, my name, age, birth, and to what Faculty I addicted myself ; then, recording my answers in a book, he administered an oath to me that I should observe the statutes and orders of the University whilst I stayed, and then delivered me a ticket, by virtue whereof I was made

<sup>a</sup> The entry as to the booksellers is thus expressed in the earlier editions : ' I went to Hondius's shop to buy some maps, greatly pleased with the designs of that indefatigable person. Mr. Bleaw, the setter forth of the Atlas's and other works of that kind, is worthy seeing.'



excise-free ; for all which worthy privileges, and the pains of writing, he accepted of a rix-dollar.

Here was now the famous Dan. Heinsius<sup>a</sup>, whom I so longed to see, as well as the no less famous printer, Elzevir's printing-house and shop, renowned for the politeness of the character and editions of what he has published through Europe. Hence to the physic-garden, well stored with exotic plants, if the catalogue presented to me by the gardener be a faithful register.

But, amongst all the rarities of this place, I was much pleased with a sight of their anatomy-school, theatre, and repository adjoining, which is well furnished with natural curiosities ; skeletons, from the whale and elephant to the fly and spider ; which last is a very delicate piece of art, to see how the bones (if I may so call them of so tender an insect) could be separated from the mucilaginous parts of that minute animal. Amongst a great variety of other things, I was shown the knife newly taken out of a drunken Dutchman's guts, by an incision in his side, after it had slipped from his fingers into his stomach. The pictures of the chirurgeon and his patient, both living, were there.

There is without the town a fair Mall, curiously planted.

Returning to my lodging, I was showed the statue, cut in stone, of the happy monk, whom they report to have been the first inventor of typography, set over the door ; but this is much controverted by others, who strive for the glory of it, besides John Gутtenburg.

I was brought acquainted with a Burgundian Jew, who had married an apostate Kentish woman. I asked him divers questions : he told me, amongst other things, that the World should never end ; that our souls transmigrated, and that even those of the most holy persons did penance in the bodies of brutes after death : and so he interpreted the banishment and savage life of Nebuchadnezzar : that all the Jews should rise again, and be led to Jerusalem ; that the Romans only were the occasion of our Saviour's death, whom he affirmed (as the Turks do) to be a great prophet, but not the Messiah. He showed me several books of their devotion, which he had translated into English, for the instruction of his wife ; he told me that when the Messiah came, all the ships, barks, and vessels of Holland should, by the power of certain strange whirlwinds, be loosed from their anchors, and transported in a moment to all the desolate ports and havens throughout the world, wherever the dispersion was, to convey their brethren and tribes to the Holy City ; with other such like stuff. He was a merry drunken fellow, but would by no means handle any money (for something I purchased of him), it being Saturday ; but desired me to leave it in the window, meaning to receive it on Sunday morning.

*1st September.* I went to Delft and Rotterdam, and two days after back to the Hague, to bespeak a suit of horseman's armour, which I caused

<sup>a</sup> Daniel Hensius, a scholar and critic, who edited numerous editions of the Classics. He was chosen professor of history at Leyden ; then secretary and librarian of the University. In 1619, he was appointed secretary to the states of Holland, at the Synod of Dort ; and the fame of his learning became so diffused, that the Pope endeavoured to draw him to Rome. He was made a knight of St. Mark by the Republic of Venice, and the King of Sweden honoured him with the title of Counsellor. He died in January, 1655. The Elzevir printers are well known.

to be made to fit me. I now rode out of town to see the monument of the woman, pretended to have been a countess of Holland, reported to have had as many children at one birth, as there are days in the year. The basins were hung up in which they were baptised, together with a large description of the matter-of-fact in a frame of carved work, in the church of Lysdun, a desolate place. As I returned, I diverted to see one of the Prince's Palaces, called the Hoff Van Hounsler's Dyck, a very fair cloistered and quadrangular building. The gallery is prettily painted with several huntings, and at one end a gordian knot, with rustical instruments so artificially represented, as to deceive an accurate eye to distinguish it from actual relievo. The ceiling of the staircase is painted with the ' Rape of Ganymede ' and other pendant figures, the work of F. Covenberg, of whose hand I bought an excellent drollery, which I afterwards parted with to my brother George of Wotton, where it now hangs<sup>a</sup>. To this palace join a fair garden and park, curiously planted with limes.

*8th September.* Returned to Rotterdam, through Delftshaven and Sedan, where were at that time Colonel Goring's winter-quarters. This town has heretofore been very much talked of for witches.

*10th.* I took a waggon for Dort, to be present at the reception of the Queen-mother, Marie de Medicis, Dowager of France, widow of Henry the Great, and mother to the French King, Louis XIII, and the Queen of England, whence she newly arrived, tossed to and fro by the various fortune of her life. From this city, she designed for Cologne, conducted by the Earl of Arundel and the Herr Van Bredrod. At this interview, I saw the Princess of Orange, and the lady her daughter, afterwards married to the House of Brandenburg. There was little remarkable in this reception befitting the greatness of her person ; but an universal discontent which accompanied that unlucky woman wherever she went.

*12th.* I went towards Bois-le-Duc, where we arrived on the 16th, at the time when the new citadel was advancing, with innumerable hands, and incomparable inventions for draining off the waters out of the fens and morasses about it, being by buckets, mills, cochleas, pumps, and the like ; in which the Hollanders are the most expert in Europe. Here were now sixteen companies and nine troops of horse. They were also cutting a new river, to pass from the town to a castle not far from it. Here we split our skiff, falling foul upon another through negligence of the master, who was fain to run aground, to our no little hazard. At our arrival, a soldier conveyed us to the Governor, where our names were taken, and our persons examined very strictly.

*17th.* I was permitted to walk the round and view the works, and to visit a convent of religious women of the order of St. Clara (who by the capitulation were allowed to enjoy their monastery and maintenance undisturbed, at the surrender of the town twelve years since), where we had a collation and very civil entertainment. They had a neat chapel, in which the heart of the Duke of Cleves, their founder, lies inhumed under a plate of brass. Within the cloister is a garden, and in the middle of it an overgrown lime-tree, out of whose stem, near the root, issue five upright and exceeding tall suckers, or bolls, the like whereof for evenness and height I had not observed.

The chief church of this city is curiously carved within and without,

<sup>a</sup> It is still there.



furnished with a pair of organs, and a most magnificent font of copper.

*18th September.* I went to see that most impregnable town and fort of Hysdune, where I was exceedingly obliged to one Colonel Crombe, the lieutenant-governor, who would needs make me accept the honour of being captain of the watch, and to give the word this night. The fortification is very irregular, but esteemed one of the most considerable for strength and situation in the Netherlands. We departed towards Gorcum. Here Sir Kenelm Digby, travelling towards Cologne, met us.

The next morning, the 19th, we arrived at Dort, passing by the Decoys, where they catch innumerable quantities of fowl.

*22nd.* I went again to Rotterdam to receive a pass which I expected from Brussels, securing me through Brabant and Flanders, designing to go into England through those countries. The Cardinal Infante, brother to the King of Spain, was then governor. By this pass, having obtained another from the Prince of Orange, upon the 24th of September I departed through Dort; but met with very bad tempestuous weather, being several times driven back, and obliged to lie at anchor off Keele, other vessels lying there waiting better weather. The 25th and 26th we made other essays; but were again repulsed to the harbour, where lay sixty vessels waiting to sail. But, on the 27th, we, impatient of the time and inhospitableness of the place, sailed again with a contrary and impetuous wind and a terrible sea, in great jeopardy; for we had much ado to keep ourselves above water, the billows breaking desperately on our vessel: we were driven into Williamstadt, a place garrisoned by the English, where the Governor had a fair house. The works, and especially the counter-scarp, are curiously hedged with quick, and planted with a stately row of limes on the rampart. The church is of a round structure, with a cupola, and the town belongs entirely to the Prince of Orange, as does that of Breda, and some other places.

*28th.* Failing of an appointment, I was constrained to return to Dort for a bill of exchange; but it was the 1st of October ere I could get back. At Keele, I numbered 141 vessels, who durst not yet venture out; but, animated by the master of a stout barque, after a small encounter of weather, we arrived by four that evening at Steenberg. In the passage we sailed over a sea called the Plaats, an exceeding dangerous water, by reason of two contrary tides which meet there very impetuously. Here, because of the many shelves, we were forced to tide it along the Channel; but, ere we could gain the place, the ebb was so far spent, that we were compelled to foot it at least two long miles, through a most pelting shower of rain.

*2nd October.* With a gentleman of the Rhyngaves, I went in a cart, or tumbrel (for it was no better; no other accommodation could be procured), of two wheels and one horse, to Bergen-op-Zoom, meeting by the way divers parties of his Highness's army, now retiring towards their winter quarters; the convoy skiffs riding by thousands along the harbour. The fort was heretofore built by the English.

The next morning, I embarked for Lillo, having refused a convoy of horse which was offered me. The tide being against us, we landed short of the fort on the beach, where we marched half leg deep in mud, ere we could gain the dyke, which, being five or six miles from Lillo, we were

forced to walk on foot very wet and discomposed ; and then entering a boat we passed the ferry, and came to the castle. Being taken before the Governor, he demanded my pass, to which he set his hand, and asked two rix-dollars for a fee, which methought appeared very exorbitant in a soldier of his quality. I told him that I had already purchased my pass of the commissaries at Rotterdam ; at which, in a great fury, snatching the paper out of my hand, he flung it scornfully under the table, and bade me try whether I could get to Antwerp without his permission : but I had no sooner given him the dollars, than he returned the passport surlily enough, and made me pay fourteen Dutch shillings to the cantone, or searcher, for my contempt, which I was glad to do for fear of further trouble, should he have discovered my Spanish pass, in which the States were therein treated by the name of rebels. Besides all these exactions, I gave the commissary six shillings, to the soldiers something, and, ere perfectly clear of this frontier, thirty-one stivers to the man-of-war, who lay blocking up the river betwixt Lillo and the opposite sponce called Lifkinshoeck.

*4th October.* We sailed by several Spanish forts, out or one of which, St. Mary's port, came a Don on board us, to whom I showed my Spanish pass, which he signed, and civilly dismissed us. Hence, sailing by another man-of-war, to which we lowered our topsails, we at length arrived at Antwerp.

The lodgings here are very handsome and convenient. I lost little time ; but, with the aid of one Mr. Lewkner, our conductor, we visited divers churches, colleges, and monasteries. The Church of the Jesuits is most sumptuous and magnificent ; a glorious fabric without and within, wholly incrustated with marble, inlaid and polished into divers representations of histories, landscapes, and flowers. On the high altar is placed the statue of the Blessed Virgin and our Saviour in white marble, with a boss in the girdle set with very fair and rich sapphires, and divers other stones of price. The choir is a glorious piece of architecture : the pulpit supported by four angels, and adorned with other carvings, and rare pictures by Rubens, now lately dead, and divers votive tables and relics. Hence, to the Vroù Kirk, or Nôtre Dame of Antwerp : it is a very venerable fabric, built after the Gothic manner, especially the tower, which I ascended, the better to take a view of the country adjacent ; which, happening on a day when the sun shone exceedingly bright, and darted his rays without any interruption, afforded so bright a reflection to us who were above, and had a full prospect of both land and water about it, that I was much confirmed in my opinion of the moon's being of some such substance as this earthly globe : perceiving all the subjacent country, at so small an horizontal distance, to repercuss such a light as I could hardly look against, save where the river, and other large water within our view, appeared of a more dark and uniform colour ; resembling those spots in the moon supposed to be seas there, according to Hevelius, and as they appear in our late telescopes<sup>a</sup>. I numbered in this church thirty privileged altars, that of St. Sebastian adorned with a painting of his martyrdom.

<sup>a</sup> In the earlier editions of the Diary, the entry descriptive of the tower of Antwerp Cathedral was taken from Evelyn's earlier text. 'It is a very venerable fabric, built after the Gothic manner ; the tower is of an excessive height. This I ascended, that I might the better take a view of the country about it, which



We went to see the Jerusalem Church, affirmed to have been founded by one who, upon divers great wagers, passed to and fro between that city and Antwerp on foot, by which he procured large sums of money, which he bestowed on this pious structure<sup>a</sup>. Hence, to St. Mary's Chapel, where I had some conference with two English Jesuits, confessors to Colonel Jaye's regiment. These fathers conducted us to the Cloister of Nuns, where we heard a Dutch sermon upon the exposure of the Host. The Senate-house of this city is a very spacious and magnificent building.

5th October. I visited the Jesuits' School, which, for the fame of their method, I greatly desired to see. They were divided into four classes, with several inscriptions over each: as, first, *Ad majorem Dei gloriam*; over the second, *Princeps diligentiae*; the third, *Imperator Byzantium*; over the fourth and uppermost, *Imperator Romanorum*. Under these, the scholars and pupils and their places, or forms with titles and priority according to their proficiency. Their dormitory and lodgings above were exceedingly neat. They have a prison for the offenders and less diligent; and, in an ample court, to recreate themselves in, is an aviary, and a yard where eagles, vultures, foxes, monkeys, and other animals are kept, to divert the boys withal at their hours of remission. To this school join the music and mathematical schools, and lastly a pretty, neat chapel. The great street is built after the Italian mode, in the middle whereof is erected a glorious crucifix of white and black marble, greater than the life. This is a very fair and noble street, clean, well paved, and sweet to admiration.

The Oesters house, belonging to the East India Company, is a stately palace, adorned with more than 300 windows. From hence, walking into the Gun-garden, I was allowed to see as much of the citadel as is permitted to strangers. It is a matchless piece of modern fortification, accommodated with lodgments for the soldiers and magazines. The graffs, ramparts, and platforms are stupendous. Returning by the shop of Plantine, I bought some books, for the namesake only of that famous printer.

But there was nothing about this city which more ravished me than those delicious shades and walks of stately trees, which render the fortified works of the town one of the sweetest places in Europe; nor did I ever observe a more quiet, clean, elegantly built, and civil place, than this magnificent and famous city of Antwerp. In the evening, I was invited to Signor Duarte's, a Portuguese by nation, an exceeding rich merchant, whose palace I found to be furnished like a prince's. His three daughters entertained us with rare music, vocal and instrumental, which was finished with a handsome collation. I took leave of the ladies and of sweet Antwerp,

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happening on a day when the sun shone exceedingly hot, and darted the rays without any interruption, afforded so bright a reflection to us who were above, and had a full prospect of both land and water about it, that I was much confirmed in my opinion of the moon's being of some such substance as this earthly globe consists of; perceiving all the adjacent country at so small a horizontal distance, to repercuss such a light as I could hardly look against, save where the river, and other large water within our view, appeared of a more dark and uniform colour, resembling those spots in the moon supposed to be seas there, according to our new philosophy, and viewed by optical glasses. I numbered in this church 30 privileged altars, whereof that of St. Sebastian's was rarely painted.' Occasional sentences of the preceding matter are entirely new.

<sup>a</sup> This notice, slipped by accident into the entries which refer to Antwerp, belongs to those of Bruges (see preface to the present edition).

as late as it was, embarking for Brussels on the Scheldt in a vessel, which delivered us to a second boat (in another river) drawn or towed by horses. In this passage, we frequently changed our barge, by reason of the bridges thwarting our course. Here I observed numerous families inhabiting their vessels and floating dwellings, so built and divided by cabins, as few houses on land enjoyed better accommodation; stored with all sorts of utensils, neat chambers, a pretty parlour, and kept so sweet, that nothing could be more refreshing. The rivers on which they are drawn are very clear and still waters, and pass through a most pleasant country on both the banks. We had in our boat a very good ordinary, and excellent company. The cut is straight as a line for twenty English miles. What I much admired was, near the midway, another artificial river, which intersects this at right angles, but on an eminence of ground, and is carried in an aqueduct of stone so far above the other, as that the waters neither mingle, nor hinder one another's passage<sup>a</sup>.

We came to a town called Villefrow, where all the passengers went on shore to wash at a fountain issuing out of a pillar, and then came aboard again. On the margin of this long tract are abundance of shrines and images, defended from the injuries of the weather by niches of stone wherein they are placed.

*7th October.* We arrived at Brussels at nine in the morning. The Stadt-house, near the market-place, is, for the carving in freestone, a most laborious and finished piece, well worthy observation. The flesh-shambles are also built of stone. I was pleased with certain small engines, by which a girl, or boy, was able to draw up, or let down, great bridges, which in divers parts of this city crossed the channel for the benefit of passengers. The walls of this town are very entire, and full of towers at competent distances. The cathedral is built upon a very high and exceeding steep ascent, to which we mounted by fair steps of stone. Hence I walked to a convent of English Nuns, with whom I sat discoursing most part of the afternoon.

*8th.* Being the morning I came away, I went to see the Prince's Court, an ancient, confused building, not much unlike the Hoff, at the Hague: there is here likewise a very large Hall, where they vend all sorts of wares. Through this we passed by the chapel, which is indeed rarely arched, and in the middle of it was the hearse, or catafalco, of the late Archduchess, the wise and pious Clara Eugenia. Out of this we were conducted to the lodgings, tapestried with incomparable arras, and adorned with many excellent pieces of Rubens, old and young Breugel, Titian, and Stenwick, with stories of most of the late actions in the Netherlands.

By an accident, we could not see the library. There is a fair terrace which looks to the vineyard, in which, on pedestals, are fixed the statues of all the Spanish kings of the house of Austria. The opposite walls are painted by Rubens, being an history of the late tumults in Belgia; in the last piece, the Archduchess shuts a great pair of gates upon Mars, who is coming out of hell, armed, and in a menacing posture; which, with that other of the Infanta taking leave of Don Philip the Fourth, is a most incomparable table.

From hence, we walked into the park, which for being entirely within the walls of the city is particularly remarkable: nor is it less pleasant than

<sup>a</sup> As at the Duke of Bridgewater's canal, in Lancashire.



if in the most solitary recesses ; so naturally is it furnished with whatever may render it agreeable, melancholy, and country-like. Here is a stately heronry, divers springs of water, artificial cascades, rocks, grotts ; one whereof is composed of the extravagant roots of trees, cunningly built and hung together with wires. In this park are both fallow and red deer.

From hence, we were led into the Menage, and out of that into a most sweet and delicious garden, where was another grot of more neat and costly materials, full of noble statues, and entertaining us with artificial music ; but the hedge of water, in form of lattice-work, which the fountaineer caused to ascend out of the earth by degrees, exceedingly pleased and surprised me ; for thus, with a pervious wall, or rather a palisade hedge of water, was the whole parterre environed.

There is likewise a fair aviary ; and in the court next it are kept divers sorts of animals, rare and exotic fowl, as eagles, cranes, storks, bustards, pheasants of several kinds, and a duck having four wings. In another division of the same close are rabbits of an almost perfect yellow colour.

There was no Court now in the palace ; the Infante Cardinal, who was the Governor of Flanders, being dead but newly, and every one in deep mourning.

At near eleven o'clock, I repaired to his Majesty's agent, Sir Henry de Vic<sup>a</sup>, who very courteously received me, and accommodated me with a coach and six horses, which carried me from Brussels to Ghent, where it was to meet my Lord of Arundel, Earl Marshal of England, who had requested me when I was at Antwerp to send it for him, if I went not thither myself.

Thus taking leave of Brussels and a sad Court, yet full of gallant persons (for in this small city, the acquaintance being universal, ladies and gentlemen, I perceived, had great diversions, and frequent meetings), I hasted towards Ghent. On the way, I met with divers little waggons, prettily contrived, and full of peddling merchandises, drawn by mastiff-dogs, harnessed completely like so many coach-horses ; in some four, in others six, as in Brussels itself I had observed. In Antwerp I saw, as I remember, four dogs draw five lusty children in a chariot : the master commands them whither he pleases, crying his wares about the streets. After passing through Ouse, by six in the evening, I arrived at Ghent. This is a city of so great a circumference, that it is reported to be seven leagues round ; but there is not half of it now built, much of it remaining in fields and desolate pastures even within the walls, which have strong gates towards the west, and two fair churches.

Here I beheld the palace wherein John of Gaunt and Charles V were born ; whose statue<sup>b</sup> stands in the market-place, upon a high pillar, with his sword drawn, to which (as I was told) the magistrates and burghers were wont to repair upon a certain day every year with ropes about their necks, in token of submission and penance for an old rebellion of theirs ; but now the hemp is changed into a blue ribbon. Here is planted the basilisco, or great gun, so much talked of. The Lys and the Scheldt

<sup>a</sup> For twenty years resident at Brussels for Charles II ; also Chancellor of the Order of the Garter ; and in 1662 appointed Comptroller of the Household of the Duke of York. He died in 1672. See *Correspondence*, where he is mentioned by the Queen of Bohemia.

<sup>b</sup> That of Charles V.

meeting in this vast city, divide it into twenty-six islands, which are united by many bridges, somewhat resembling Venice. This night I supped with the Abbot of Andoyne, a pleasant and courteous priest.

*8th October.* I passed by a boat to Bruges, taking in at a redoubt a convoy of fourteen musketeers, because the other side of the river, being Contribution-land, was subject to the inroads and depredations of the bordering States. This river was cut by the famous Marquis Spinola, and is in my judgment a wonderful piece of labour, and a worthy public work, being in some places forced through the main rock, to an incredible depth, for thirty miles. At the end of each mile is built a small redoubt, which communicates a line to the next, and so the whole way, from whence we received many volleys of shot, in compliment to my Lord Marshal, who was in our vessel, a passenger with us. At five that evening, we were met by the magistrates of Bruges, who came out to convey my Lord to his lodgings, at whose cost he was entertained that night.

The morning after we went to see the Stadt-house and adjoining aqueduct, the church, and market-place, where we saw cheeses and butter piled up in heaps; also the fortifications and graffs, which are extremely large.

The 9th, we arrived at Ostend by a straight and artificial river. Here, with leave of the captain of the watch, I was carried to survey the river and harbour, with fortifications on one side thereof: the east and south are mud and earth walls. It is a very strong place, and lately stood a memorable siege three years, three months, three weeks, and three days. I went to see the church of St. Peter, and the cloisters of the Franciscans.

*10th.* I went by waggon, accompanied with a jovial commissary, to Dunkirk, the journey being made all on the sea-sands. On our arrival, we first viewed the court of guards, the works, the town-house, and the new church; the latter is very beautiful within; and another, wherein they showed us an excellent piece of 'Our Saviour's bearing the Cross'. The harbour, in two channels, coming up to the town was choked with a multitude of prizes.

From hence, the next day, I marched three English miles towards the packet-boat, being a pretty frigate of six guns, which embarked us for England about three in the afternoon.

At our going off, the fort, against which our pinnace anchored, saluted my Lord Marshal with twelve great guns, which we answered with three. Not having the wind favourable, we anchored that night before Calais. About midnight, we weighed; and, at four in the morning, though not far from Dover, we could not make the pier till four that afternoon, the wind proving contrary and driving us westward: but at last we got on shore, October the 12th.

From Dover, I that night rode post to Canterbury. Here I visited the cathedral, then in great splendour; those famous windows being entire, since demolished by the fanatics. The next morning, by Sittingbourne, I came to Rochester, and thence to Gravesend, where a light-horseman (as they call it) taking us in, we spent our tide as far as Greenwich. From hence, after we had a little refreshed ourselves at the College (for by reason of the contagion then in London we balked the inns), we came to London, landing at Arundel-stairs. Here I took leave of his Lordship, and retired



to my lodgings in the Middle Temple, being about two in the morning, the 14th of October.

*16th October.* I went to see my brother at Wotton. On the 31st of that month (unfortunate for the Irish Rebellion, which broke out on the 23rd), I was one and twenty years of age.

*7th November.* After receiving the Sacrament at Wotton church, I visited my Lord Marshal at Albury.

*23rd.* I returned to London; and, on the 25th, saw his Majesty ride through the City after his coming out of Scotland, and a Peace proclaimed, with great acclamations and joy of the giddy people.

*15th December.* I was elected one of the Comptrollers of the Middle Temple-revellers, as the fashion of the young students and gentlemen was, the Christmas being kept this year with great solemnity; but, being desirous to pass it in the country, I got leave to resign my staff of office, and went with my brother Richard to Wotton.

*10th January, 1642.* I gave a visit to my cousin Hatton, of Ditton.

*19th.* I went to London, where I stayed till 5th March, studying a little, but dancing and fooling more.

*3rd October.* To Chichester, and hence the next day to see the siege of Portsmouth; for now was that bloody difference between the King and Parliament broken out, which ended in the fatal tragedy so many years after. It was on the day of its being rendered to Sir William Waller; which gave me an opportunity of taking my leave of Colonel Goring, the governor, now embarking for France. This day was fought that signal battle at Edgehill. Thence I went to Southampton and Winchester, where I visited the castle, school, church, and King Arthur's Round Table; but especially the church, and its Saxon kings' monuments, which I esteemed a worthy antiquity.

The 12th November was the battle of Brentford, surprisingly fought; and to the great consternation of the City, had his Majesty (as it was believed he would) pursued his advantage. I came in with my horse and arms just at the retreat; but was not permitted to stay longer than the 15th, by reason of the army marching to Gloucester; which would have left both me and my brothers exposed to ruin, without any advantage to his Majesty.

*7th December.* I went from Wotton to London, to see the so much celebrated line of communication, and on the 10th returned to Wotton, nobody knowing of my having been in his Majesty's army.

*10th March, 1643.* I went to Hartingford-berry, to visit my cousin, Keightly.

*11th.* I went to see my Lord of Salisbury's Palace at Hatfield, where the most considerable rarity, besides the house (inferior to few then in England for its architecture), were the garden and vineyard, rarely well watered and planted. They also showed us the picture of Secretary Cecil, in mosaic work, very well done by some Italian hand.

I must not forget what amazed us exceedingly in the night before, namely, a shining cloud in the air, in shape resembling a sword, the point reaching to the north; it was as bright as the moon, the rest of the sky being very serene. It began about eleven at night, and vanished not till above one, being seen by all the south of England. I made many journeys to and from London.

15th April. To Hatfield, and near the town of Hertford I went to see Sir J. Harrison's house new built<sup>a</sup>. Returning to London, I called to see his Majesty's house and gardens at Theobald's, since demolished by the rebels.

2nd May. I went from Wotton to London, where I saw the furious and zealous people demolish that stately Cross in Cheapside.

On the 4th I returned, with no little regret, for the confusion that threatened us. Resolving to possess myself in some quiet, if it might be, in a time of so great jealousy, I built by my brother's permission a study, made a fish-pond, an island, and some other solitudes and retirements at Wotton; which gave the first occasion of improving them to those water-works and gardens which afterwards succeeded them, and became at that time the most famous of England.

12th July. I sent my black menage horse and furniture with a friend to his Majesty, then at Oxford.

23rd. The Covenant being pressed, I absented myself; but, finding it impossible to evade the doing very unhandsome things, and which had been a great cause of my perpetual motions hitherto between Wotton and London, October the 2nd, I obtained a license of his Majesty, dated at Oxford and signed by the King, to travel again.

6th November. Lying by the way from Wotton at Sir Ralph Whitfield's, at Blechingley (whither both my brothers had conducted me), I arrived at London on the 7th, and two days after took boat at the Tower-wharf, which carried me as far as Sittingbourne, though not without danger, I being only in a pair of oars, exposed to a hideous storm: but it pleased God that we got in before the peril was considerable. From thence, I went by post to Dover, accompanied with one Mr. Thicknesse, a very dear friend of mine<sup>b</sup>.

11th. Having a reasonable good passage, though the weather was snowy and untoward enough, we came before Calais, where, as we went on shore, mistaking the tide, our shallop struck on the sands, with no little danger; but at length we got off.

Calais is considered an extraordinary well-fortified place, in the old castle and new citadel regarding the sea. The haven consists of a long bank of sand, lying opposite to it. The market-place and the church are remarkable things, besides those relics of our former dominion there. I remember there were engraven in stone, upon the front of an ancient dwelling which was showed us, these words in English: *God save the King*, together with the name of the architect and date. The walls of the town are substantial; but the situation towards the land is not pleasant, by reason of the marshes and low grounds about it.

12th. After dinner, we took horse with the Messagere, hoping to have arrived at Boulogne that night; but there fell so great a snow, accompanied with hail, rain, and sudden darkness, that we had much ado to gain the next village; and in this passage, being to cross a valley by a causeway, and a bridge built over a small river, the rain that had fallen making it an impetuous stream for near a quarter of a mile, my horse

<sup>a</sup> Afterwards called Ball's Park, belonging to the Townshend family, George the Second's secretary of state having married Miss Harrison.

<sup>b</sup> Whom he has already mentioned as so much assisting him in his studies at Oxford.



slipping had almost been the occasion of my perishing. We none of us went to bed ; for the soldiers in those parts leaving little in the villages, we had enough to do to get ourselves dry, by morning, between the fire and the fresh straw. The next day early, we arrived at Boulogne.

This is a double town, one part of it situate on a high rock, or downs ; the other, called the lower town, is yet with a great declivity towards the sea ; both of them defended by a strong castle, which stands on a notable eminence. Under the town runs the river, which is yet but an inconsiderable brook. Henry VIII, in the siege of this place is said to have used those great leathern guns which I have since beheld in the Tower of London, inscribed, *Non Marte opus est cui non deficit Mercurius* ; if at least the history be true, which my Lord Herbert doubts<sup>a</sup>.

The next morning, in some danger of parties [Spanish] surprising us, we came to Montreuil, built on the summit of a most conspicuous hill, environed with fair and ample meadows ; but all the suburbs had been from time to time ruined, and were now lately burnt by the Spanish inroads. This town is fortified with two very deep dry ditches ; the walls about the bastions and citadel are a noble piece of masonry. The church is more glorious without than within : the market-place large : but the inhabitants are miserably poor. The next day, we came to Abbeville, having passed all this way in continual expectation of the volunteers, as they call them. This town affords a good aspect towards the hill from whence we descended : nor does it deceive us ; for it is handsomely built, and has many pleasant and useful streams passing through it, the main river being the Somme, which discharges itself into the sea at St. Valery, almost in view of the town. The principal church is a very handsome piece of Gothic architecture, and the ports and ramparts sweetly planted for defence and ornament. In the morning, they brought us choice of guns and pistols to sell at reasonable rates, and neatly made, being here a merchandise of great account, the town abounding in gun-smiths.

Hence we advanced to Beauvais, another town of good note, and having the first vineyards we had seen. The next day to Beaumont, and the morrow to Paris, having taken our repast at St. Denis, two leagues from that great city. St. Denis is considerable only for its stately cathedral, and the dormitory of the French kings, there inhumed as ours at Westminster Abbey. The treasury is esteemed one of the richest in Europe. The church was built by king Dagobert<sup>b</sup>, but since much enlarged, being now 390 feet long, 100 in breadth, and 80 in height, without comprehending the cover : it has also a very high shaft of stone, and the gates are of brass. Here, whilst the monks conducted us, we were showed the ancient and modern sepulchres of their kings, beginning with the founder to Louis his son, with Charles Martel and Pepin, son and father of Charlemagne. These lie in the choir, and without it are many more : amongst the rest that of Bertrand du Guesclin, Constable of France ; in the chapel of Charles V, all his posterity ; and near him the magnificent sepulchre of Francis I, with his children, wars, victories, and triumphs engraven in marble. In the nave of the church lies the catafalque, or hearse, of Louis XIII, Henry II, a noble tomb of Francis II, and Charles IX. Above are bodies of several Saints ; below, under a state of black velvet, the

<sup>a</sup> In his history of that king.

<sup>b</sup> A.D. 630.

late Louis XIII, father of this present monarch. Every one of the ten chapels, or oratories, had some Saints in them ; amongst the rest, one of the Holy Innocents. The treasury is kept in the sacristy above, in which are crosses of massy gold and silver, studded with precious stones, one of gold three feet high, set with sapphires, rubies, and great oriental pearls. Another given by Charles the Great, having a noble amethyst in the middle of it, stones and pearls of inestimable value. Amongst the still more valuable relics are, a nail from our Saviour's Cross, in a box of gold full of precious stones ; a crucifix of the true wood of the Cross, carved by Pope Clement III, enchased in a crystal covered with gold ; a box in which is some of the Virgin's hair ; some of the linen in which our blessed Saviour was wrapped at his nativity ; in a huge reliquary, modelled like a church, some of our Saviour's blood, hair, clothes, linen with which he wiped the Apostle's feet ; with many other equally authentic toys, which the friar who conducted us would have us believe were authentic relics. Amongst the treasures is the crown of Charlemagne, his seven-foot high sceptre and hand of justice, the agraffe of his royal mantle, beset with diamonds and rubies, his sword, belt, and spurs of gold ; the crown of St. Louis, covered with precious stones, amongst which is one vast ruby, uncut, of inestimable value, weighing 300 carats (under which is set one of the thorns of our blessed Saviour's crown), his sword, seal, and hand of justice. The two crowns of Henry IV, his sceptre, hand of justice, and spurs. The two crowns of his son Louis. In the cloak-royal of Anne of Bretagne is a very great and rare ruby. Divers books covered with solid plates of gold, and studded with precious stones. Two vases of beryl, two of agate, whereof one is esteemed for its bigness, colour, and embossed carving, the best now to be seen : by a special favour I was permitted to take the measure and dimensions of it : the story is a Bacchanalia and sacrifice to Priapus ; a very holy thing truly, and fit for a cloister ! It is really antique, and the noblest jewel there. There is also a large gondola of chrysolite, a huge urn of porphyry, another of calcedon, a vase of onyx, the largest I had ever seen of that stone ; two of crystal ; a morsel of one of the waterpots in which our Saviour did his first miracle ; the effigies of the Queen of Saba, of Julius, Augustus, Mark Antony, Cleopatra, and others, upon sapphires, topazes, agates, and cornelians : that of the queen of Saba<sup>a</sup> has a Moorish face ; those of Julius and Nero on agates are rarely coloured and cut. A cup in which Solomon was used to drink, and an Apollo on a great amethyst. There lay in a window a mirror of a kind of stone said to have belonged to the poet Virgil. Charlemagne's chessmen, full of Arabic characters. In the press next the door, the brass lantern full of crystals, said to have conducted Judas and his company to apprehend our blessed Saviour. A fair unicorn's horn, sent by a king of Persia, about seven feet long. In another press (over which stands the picture in oil of their Orleans Amazon with her sword), the effigies of the late French kings in wax, like ours in Westminster, covered with their robes ; with a world of other rarities. Having rewarded our courteous friar, we took horse for Paris, where we arrived about five in the afternoon. In the way were fair crosses of stone carved with fleur-de-lis at every furlong's end, where they affirm St. Denis rested and laid down his head after martyrdom, carrying it from the place where this

<sup>a</sup> Or Sheba.



monastery is builded. We lay at Paris at the Ville de Venice ; where, after I had something refreshed, I went to visit Sir Richard Browne, his Majesty's Resident with the French king.

*5th December.* The Earl of Norwich<sup>a</sup> came as Ambassador extraordinary : I went to meet him in a coach and six horses, at the palace of Monsieur de Bassompierre, where I saw that gallant person, his gardens, terraces, and rare prospects. My lord was waited on by the master of the ceremonies, and a very great cavalcade of men of quality, to the Palais Cardinal, where on the 23rd he had audience of the French king, and the queen Regent his mother, in the golden chamber of presence. From thence, I conducted him to his lodgings in Rue St. Denis, and so took my leave.

*24th.* I went with some company to see some remarkable places without the city : as the Isle, and how it is encompassed by the rivers Seine and the Ouse. The city is divided into three parts, whereof the town is greatest. The city lies between it and the University in form of an island. Over the Seine is a stately bridge called Pont Neuf, begun by Henry III in 1578, finished by Henry IV his successor. It is all of hewn free-stone found under the streets, but more plentifully at Montmartre, and consists of twelve arches, in the midst of which ends the point of an island, on which are built handsome artificers' houses. There is one large passage for coaches, and two for foot-passengers three or four feet higher, and of convenient breadth for eight or ten to go a breast. On the middle of this stately bridge, on one side stands the famous statue of Henry the Great on horseback, exceeding the natural proportion by much ; and, on the four faces of a stately pedestal (which is composed of various sorts of polished marbles and rich mouldings), inscriptions of his victories and most signal actions are engraven in brass. The statue and horse are of copper, the work of the great John di Bologna, and sent from Florence by Ferdinand the First, and Cosmo the Second, uncle and cousin to Mary de Medicis, the wife of king Henry, whose statue it represents. The place where it is erected is enclosed with a strong and beautiful grate of iron, about which there are always mountebanks showing their feats to idle passengers. From hence is a rare prospect towards the Louvre and suburbs of St. Germain, the Isle du Palais, and Nôtre Dame. At the foot of this bridge is a water-house, on the front whereof, at a great height, is the story of Our Saviour and the woman of Samaria pouring water out of a bucket. Above, is a very rare dial of several motions, with a chime, &c. The water is conveyed by huge wheels, pumps, and other engines, from the river beneath. The confluence of the people and multitude of coaches passing every moment over the bridge, to a new spectator is an agreeable diversion. Other bridges there are, as that of Nôtre Dame and the Pont-au-Change, &c., fairly built, with houses of stone, which are laid over this river ; only the Pont St. Anne, landing the suburbs of St. Germain at the Tuileries, is built of wood, having likewise a water-house in the midst of it, and a statue of Neptune casting water out of a whale's mouth, of lead, but much inferior to the Samaritan.

The University lies south-west on higher ground, contiguous to, but the lesser part of, Paris. They reckon no less than sixty-five colleges ; but they in nothing approach ours at Oxford for state and order. The book-

<sup>a</sup> George Lord Goring ; upon whom the title had been recently conferred.

sellers dwell within the University. The schools (of which more hereafter) are very regular.

The suburbs are those of St. Denis, Honoré, St. Marcel, St. Jaques, St. Michael, St. Victoire, and St. Germain, which last is the largest, and where the nobility and persons of best quality are seated : and truly Paris, comprehending the suburbs, is, for the material the houses are built with, and many noble and magnificent piles, one of the most gallant cities in the world ; large in circuit, of a round form, very populous, but situated in a bottom, environed with gentle declivities, rendering some places very dirty, and making it smell as if sulphur were mingled with the mud ; yet it is paved with a kind of free-stone, of near a foot square, which renders it more easy to walk on than our pebbles in London.

On Christmas eve, I went to see the Cathedral at Nôtre Dame, erected by Philip Augustus, but begun by King Robert, son of Hugh Capet. It consists of a Gothic fabric, sustained with 120 pillars, which make two aisles in the church round about the choir, without comprehending the chapels, being 174 paces long, 60 wide, and 100 high. The choir is enclosed with stone-work graven with the sacred history, and contains forty-five chapels chancelled with iron. At the front of the chief entrance are statues in relievo of the kings, twenty-eight in number, from Childebert to the founder, Philip ; and above them are two high square towers, and another of a smaller size, bearing a spire in the middle, where the body of the church forms a cross. The great tower is ascended by 389 steps, having twelve galleries from one to the other. They greatly reverence the crucifix over the screen of the choir, with an image of the Blessed Virgin. There are some good modern paintings hanging on the pillars. The most conspicuous statue is the huge colossal one of St. Christopher ; with divers other figures of men, houses, prospects, and rocks, about this gigantic piece ; being of one stone, and more remarkable for its bulk than any other perfection. This is the prime church of France for dignity, having archdeacons, vicars, canons, priests, and chaplains in good store, to the number of 127. It is also the palace of the archbishop. The young king was there with a great and martial guard, who entered the nave of the church with drums and fifes, at the ceasing of which I was entertained with the church-music ; and so I left him.

4th January, 1644. I passed this day with one Mr. J. Wall, an Irish gentleman, who had been a friar in Spain, and afterwards a reader in St. Isodore's chair, at Rome ; but was, I know not how, getting away, and pretending to be a soldier of fortune, an absolute cavalier, having, as he told us, been a captain of horse in Germany. It is certain he was an excellent disputant, and so strangely given to it that nothing could pass him. He would needs persuade me to go with him this morning to the Jesuits' College, to witness his polemical talent. We found the Fathers in their Church at the Rue St. Antoine, where one of them showed us that noble fabric, which for its cupola, pavings, incrustations of marble, the pulpit, altars (especially the high altar), organ, *lavatorium*, &c., but above all, for the richly carved and incomparable front I esteem to be one of the most perfect pieces of architecture in Europe, emulating even some of the greatest now at Rome itself. But this not being what our friar sought, he led us into the adjoining convent, where, having showed us the library, they began a very hot dispute on some points of divinity, which our cavalier



contested only to show his pride, and to that indiscreet height, that the Jesuits would hardly bring us to our coach, they being put beside all patience. The next day, we went into the University, and into the College of Navarre, which is a spacious well-built quadrangle, having a very noble library.

Thence to the Sorbonne, an ancient fabric built by one Robert de Sorbonne, whose name it retains, but the restoration which the late Cardinal de Richelieu has made to it renders it one of the most excellent modern buildings; the sumptuous church, of admirable architecture, is far superior to the rest. The cupola, portico, and whole design of the church, are very magnificent.

We entered into some of the schools, and in that of divinity we found a grave Doctor in his chair, with a multitude of auditors, who all write as he dictates; and this they call a Course. After we had sat a little, our cavalier started up, and rudely enough began to dispute with the doctor; at which, and especially as he was clad in the Spanish habit, which in Paris is the greatest bugbear imaginable, the scholars and doctor fell into such a fit of laughter, that nobody could be heard speak for a while: but silence being obtained, he began to speak Latin, and made his apology in so good a style, that their derision was turned to admiration; and beginning to argue, he so baffled the Professor, that with universal applause they all rose up, and did him great honours, waiting on us to the very street and our coach, and testifying great satisfaction.

*2nd February.* I heard the news of my nephew George's birth, which was on January 15th, English style, 1644.

*3rd.* I went to the Exchange. The late addition to the buildings is very noble; but the galleries where they sell their petty merchandise nothing so stately as ours at London, no more than the place where they walk below, being only a low vault.

The *Palaise*, as they call the upper part, was built in the time of Philip the Fair, noble and spacious. The great Hall annexed to it, is arched with stone, having a range of pillars in the middle, round which, and at the sides, are shops of all kinds, especially booksellers'. One side is full of pews for the clerks of the advocates, who swarm here (as ours at Westminster). At one of the ends stands an altar, at which mass is said daily. Within are several chambers, courts, treasuries, &c. Above that is the most rich and glorious *Salle d'Audience*, the chamber of St. Louis, and other superior Courts where the Parliament sits, richly gilt on embossed carvings and frets, and exceeding beautified.

Within the place where they sell their wares, is another narrower gallery, full of shops and toys, &c., which looks down into the prison-yard. Descending by a large pair of stairs, we passed by *Sainte Chapelle*, which is a church built by St. Louis, 1242, after the Gothic manner: it stands on another church, which is under it, sustained by pillars at the sides, which seem so weak as to appear extraordinary in the artist. This chapel is most famous for its relics, having, as they pretend, almost the entire crown of thorns: the agate patine, rarely sculptured, judged one of the largest and best in Europe. There was now a very beautiful spire erecting. The court below is very spacious, capable of holding many coaches, and surrounded with shops, especially engravers', goldsmiths', and watch-makers'. In it are a fair fountain and portico. The *Isle du Palais* consists

of a triangular brick building, whereof one side, looking to the river, is inhabited by goldsmiths. Within the court are private dwellings. The front, looking on the great bridge, is possessed by mountebanks, operators, and puppet-players. On the other part, is the every day's market for all sorts of provisions, especially bread, herbs, flowers, orange-trees, choice shrubs. Here is a shop called *Noah's Ark*, where are sold all curiosities, natural or artificial, Indian or European, for luxury or use, as cabinets, shells, ivory, porcelain, dried fishes, insects, birds, pictures, and a thousand exotic extravagances. Passing hence, we viewed the port Dauphine, an arch of excellent workmanship; the street, bearing the same name, is ample and straight.

*4th February.* I went to see the Marais de Temple, where are a noble church and palace, heretofore dedicated to the Knights Templars, now converted to a piazza, not much unlike ours at Covent Garden; but large and not so pleasant, though built all about with divers considerable palaces.

The Church of St. Geneviève is a place of great devotion, dedicated to another of their Amazons, said to have delivered the city from the English; for which she is esteemed the tutelary saint of Paris. It stands on a steep eminence, having a very high spire, and is governed by canons regular. At the Palais Royal Henry IV built a fair quadrangle of stately palaces, arched underneath. In the middle of a spacious area, stands on a noble pedestal a brazen statue of Louis XIII, which, though made in imitation of that in the Roman capitol, is nothing so much esteemed as that on the Pont Neuf.

The hospital of the Quinze-Vingts, in the Rue St. Honoré, is an excellent foundation; but above all is the Hôtel Dieu for men and women, near Notre Dame, a princely, pious, and expensive structure. That of the Charité gave me great satisfaction, in seeing how decently and christianly the sick people are attended, even to delicacy. I have seen them served by noble persons, men and women. They have also gardens, walks, and fountains. Divers persons are here cut for the stone, with great success, yearly in May. The two Châtelets (supposed to have been built by Julius Cæsar) are places of judicature in criminal causes; to which is a strong prison. The courts are spacious and magnificent.

*8th.* I took coach and went to see the famous Jardine Royale, which is an enclosure walled in, consisting of all varieties of ground for planting and culture of medical simples. It is well chosen, having in it hills, meadows, wood and upland, natural and artificial, and is richly stored with exotic plants. In the middle of the parterre is a fair fountain. There is a very fine house, chapel, laboratory, orangery, and other accommodations for the President, who is always one of the king's chief physicians.

From hence, we went to the other side of the town, and to some distance from it, to the Bois de Vincennes, going by the Bastile, which is the fortress, tower, and magazine of this great city. It is very spacious within, and there the Grand Master of the artillery has his house, with fair gardens and walks.

The Bois de Vincennes has in it a square and noble castle, with magnificent apartments, fit for a royal court, not forgetting the chapel. It is the chief prison for persons of quality. About it there is a park walled in, full of deer; and in one part there is a grove of goodly pine-trees.



The next day, I went to see the Louvre with more attention, its several courts and pavilions. One of the quadrangles, begun by Henry IV, and finished by his son and grandson, is a superb, but mixed structure. The cornices, mouldings, and compartments, with the insertion of several coloured marbles, have been of great expense.

We went through the long gallery, paved with white and black marble, richly fretted and painted *al fresco*. The front looking to the river, though of rare work for the carving, yet wants of that magnificence which a plainer and truer design would have contributed to it.

In the Cour aux Tuileries is a princely fabric; the winding geometrical stone stairs, with the cupola, I take to be as bold and noble a piece of architecture as any in Europe of the kind. To this is a *corps de logis*, worthy of so great a prince. Under these buildings, through a garden in which is an ample fountain, was the king's printing-house, and that famous letter so much esteemed. Here I bought divers of the classic authors, poets, and others.

We returned through another gallery, larger, but not so long, where hung the pictures of all the kings and queens and prime nobility of France.

Descending hence, we were let into a lower very large room, called the *Salle des Antiques*, which is a vaulted Cimelia, destined for statues only, amongst which stands that so celebrated Diana of the Ephesians, said to be the same which uttered oracles in that renowned Temple. Besides those colossean figures of marble, I must not forget the huge globe suspended by chains. The pavings, inlayings, and incrustations of this Hall, are very rich.

In another more private garden towards the Queen's apartment is a walk, or cloister, under arches, whose terrace is paved with stones of a great breadth; it looks towards the river, and has a pleasant aviary, fountain, stately cypresses, &c. On the river are seen a prodigious number of barges and boats of great length, full of hay, corn, wood, wine, and other commodities, which this vast city daily consumes. Under the long gallery we have described, dwell goldsmiths, painters, statuaries, and architects, who being the most famous for their art in Christendom have stipends allowed them by the King. Into that of Monsieur Saracin<sup>a</sup> we entered, who was then moulding for an image of a Madonna to be cast in gold of a great size, to be sent by the Queen Regent to Loretto, as an offering for the birth of the Dauphin, now the young King.

I finished this day with a walk in the great garden of the Tuileries, rarely contrived for privacy, shade, or company, by groves, plantations of tall trees, especially that in the middle, being of elms, the other of mulberries; and that labyrinth of cypresses; not omitting the noble hedges of pomegranates, fountains, fish-ponds, and an aviary; but, above all, the artificial echo, redoubling the words so distinctly; and, as it is never without some fair nymph singing to its grateful returns; standing at one of the focuses, which is under a tree, or little cabinet of hedges, the voice seems to descend from the clouds; at another, as if it was underground. This being at the bottom of the garden, we were let into another, which being kept with all

<sup>a</sup> James Sarazin, a celebrated sculptor, much employed by the royal family of France. For Cardinal Richelieu he executed, in silver and gold, Anne of Austria's offering to the Chapel of Loretto, in the form of a group representing the dauphin's presentation to the Virgin Mary. Born 1590, died 1660.

imaginable accurateness as to the orangery, precious shrubs, and rare fruits, seemed a Paradise. From a terrace in this place we saw so many coaches, as one would hardly think could be maintained in the whole city, going, late as it was in the year, towards the course, which is a place adjoining, of near an English mile long, planted with four rows of trees, making a large circle in the middle. This course is walled about, near breast high, with squared freestone, and has a stately arch at the entrance, with sculpture and statues about it, built by Mary di Medicis. Here it is that the gallants and ladies of the Court take the air and divert themselves, as with us in Hyde Park, the circle being capable of containing a hundred coaches to turn commodiously, and the larger of the plantations for five or six coaches a-breast.

Returning through the Tuileries, we saw a building in which are kept wild beasts for the King's pleasure, a bear, a wolf, a wild boar, a leopard, &c.

27th February. Accompanied with some English gentlemen, we took horse to see St. Germain-en-Laye, a stately country-house of the King, some five leagues from Paris. By the way, we alighted at St. Cloud, where, on an eminence near the river, the Archbishop of Paris has a garden, for the house is not very considerable, rarely watered and furnished with fountains, statues, and groves; the walks are very fair; the fountain of Laocoon is in a large square pool, throwing the water near forty feet high, and having about it a multitude of statues and basins, and is a surprising object. But nothing is more esteemed than the cascade falling from the great steps into the lowest and longest walk from the Mount Parnassus, which consists of a grotto, or shell-house, on the summit of the hill, wherein are divers waterworks and contrivances to wet the spectators; this is covered with a fair cupola, the walls painted with the Muses, and statues placed thick about it, whereof some are antique and good. In the upper walks are two perspectives, seeming to enlarge the alleys, and in this garden are many other ingenious contrivances. The palace, as I said, is not extraordinary. The outer walls only painted *al fresco*. In the court is a Volary, and the statues of Charles IX, Henry III, IV, and Louis XIII, on horseback, mezzo-relievo'd in plaster. In the garden is a small chapel; and under shelter is the figure of Cleopatra, taken from the Belvidere original, with others. From the terrace above is a tempest well painted; and thence an excellent prospect towards Paris, the meadows, and river.

At an inn in this village is a host who treats all the great persons in princely lodgings for furniture and palet, but they pay well for it, as I have done. Indeed, the entertainment is very splendid, and not unreasonable, considering the excellent manner of dressing their meat, and of the service. Here are many debauches and excessive revellings, as being out of all noise and observance.

From hence, about a league farther, we went to see Cardinal Richelieu's villa, at Ruell. The house is small, but fairly built, in form of a castle, moated round. The offices are towards the road, and over-against it are large vineyards, walled in. But, though the house is not of the greatest, the gardens about it are so magnificent, that I doubt whether Italy has any exceeding it for all rarities of pleasure. The garden nearest the pavilion is a parterre, having in the midst divers noble brass statues, perpetually



spouting water into an ample basin, with other figures of the same metal ; but what is most admirable is the vast inclosure, and variety of ground, in the large garden, containing vineyards, cornfields, meadows, groves (whereof one is of perennial greens), and walks of vast length, so accurately kept and cultivated, that nothing can be more agreeable. On one of these walks, within a square of tall trees, is a basilisk of copper, which, managed by the fountaineer, casts water near sixty feet high, and will of itself move round so swiftly, that one can hardly escape wetting. This leads to the Citronière, which is a noble conserve of all those rarities ; and at the end of it is the Arch of Constantine, painted on a wall in oil, as large as the real one at Rome, so well done, that even a man skilled in painting, may mistake it for stone and sculpture. The sky and hills, which seem to be between the arches, are so natural, that swallows and other birds, thinking to fly through, have dashed themselves against the wall. I was infinitely taken with this agreeable cheat. At the further part of this walk is that plentiful, though artificial cascade, which rolls down a very steep declivity, and over the marble steps and basins, with an astonishing noise and fury ; each basin hath a jetto in it, flowing like sheets of transparent glass, especially that which rises over the great shell of lead, from whence it glides silently down a channel through the middle of a spacious gravel walk, terminating in a grotto. Here are also fountains that cast water to a great height, and large ponds, two of which have islands for harbour of fowls, of which there is store. One of these islands has a receptacle for them built of vast pieces of rock, near fifty feet high, grown over with moss, ivy, &c., shaded at a competent distance with tall trees : in this rupellary nidary do the fowl lay eggs, and breed. We then saw a large and very rare grotto of shell-work, in the shape of Satyrs, and other wild fancies : in the middle stands a marble table, on which a fountain plays in divers forms of glasses, cups, crosses, fans, crowns, &c. Then the fountaineer represented a shower of rain from the top, met by small jets from below. At going out, two extravagant musketeers shot us with a stream of water from their musket barrels. Before this grotto is a long pool into which ran divers spouts of water from leaden escalop basins. The viewing this paradise made us late at St. Germain.

The first building of this palace is of Charles V, called the Sage ; but Francis I (that true virtuoso) made it complete ; speaking as to the style of magnificence then in fashion, which was with too great a mixture of the Gothic, as may be seen in what there is remaining of his in the old Castle, an irregular piece as built on the old foundation, and having a moat about it. It has yet some spacious and handsome rooms of state, and a chapel neatly painted. The new Castle is at some distance, divided from this by a court, of a lower, but more modern design, built by Henry IV. To this belong six terraces, built of brick and stone, descending in cascades towards the river, cut out of the natural hill, having under them goodly vaulted galleries ; of these, four have subterranean grotts and rocks, where are represented several objects in the manner of scenes and other motions, by force of water, shown by the light of torches only ; amongst these, is Orpheus with his music ; and the animals, which dance after his harp ; in the second, is the King and Dolphina<sup>a</sup> ; in the third, is Neptune sounding his trumpet, his chariot drawn by sea-horses ; in the fourth, the story of

<sup>a</sup> Dauphin.

Perseus and Andromeda ; mills ; hermitages ; men fishing ; birds chirping ; and many other devices. There is also a dry grot to refresh in ; all having a fine prospect towards the river, and the goodly country about it, especially the forest. At the bottom, is a parterre ; the upper terrace near half a mile in length, with double declivities, arched and balustered with stone, of vast and royal cost.

In the pavilion of the new Castle are many fair rooms, well painted, and leading into a very noble garden and park, where is a pall-mall, in the midst of which, on one of the sides, is a chapel, with stone cupola, though small, yet of a handsome order of architecture. Out of the park your go into the forest, which being very large, is stored with deer, wild boars, wolves, and other wild game. The Tennis Court, and Cavallerizzo, for the menaged horses, are also observable.

We returned to Paris by Madrid<sup>a</sup>, another villa of the King's, built by Francis I, and called by that name to absolve him of his oath that he would not go from Madrid (in which he was prisoner), in Spain, but from whence he made his escape. This house is also built in a park, and walled in. We next called in at the Bonnes-hommes, well-situated, with a fair chapel and library.

*1st March.* I went to see the Count de Liancourt's Palace in the Rue de Seine, which is well built. Towards his study and bedchamber joins a little garden, which, though very narrow, by the addition of a well-painted perspective, is to appearance greatly enlarged ; to this there is another part, supported by arches, in which runs a stream of water, rising in the aviary, out of a statue, and seeming to flow for some miles, by being artificially continued in the painting, when it sinks down at the wall. It is a very agreeable deceit. At the end of this garden, is a little theatre, made to change with divers pretty scenes, and the stage so ordered, with figures of men and women painted on light boards, and cut out, and, by a person who stands underneath, made to act as if they were speaking, by guiding them, and reciting words in different tones, as the parts require. We were led into a round cabinet, where was a neat invention for reflecting lights, by lining divers sconces with thin shining plates of gilded copper.

In one of the rooms of state was an excellent painting of Poussin, being a Satyr kneeling ; over the chimney, the Coronation of the Virgin, by Paulo Veronese ; another Madonna over the door, and that of Joseph, by Cigali ; in the Hall, a Cavaliero di Malta, attended by his page, said to be of Michael Angelo ; the Rape of Proserpine, with a very large landscape of Correggio. In the next room, are some paintings of Primaticcio, especially the Helena, the naked Lady brought before Alexander, well-painted, and a Ceres. In the bed-chamber a picture of the Cardinal de Liancourt, of Raphael, rarely coloured. In the cabinet are divers pieces of Bassano, two of Polemburg, four of Paulo Brill, the skies a little too blue. A Madonna of Nicholao, excellently painted on a stone ; a Judith of Mantegna ; three women of Jeronimo ; one of Stenwick ; a Madonna after Titian, and a Magdalen of the same hand, as the Count esteems it : two small pieces of Paulo Veronese, being the Martyrdoms of St. Justina and St. Catherine ; a Madonna of Lucas Van Leyden, sent him from our King ; six more of old Bassano ; two excellent drawings of Albert ; a Magdalen of Leonardo da Vinci ; four of Paulo ; a very rare Madonna

<sup>a</sup> See *post*, 25th April, 1650.



of Titian, given him also by our King ; the *Ecce Homo*, shut up in a frame of velvet, for the life and accurate finishing exceeding all description. Some curious agates, and a chaplet of admirable invention, the intaglios being all on fruit stones. The Count was so exceeding civil, that he would needs make his lady go out of her dressing-room, that he might show us the curiosities and pictures in it.

We went thence to visit one Monsieur Perishot, one of the greatest virtuosos in France, for his collection of pictures, agates, medals, and flowers, especially tulips and anemones. The chiefest of his paintings was a Sebastian, of Titian.

From him we went to Monsieur Frene's, who showed us many rare drawings, a Rape of Helen in black chalk ; many excellent things of Sneyders, all naked ; some of Julio and Michael Angelo ; a Madonna of Passignano ; some things of Parmensis, and other masters.

The next morning, being recommended to one Monsieur de Hausse, President du Parliament, and once Ambassador at Venice for the French King, we were very civilly received, and showed his library. Amongst his paintings were, a rare Venus and Adonis of Veronese, a St. Anthony, after the first manner of Correggio, and a rare Madonna of Palma.

Sunday, the 6th March, I went to Charenton, two leagues from Paris, to hear and see the manner of the French Protestant Church service. The place of meeting they call the Temple, a very fair and spacious room, built of freestone, very decently adorned with paintings of the Tables of the Law, the Lord's Prayer, and Creed. The pulpit stands at the upper end in the middle, having an inclosure of seats about it, where the Elders and persons of greatest quality and strangers, sit ; the rest of the congregation on forms and low stools, but none in pews, as in our churches, to their great disgrace, as nothing so orderly, as here the stools and other cumber are removed when the assembly rises. I was greatly pleased with their harmonious singing the Psalms, which they all learn perfectly well, their children being as duly taught these, as their catechism.

In our passage, we went by that famous bridge over the Marne, where that renowned echo returns the voice of a good singer nine or ten times.

*7th March.* I set forwards with some company towards Fontainebleau, a sumptuous Palace of the King's, like ours at Hampton Court, about fourteen leagues from the city. By the way, we pass through a forest so prodigiously encompassed with hideous rocks of whitish hard stone, heaped one on another in mountainous heights, that I think the like is nowhere to be found more horrid and solitary. It abounds with stags, wolves, boars, and not long after a lynx, or ounce, was killed amongst them, which had devoured some passengers. On the summit of one of these gloomy precipices, intermingled with trees and shrubs, the stones hanging over, and menacing ruin, is built an hermitage. In these solitudes, rogues frequently lurk and do mischief (and for whom we were all well appointed with our carabines) ; but we arrived safe in the evening at the village, where we lay at the Horne, going early next morning to the Palace.

This House is nothing so stately and uniform as Hampton Court, but Francis I began much to beautify it ; most of all Henry IV (and not a little) the late King. It abounds with fair halls, chambers, and galleries ; in the longest, which is 360 feet long, and 18 broad, are painted the Victories of that great Prince, Henry IV. That of Francis I, called the grand Gallery,

has all the King's palaces painted in it ; above these, in sixty pieces of excellent work in fresco, is the History of Ulysses, from Homer, by Primaticcio, in the time of Henry III, esteemed the most renowned in Europe for the design. The Cabinet is full of excellent pictures, especially a Woman, of Raphael. In the Hall of the Guards is a piece of tapestry painted on the wall, very naturally, representing the victories of Charles VII over our countrymen. In the Salle des Festins is a rare Chimney-piece, and Henry IV on horseback, of white marble, esteemed worth 18,000 crowns ; Clementia and Pax, nobly done. On columns of jasper, two lions of brass. The new stairs, and a half circular court, are of modern and good architecture, as is a chapel built by Louis XIII, all of jasper, with several incrustations of marble through the inside.

Having seen the rooms, we went to the volary, which has a cupola in the middle of it, great trees and bushes, it being full of birds who drank at two fountains. There is also a fair tennis-court, and noble stables ; but the beauty of all are the gardens. In the Court of the Fountains stand divers antiquities and statues, especially a Mercury. In the Queen's Garden is a Diana ejecting a fountain, with numerous other brass statues.

The Great Garden, 180 toises long and 154 wide, has in the centre a fountain of Tyber of a Colossean figure of brass, with the Wolf over Romulus and Remus. At each corner of the garden rises a fountain. In the garden of the piscina, is a Hercules of white marble : next, is that of the pines, and without that a canal of an English mile in length, at the end of which rise three jettos in the form of a fleur-de-lis, of a great height ; on the margin are excellent walks planted with trees. The carps come familiarly to hand [to be fed]. Hence they brought us to a spring, which they say being first discovered by a dog, gave occasion of beautifying this place, both with the palace and gardens. The white and terrific rocks at some distance in the forest, yield one of the most august and stupendous prospects imaginable. The park about this place is very large, and the town full of noblemen's houses.

Next morning, we were invited by a painter, who was keeper of the pictures and rarities, to see his own collection. We were led through a gallery of old Rosso's work, at the end of which, in another cabinet, were three Madonnas of Raphael, and two of Andrea del Sarto. In the Academy where the painter himself wrought, was a St. Michael, of Raphael, very rare ; St. John Baptist, of Leonardo, and a Woman's head ; a Queen of Sicily, and St. Margaret, of Raphael ; two more Madonnas, whereof one very large, by the same hand ; some more of del Sarto ; a St. Jerome, of Perino del Vaga ; the Rape of Proserpine, very good : and a great number of drawings.

Returning part of our way to Paris, that day, we visited a house called 'Maison Rouge', having an excellent prospect, grot, and fountains, one whereof rises fifty feet, and resembles the noise of a tempest, battles of guns, &c., at its issue.

Thence to Essone, a house of Monsieur Essling, who is a great virtuoso ; there are many good paintings in it ; but nothing so observable as his gardens, fountains, fish-pools, especially that in a triangular form, the water cast out by a multitude of heads about it : there is a noble cascade and pretty baths, with all accommodations. Under a marble table is a fountain of serpents twisting about a globe.



We alighted next at Corbeil, a town famous for the siege by Henry IV. Here we slept, and returned next morning to Paris.

*18th March.* I went with Sir J. Cotton, a Cambridgeshire Knight, a journey into Normandy. The first day, we passed by Gaillon, the Archbishop of Rouen's Palace. The gardens are highly commended, but we did not go in, intending to reach Pontoise by dinner. This town is built in a very gallant place, has a noble bridge over the Oise, and is well refreshed with fountains.

This is the first town in Normandy, and the farthest that the vineyards extend to on this side of the country, which is fuller of plains, wood, and enclosures, with some towns towards the sea, very like England.

We lay this night at a village, called Magny. The next day, descending a very steep hill, we dined at Fleury, after riding five leagues down St. Catherine, to Rouen, which affords a goodly prospect, to the ruins of that chapel and mountain. This country so abounds with wolves that a shepherd whom we met, told us one of his companions was strangled by one of them the day before, and that in the midst of his flock. The fields are mostly planted with pears and apples, and other cider fruits. It is plentifully furnished with quarries of stone and slate, and hath iron in abundance.

I lay at the White Cross, in Rouen, which is a very large city, on the Seine, having two smaller rivers besides, called the Aubette and Robec. There stand yet the ruins of a magnificent bridge of stone, now supplied by one of boats only, to which come up vessels of considerable burthen. The other side of the water consists of meadows, and there have the Reformed a Church.

The Cathedral Nôtre Dame was built, as they acknowledge, by the English; some English words graven in Gothic characters upon the front seem to confirm it. The towers and whole church are full of carving. It has three steeples, with a pyramid; in one of these, I saw the famous bell so much talked of, thirteen feet in height, thirty-two round, the diameter eleven, weighing 40,000 pounds.

In the Chapel d'Amboise, built by a Cardinal of that name, lies his body, with several fair monuments. The Choir has behind it a great dragon painted on the wall, which they say had done much harm to the inhabitants, till vanquished by St. Romain, their Archbishop; for which there is an annual procession. It was now near Easter, and many images were exposed with scenes and stories representing the Passion; made up of little puppets, to which there was great resort and devotion, with offerings. Before the church is a fair palace. St. Ouen is another goodly church and an abbey with fine gardens. Here the King hath lodgings, when he makes his progress through these parts. The structure, where the Court of Parliament is kept, is very magnificent, containing very fair halls and chambers, especially La Chambre Dorée. The town-house is also well built, and so are some gentlemen's houses; but most part of the rest are of timber, like our merchants' in London, in the wooden part of the city.

*21st.* On Easter Monday, we dined at Totes, a solitary inn between Rouen and Dieppe, at which latter place we arrived. This town is situated between two mountains, not unpleasantly, and is washed on the north by our English seas.

The port is commodious; but the entrance difficult. It has one very

ample and fair street, in which is a pretty church. The Fort Pollet consists of a strong earth-work, and commands the haven, as on the other side does the castle, which is also well fortified, with the citadel before it; nor is the town itself a little strong. It abounds with workmen, who make and sell curiosities of ivory and tortoise-shells; and indeed whatever the East Indies afford of cabinets, porcelain, natural and exotic rarities, are here to be had, with abundant choice.

*23rd March.* We passed along the coast by a very rocky and rugged way, which forced us to alight many times before we came to Havre de Grace, where we lay that night.

The next morning, we saw the citadel, strong and regular, well stored with artillery and ammunition of all sorts: the works furnished with fair brass cannon, having a motto, *Ratio ultima Regum*. The allogements of the garrison are uniform; a spacious place for drawing up the soldiers, a pretty chapel, and a fair house for the Governor. The Duke of Richelieu being now in the fort, we went to salute him; who received us very civilly, and commanded that we should be showed whatever we desired to see. The citadel was built by the late Cardinal de Richelieu, uncle of the present Duke, and may be esteemed one of the strongest in France. The haven is very capacious.

When we had done here, we embarked ourselves and horses to pass to Honfleur, about four or five leagues distant, where the Seine falls into the sea. It is a poor fisher-town, remarkable for nothing so much as the odd, yet useful habits which the good women wear, of bears' and other skins, as of rugs at Dieppe, and all along these maritime coasts.

*25th.* We arrived at Caen, a noble and beautiful town, situate on the river Orne, which passes quite through it, the two sides of the town joined only by a bridge of one entire arch. We lay at the Angel, where we were very well used, the place being abundantly furnished with provisions, at a cheap rate. The most considerable object is the great Abbey and Church, large and rich, built after the Gothic manner, having two spires and middle lantern at the west end, all of stone. The choir round and large, in the centre whereof, elevated on a square, handsome, but plain sepulchre, is this inscription:

Hoc sepulchrum invictissimi juxta et clementissimi conquestoris, Gulielmi, dum viverat Anglorum Regis, Normannorum Cenomannorumque Principis, hujus insignis Abbatiae piissimi Fundatoris: Cum anno 1562 vesano hæreticorum furore direptum fuisset, pio tandem nobilium ejusdem Abbatiae religiosorum gratitudinis sensu in tam beneficum largitorem, instauratum fuit, a° D'ni 1642. D'no Johanne de Bailhache Assætorei proto priore. D.D.

On the other side are these monkish rhymes:

Qui rexit rigidos Northmannos, atq. Britannos  
Audacter vicit, fortiter obtinuit,  
Et Cenomanensis virtute ceõrcuit ensis,  
Imperiique sui Legibus applicuit.  
Rex magnus parvâ jacet hâc Gulielm<sup>s</sup> in Urnâ,  
Sufficit et magno parva domus Domino.  
Ter septem gradibus te voverat atq. duobus  
Virginis in gremio Phœbus, et hîc obiit.

We went to the castle, which is strong and fair, and so is the town-house, built on the bridge which unites the two towns. Here are schools and an University for the Jurists.



The whole town is handsomely built of that excellent stone so well known by that name in England. I was led to a pretty garden, planted with hedges of alaternus, having at the entrance a skreen at an exceeding height, accurately cut in topiary work, with well-understood architecture, consisting of pillars, niches, friezes, and other ornaments, with great curiosity; some of the columns curiously wreathed, others spiral, all according to art.

*28th March.* We went towards Paris, lying the first night at Evreux, a Bishop's seat, an ancient town, with a fair cathedral; so the next day we arrived at Paris.

*1st April.* I went to see more exactly the rooms of the fine Palace of Luxemburg, in the Fauxbourg St. Germain, built by Mary di Medicis, and I think one of the most noble, entire, and finished piles that is to be seen, taking it with the garden and all its accomplishments. The gallery is of the painting of Rubens, being the history of the Foundress's Life, rarely designed; at the end of it is the Duke of Orlean's library, well furnished with excellent books, all bound in maroquin and gilded, the valance of the shelves being of green velvet, fringed with gold. In the cabinet joining to it are only the smaller volumes, with six cabinets of medals, and an excellent collection of shells and agates, whereof some are prodigiously rich. This Duke being very learned in medals and plants, nothing of that kind escapes him. There are other spacious, noble, and princely furnished rooms, which look towards the gardens, which are nothing inferior to the rest.

The court below is formed into a square by a corridor, having over the chief entrance a stately cupola, covered with stone: the rest is cloistered and arched on pilasters of rustic work. The terrace ascending before the front, paved with white and black marble, is balustered with white marble, exquisitely polished.

Only the hall below is low, and the staircase somewhat of a heavy design, but the fáccia towards the parterre, which is also arched and vaulted with stone, is of admirable beauty, and full of sculpture.

The gardens are near an English mile in compass, enclosed with a stately wall, and in a good air. The parterre is indeed of box, but so rarely designed and accurately kept cut, that the embroidery makes a wonderful effect to the lodgings which front it. 'Tis divided into four squares, and as many circular knots, having in the centre a noble basin of marble near thirty feet diameter (as I remember), in which a Triton of brass holds a dolphin, that casts a girandola of water near thirty feet high, playing perpetually, the water being conveyed from Arceuil by an aqueduct of stone, built after the old Roman magnificence. About this ample parterre, the spacious walks and all included, runs a border of freestone, adorned with pedestals for pots and statues, and part of it near the steps of the terrace, with a rail and baluster of pure white marble.

The walks are exactly fair, long, and variously descending, and so justly planted with limes, elms, and other trees, that nothing can be more delicious, especially that of the hornbeam hedge, which being high and stately, butts full on the fountain.

Towards the farther end, is an excavation intended for a vast fish-pool, but never finished, and near it is an inclosure for a garden of simples, well-kept; and here the Duke keeps tortoises in great number, who use

the pool of water on one side of the garden. Here is also a conservatory for snow. At the upper part, towards the palace, is a grove of tall elms cut into a star, every ray being a walk, whose centre is a large fountain.

The rest of the ground is made into several inclosures (all hedge-work or rows of trees) of whole fields, meadows, bocages, some of them containing divers acres.

Next the street side, and more contiguous to the house, are knots in trail, or grass work, where likewise runs a fountain. Towards the grotto and stables, within a wall, is a garden of choice flowers, in which the Duke spends many thousand pistoles. In sum, nothing is wanted to render this palace and gardens perfectly beautiful and magnificent ; nor is it one of the least diversions to see the number of persons of quality, citizens and strangers, who frequent it, and to whom all access is freely permitted, so that you shall see some walks and retirements full of gallants and ladies ; in others, melancholy friars ; in others, studious scholars ; in others, jolly citizens, some sitting or lying on the grass, others running and jumping ; some playing at bowls and ball, others dancing and singing ; and all this without the least disturbance, by reason of the largeness of the place.

What is most admirable, you see no gardeners, or men at work, and yet all is kept in such exquisite order, as if they did nothing else but work ; it is so early in the morning, that all is despatched and done without the least confusion.

I have been the larger in the description of this paradise, for the extraordinary delight I have taken in those sweet retirements. The Cabinet and Chapel nearer the garden-front have some choice pictures. All the houses near this are also very noble palaces, especially Petite Luxemburg. The ascent of the street is handsome from its breadth, situation, and buildings.

I went next to view Paris from the top of St. Jacques' steeple, esteemed the highest in the town, from whence I had a full view of the whole city and suburbs, both which, as I judge, are not so large as London : though the dissimilitude of their several forms and situations, this being round, London long, renders it difficult to determine ; but there is no comparison between the buildings, palaces, and materials, this being entirely of stone and more sumptuous, though I esteem our piazzas to exceed theirs.

Hence I took a turn in St. Innocent's churchyard, where the story of the devouring quality of the ground (consuming bodies in twenty-four hours), the vast charnels of bones, tombs, pyramids, and sepulchres, took up much of my time, together with the hieroglyphical characters of Nicholas Flamel's philosophical work, who had founded this church, and divers other charitable establishments, as he testifies in his book.

Here divers clerks get their livelihood by inditing letters for poor maids and other ignorant people who come to them for advice, and to write for them into the country, both to their sweethearts, parents, and friends ; every large gravestone serving for a table. Joining to this church is a common fountain, with good relieves upon it.

The next day I was carried to see a French gentleman's curious collection, which abounded in fair and rich jewels of all sorts of precious stones, most of them of great sizes and value ; agates and onyxes, some of them admirably coloured and antique ; nor inferior were his landscapes from the best hands, most of which he had caused to be copied in miniature ; one of which, rarely painted on stone, was broken by one of our company, by the



mischance of setting it up : but such was the temper and civility of the gentleman, that it altered nothing of his free and noble humour.

The next morning, I was had by a friend to the garden of Monsieur Morine, who, from being an ordinary gardener, is become one of the most skilful and curious persons in France for his rare collection of shells, flowers, and insects.

His garden is of an exact oval figure, planted with cypress, cut flat and set as even as a wall : the tulips, anemones, ranunculuses, crocuses, &c., are held to be of the rarest, and draw all the admirers of that kind to his house during the season. He lived in a kind of hermitage at one side of his garden, where his collection of porcelain and coral, whereof one is carved into a large crucifix, is much esteemed. He has also books of prints, by Albert [Dürer], Van Leyden, Callot, &c. His collection of all sorts of insects, especially of butterflies, is most curious ; these he spreads and so medicates, that no corruption invading them, he keeps them in drawers, so placed as to represent a beautiful piece of tapestry.

He showed me the remarks he had made on their propagation, which he promised to publish. Some of these, as also of his best flowers, he had caused to be painted in miniature by rare hands, and some in oil.

6th April. I sent my sister my own picture in water-colours<sup>a</sup>, which she requested of me and went to see divers of the fairest palaces of the town, as that of Vendôme, very large and stately ; Lougueville ; Guise ; Condé ; Chevereuse ; Nevers, esteemed one of the best in Paris towards the river.

I often went to the Palais Cardinal, bequeathed by Richelieu to the King, on condition that it should be called by his name ; at this time, the King resided in it, because of the building of the Louvre. It is a very noble house, though somewhat low ; the galleries, paintings of the most illustrious persons of both sexes, the Queen's baths, presence-chamber with its rich carved and gilded roof, theatre, and large garden, in which is an ample fountain, grove, and mall, worthy of remark. Here I also frequently went to see them ride and exercise the great horse, especially at the Academy of Monsieur du Plessis, and de Veau, whose schools of that art are frequented by the nobility ; and here also young gentlemen are taught to fence, dance, play on music, and something in fortification and the mathematics. The design is admirable, some keeping near a hundred brave horses, all managed to the great saddle.

12th. I took coach, to see a general muster of all the *gens d'armes* about the City, in the Bois de Boulogne, before their Majesties, and all the Grantees. They were reputed to be near 20,000, besides the spectators, who much exceeded them in number. Here they performed all their motions ; and, being drawn up, horse and foot, into several figures, represented a battle.

The summer now drawing near, I determined to spend the rest of it in some more remote town on the river Loire ; and, on 19th April, I took

<sup>a</sup> In the first and second editions of the Diary many trifling personal details, such as this mention of the author having sent his own picture in water-colours to his sister, were omitted. It is not necessary to point them out in detail. They are always of this personal character ; as, among other examples, the mention of the wet weather preventing the diarist from stirring out, at p. 80, and that of his coming weary to his lodgings, at p. 78.

leave of Paris, and, by the way of the messenger, agreed for my passage to Orleans.

The way from Paris to this city, as indeed most of the roads in France, is paved with a small square freestone, so that the country does not much molest the traveller with dirt and ill way, as in England, only 'tis somewhat hard to the poor horses' feet, which causes them to ride more temperately, seldom going out of the trot, or *grand pas*, as they call it. We passed divers walled towns, or villages; amongst others of note, Chartres and Etampes, where we lay the first night. This has a fair church. The next day, we had an excellent road; but had like to come short home: for no sooner were we entered two or three leagues into the Forest of Orleans (which extends itself many miles), but the company behind us were set on by rogues, who, shooting from the hedges and frequent covert, slew four upon the spot. Amongst the slain was a captain of Swiss, of the regiment of Picardy, a person much lamented. This disaster made such an alarm in Orleans at our arrival, that the Prevôt Marshal, with his assistants, going in pursuit, brought in two whom they had shôt, and exposed them in the great market-place, to see if any would take cognisance of them. I had great cause to give God thanks for this escape; when coming to Orleans and lying at the White Cross, I found Mr. John Nicholas, eldest son to Mr. Secretary. In the night a cat kitted on my bed, and left on it a young one having six ears, eight legs, two bodies from the middle downwards, and two tails. I found it dead, but warm, in the morning when I awaked<sup>a</sup>.

21st April. I went about to view the city, which is well built of stone, on the side of the Loire. About the middle of the river is an island, full of walks and fair trees, with some houses. This is contiguous to the town by a stately stone-bridge, reaching to the opposite suburbs, built likewise on the edge of a hill, from whence is a beautiful prospect. At one of the extremes of the bridge are strong towers, and about the middle, on one side, is the statue of the Virgin Mary, or Pieta, with the dead Christ in her lap, as big as the life. At one side of the cross, kneels Charles VII armed, and at the other Joan d'Arc, armed also like a cavalier, with boots and spurs, her hair dishevelled, as the deliveress of the town from our countrymen, when they besieged it. The figures are all cast in copper, with a pedestal full of inscriptions, as well as a fair column joining it, which is all adorned with fleurs-de-lis and a crucifix, with two saints proceeding (as it were) from two branches out of its capital. The inscriptions on the cross are in Latin: 'Mors Christi in cruce nos à contagione, labis et æternorum morborum sanavit'. On the pedestal: 'Rex in hoc signo hostes profligavit, et Johanna Virgo Aureliam obsidio liberavit. Non diu ab impiis diruta, restituta sunt hoc anno D'ni 1578. Jean Buret, m. f.'—'Octannoque Galliam servitute Britannica liberavit. A Domino factum est illud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris; in quorum memoriâ hæc nostræ fidei Insignia'. To this is made an annual procession on 12th May, mass being sung before

<sup>a</sup> This passage has not been printed since the quarto editions, and it would be difficult to say what induced its omission in the octavo editions, unless Evelyn's apparent confusion as to the name of the inn at Orleans where the adventure occurred (for he calls it the White Lion as well as the White Cross) may have caused the original editor to doubt the miracle altogether. As printed in the quarto, it begins 'I lay at the White Lion, where I found Mr. John Nicholas, eldest son to Mr. Secretary' &c.



it, attended with great ceremony and concourse of people. The wine of this place is so strong, that the King's cup-bearers are, as I was assured, sworn never to give the King any of it : but it is a very noble liquor, and much of it transported into other countries. The town is much frequented by strangers, especially Germans, for the great purity of the language here spoken, as well as for divers other privileges, and the University, which causes the English to make no long sojourn here, except such as can drink and debauch. The city stands in the county of Bealse (Blaisois) ; was once styled a Kingdom, afterwards a Duchy, as at present, belonging to the second son of France. Many Councils have been held here, and some Kings crowned. The University is very ancient, divided now by the students into that of four nations, French, High Dutch, Normans, and Picardines, who have each their respective protectors, several officers, treasurers, consuls, seals, &c. There are in it two reasonable fair public libraries, whence one may borrow a book to one's chamber, giving but a note under hand, which is an extraordinary custom, and a confidence that has cost many libraries dear. The first church I went to visit was St. Croix ; it has been a stately fabric, but now much ruined by the late civil wars. They report the tower of it to have been the highest in France. There is the beginning of a fair reparation. About this cathedral is a very spacious cemetery. The town-house is also very nobly built, with a high tower to it. The market-place and streets, some whereof are deliciously planted with limes, are ample and straight, so well paved with a kind of pebble, that I have not seen a neater town in France. In fine, this city was by Francis I esteemed the most agreeable of his vast dominions.

*28th April.* Taking boat on the Loire, I went towards Blois, the passage and river being both very pleasant. Passing Mehun, we dined at Baugenci, and slept at a little town called St. Dieu. Quitting our bark, we hired horses to Blois, by the way of Chambord, a famous house of the King's, built by Francis I in the middle of a solitary park, full of deer, enclosed with a wall. I was particularly desirous of seeing this palace, from the extravagance of the design, especially the stair-case, mentioned by Palladio. It is said that 1800 workmen were constantly employed in this fabric for twelve years : if so, it is wonderful that it was not finished, it being no greater than divers gentlemen's houses in England, both for room and circuit. The carvings are indeed very rich and full. The stair-case is devised with four entries, or ascents, which cross one another, so that though four persons meet, they never come in sight, but by small loop-holes, till they land. It consists of 274 steps (as I remember), and is an extraordinary work, but of far greater expense than use or beauty. The chimneys of the house appear like so many towers. About the whole is a large deep moat. The country about is full of corn, and wine, with many fair noblemen's houses.

We arrived at Blois, in the evening. The town is hilly, uneven, and rugged, standing on the side of the Loire, having suburbs joined by a stately stone bridge, on which is a pyramid with an inscription. At the entrance of the castle is a stone statue of Louis XII on horseback, as large as life, under a Gothic state ; and a little below are these words :

Hic ubi natus erat dextro Ludovicus Olympos,  
 Sumpsit honoratâ regia sceptrâ manu ;  
 Felix quæ tanti fulsit Lux nuncia Regis !  
 Gallica non alio principe digna fuit.

Under this is a very wide pair of gates, nailed full of wolves and wild-boars' heads. Behind the castle the present Duke Gaston had begun a fair building, through which we walked into a large garden, esteemed for its furniture one of the fairest, especially for simples and exotic plants, in which he takes extraordinary delight. On the right hand is a long gallery full of ancient statues and inscriptions, both of marble and brass; the length, 300 paces, divides the garden into higher and lower ground, having a very noble fountain. There is the portrait of a hart, taken in the forest by Louis XII, which has twenty-four antlers on its head. In the Collegiate Church of St. Saviour, we saw many sepulchres of the Earls of Blois.

On Sunday, being May-day, we walked up into Pall Mall, very long, and so noble shaded with tall trees (being in the midst of a great wood), that unless that of Tours, I had not seen a statelier.

From hence, we proceeded with a friend of mine through the adjoining forest, to see if we could meet any wolves, which are here in such numbers that they often come and take children out of the very streets; yet will not the Duke, who is sovereign here, permit them to be destroyed. We walked five or six miles outright; but met with none; yet a gentleman, who was resting himself under a tree, with his horse grazing by him, told us that, half an hour before, two wolves had set upon his horse, and had in probability devoured him, but for a dog which lay by him. At a little village at the end of this wood, we eat excellent cream, and visited a castle builded on a very steep cliff.

Blois is a town where the language is exactly spoken; the inhabitants very courteous; the air so good, that it is the ordinary nursery of the King's children. The people are so ingenious, that, for goldsmith's work and watches, no place in France affords the like. The pastures by the river are very rich and pleasant.

*2nd May.* We took boat again, passing by Charmont, a proud castle on the left hand; before it is a sweet island, deliciously shaded with tall trees. A little distance from hence, we went on shore at Amboise, a very agreeable village, built of stone, and the houses covered with blue slate, as the towns on the Loire generally are; but the castle chiefly invited us, the thickness of whose towers from the river to the top, was admirable. We entered by the drawbridge, which has an invention to let one fall, if not premonished. It is full of halls and spacious chambers, and one stair-case is large enough, and sufficiently commodious, to receive a coach, and land it on the very tower, as they told us had been done. There is some artillery in it; but that which is most observable is in the ancient chapel, viz. a stag's head, or branches, hung up by chains, consisting of twenty brow-antlers, the beam bigger than a man's middle, and of an incredible length. Indeed, it is monstrous, and yet I cannot conceive how it should be artificial: they show also the ribs and vertebræ of the same beast; but these might be made of whalebone.

Leaving the castle, we passed Mont Louis, a village having no houses above ground, but such only as are hewn out of the main rocks of excellent freestone. Here and there the funnel of a chimney appears on the surface amongst the vineyards which are over them, and in this manner they inhabit the caves, as it were sea-cliffs, on one side of the river for many miles.



We now came within sight of Tours, where we were designed for the rest of the time I had resolved to stay in France, the sojournment being so agreeable. Tours is situate on the easy side of a hill on the river Loire, having a fair bridge of stone called St. Edme; the streets are very long, straight, spacious, well-built, and exceeding clean; the suburbs large and pleasant, joined to the city by another bridge. Both the church and monastery of St. Martin are large, of Gothic building, having four square towers, fair organs, and a stately altar, where they show the bones and ashes of St. Martin, with other relics. The Mall without comparison is the noblest in Europe for length and shade, having seven rows of the tallest and goodliest elms I had ever beheld, the innermost of which do so embrace each other, and at such a height, that nothing can be more solemn and majestic. Here we played a party, or party or two, and then walked about the town-walls, built of square stone, filled with earth, and having a moat. No city in France exceeds it in beauty, or delight.

*6th May.* We went to St. Gatian, reported to have been built by our countrymen; the dial and clock-work are much esteemed. The church has two handsome towers and spires of stone, and the whole fabric is very noble and venerable. To this joins the Palace of the Archbishop, consisting both of old and new building, with many fair rooms, and a fair garden. Here I grew acquainted with one Monsieur Merey, a very good musician. The Archbishop treated me very courteously. We visited divers other churches, chapels, and monasteries, for the most part neatly built, and full of pretty paintings, especially the Convent of the Capuchins, which has a prospect over the whole city, and many fair walks.

*8th.* I went to see their manufactures in silk (for in this town they drive a very considerable trade with silk-worms), their pressing and watering the grograms and camlets, with weights of an extraordinary poise, put into a rolling-engine. Here I took a master of the language, and studied the tongue very diligently, recreating myself sometimes at the mall, and sometimes about the town. The house opposite my lodging had been formerly a King's palace; the outside was totally covered with fleur-de-lis, embossed out of the stone. Here Mary de Medicis held her Court, when she was compelled to retire from Paris by the persecution of the great Cardinal.

*25th.* Was the Fête Dieu, and a goodly procession of all the religious orders, the whole streets hung with their best tapestries, and their most precious moveables exposed; silks, damasks, velvets, plate, and pictures in abundance; the streets strewed with flowers, and full of pageantry, banners, and bravery.

*6th June.* I went by water to visit that goodly and venerable Abbey of Marmoutiers, being one of the greatest in the kingdom: to it is a very ample church of stone, with a very high pyramid. Amongst other relics the Monks showed us is the Holy Ampoule, the same with that which sacres their Kings at Rheims, this being the one that anointed Henry IV. Ascending many steps, we went into the Abbot's Palace, where we were showed a vast tun (as big as that at Heidelberg), which they report St. Martin (as I remember) filled from one cluster of grapes growing there.

*7th.* We walked about two miles from the city to an agreeable solitude, called Du Plessis, a house belonging to the King. It has many pretty

gardens, full of nightingales : and, in the chapel, lies buried the famous poet, Ronsard.

Returning, we stepped into a Convent of Franciscans, called St. Cosmo, where the cloister is painted with the miracles of their St. Francis à Paula, whose ashes lie in their chapel, with this inscription : ' Corpus Sancti Fran. à Paula 1507. 13 Aprilis. concrematur verò ab Hæreticis anno 1562, cujus quidem ossa et cineres hìc jacent.' The tomb has four small pyramids of marble at each corner.

9th June. I was invited to a vineyard, which was so artificially planted and supported with arched poles, that stooping down one might see from end to end, a very great length, under the vines, the bunches hanging down in abundance.

20th. We took horse to see certain natural caves, called Gouttière, near Colombière, where there is a spring within the bowels of the earth, very deep and so excessive cold, that the drops meeting with some lapidescent matter, it converts them into a hard stone, which hangs about it like icicles, having many others in the form of comfitures and sugar plums, as we call them.

Near this, we went under the ground almost two furlongs, lighted with candles, to see the source and spring which serves the whole city, by a passage cut through the main rock of freestone.

28th. I went to see the palace and gardens of Chevereux, a sweet place.

30th. I walked through the vineyards as far as Roche Corbé, to the ruins of an old and very strong castle, said to have been built by the English, of great height, on the precipice of a dreadful cliff, from whence the country and river yield a most incomparable prospect.

27th July. I heard excellent music at the Jesuits, who have here a school and convent, but a mean chapel. We have now store of those admirable melons, so much celebrated in France for the best in the kingdom.

1st August. My valet, one Garro, a Spaniard, born in Biscay, having misbehaved, I was forced to discharge him ; he demanded of me (besides his wages) no less than 100 crowns to carry him to his country ; refusing to pay it, as no part of our agreement, he had the impudence to arrest me ; the next day I was to appear in Court, where both our avocats pleaded before the Lieutenant Civil ; but it was so unreasonable a pretence, that the Judge had not patience to hear it out. The Judge immediately acquitting me, after he had reproached the avocat who took part with my servant, he rose from the Bench, and making a courteous excuse to me, that being a stranger I should be so used, he conducted me through the court to the street-door. This varlet afterwards threatened to pistol me. The next day, I waited on the Lieutenant, to thank him for his great civility.

18th. The Queen of England came to Tours, having newly arrived in France, and going for Paris. She was very nobly received by the people and clergy, who went to meet her with the trained bands. After the harangue, the Archbishop entertained her at his Palace, where I paid my duty to her. The 20th she set forward to Paris.

8th September. Two of my kinsmen came from Paris to this place, where I settled them in their pension and exercises.

14th. We took post for Richelieu, passing by l'Isle Bouchard, a village in the way. The next day, we arrived, and went to see the Cardinal's



Palace, near it. The town is built in a low, marshy ground, having a narrow river cut by hand, very even and straight, capable of bringing up a small vessel. It consists of only one considerable street, the houses on both sides (as indeed throughout the town) built exactly uniform, after a modern handsome design. It has a large goodly market-house and place, opposite to which is the church built of freestone, having two pyramids of stone, which stand hollow from the towers. The church is well-built, and of a well-ordered architecture, within handsomely paved and adorned. To this place belongs an Academy, where, besides the exercise of the horse, arms, dancing, &c., all the sciences are taught in the vulgar French by professors stipendiated by the great Cardinal, who by this, the cheap living there, and divers privileges, not only designed the improvement of the vulgar language, but to draw people and strangers to the town; but since the Cardinal's death, it is thinly inhabited; standing so much out of the way, and in a place not well situated for health, or pleasure. He was allured to build by the name of the place, and an old house there belonging to his ancestors. This pretty town is handsomely walled about and moated, with a kind of slight fortification, two fair gates and draw-bridges. Before the gate, towards the palace, is a spacious circle, where the fair is annually kept. About a flight-shot from the town is the Cardinal's house, a princely pile, though on an old design, not altogether Gothic, but mixed, and environed by a clear moat. The rooms are stately, most richly furnished with tissue, damask, arras, and velvet, pictures, statues, vases, and all sorts of antiquities, especially the Cæsars, in oriental alabaster. The long gallery is painted with the famous acts of the Founder; the roof with the life of Julius Cæsar; at the end of it is a cupola, or singing theatre, supported by very stately pillars of black marble. The chapel anciently belonged to the family of the Founder. The court is very ample. The gardens without are very large, and the parterres of excellent embroidery, set with many statues of brass and marble; the groves, meadows, and walks are a real Paradise.

16th September. We returned to Tours, from whence, after nineteen weeks' sojourn, we travelled towards the more southern part of France, minding now to shape my course so, as I might winter in Italy. With my friend, Mr. Thicknesse, and our guide, we went the first day seven leagues to a castle called Chenonceau, built by Catherine de Medicis, and now belonging to the Duke de Vendôme, standing on a bridge. In the gallery, amongst divers other excellent statues, is that of Scipio Africanus, of oriental alabaster.

21st. We passed by Villefranche, where we dined, and so by Muneton, lying at Viaron-au-mouton, which was twenty leagues. The next day by Murg to Bourges, four leagues, where we spent the day. This is the capital of Berry, an University much frequented by the Dutch, situated on the river Eure. It stands high, is strong, and well placed for defence; is environed with meadows and vines, and the living here is very cheap. In the suburbs of St. Privé, there is a fountain of sharp water which they report wholesome against the stone. They showed us a vast tree which they say stands in the centre of France. The French tongue is spoken with great purity in this place. St. Stephen's church is the cathedral, well-built *à la Gothique*, full of sepulchres without-side, with the representation of the final Judgment over one of the ports. Here they

show the chapel of Claude de la Chastre, a famous soldier, who had served six kings of France in their wars. St. Chapelle is built much like that at Paris, full of relics, and containing the bones of one Briat, a giant of fifteen cubits high. It was erected by John Duke of Berry, and there is showed the coronet of the dukedom. The great tower is a Pharos for defence of the town, very strong, in thickness eighteen feet, fortified with graffs and works; there is a garrison in it, and a strange engine for throwing great stones, and the iron cage where Louis, Duke of Orleans, was kept by Charles VIII. Near the Town-house stands the College of Jesuits, where was heretofore an Amphitheatre. I was courteously entertained by a Jesuit, who had us into the garden, where we fell into disputation. The house of Jaques Cœur is worth seeing. Bourges is an Archbishopric, and Primacy of Aquitaine. I took my leave of Mr. Nicholas, and some other English there; and, on the 23rd, proceeded on my journey by Pont du Charge; and lay that evening at Coulaiure, thirteen leagues.

*24th September.* By Franchesse, St. Menoux, thence to Moulins, where we dined. This is the chief town of the Bourbonnois, on the river Allier, very navigable. The streets are fair; the Castle has a noble prospect, and has been the seat of the Dukes. Here is a pretty park and garden. After dinner, came many who offered knives and scissors to sell; it being a town famous for these trifles. This Duchy of Bourbon is ordinarily assigned for the dowry of the Queens of France.

Hence, we took horse for Varennes, an obscure village, where we lay that night. The next day, we went somewhat out of the way to see the town of Bourbon l'Archambaut, from whose ancient and rugged castle is derived the name of the present Royal Family of France<sup>a</sup>. The castle stands on a flinty rock, overlooking the town. In the midst of the streets are some baths of medicinal waters, some of them excessive hot, but nothing so neatly walled and adorned as ours in Somersetshire; and indeed they are chiefly used to drink of, our Queen being then lodged there for that purpose. After dinner, I went to see the St. Chapelle, a prime place of devotion, where is kept one of the thorns of our Saviour's crown, and a piece of the real cross; excellent paintings on glass, and some few statues of stone and wood, which they show for curiosities. Hence, we went forward to La Palise, a village that lodged us that night.

*26th.* We arrived at Roane, where we quitted our guide, and took post for Lyons. Roane seemed to me one of the pleasantest and most agreeable places imaginable, for a retired person: for, besides the situation on the Loire, there are excellent provisions cheap and abundant. It being late when we left this town, we rode no farther than Tarare that night (passing St. Saforin), a little desolate village in a valley near a pleasant stream, encompassed with fresh meadows and vineyards. The hills which we rode over before we descended, and afterwards, on the Lyons side of this place, are high and mountainous; fir and pines growing frequently on them. The air methought was much altered as well as the manner of the houses, which are built flatter, more after the eastern manner. Before I went to bed, I took a landscape of this pleasant terrace. There followed a most violent tempest of thunder and lightning.

*27th.* We rode by Pont Charu to Lyons, which being but six leagues

<sup>a</sup> The 'obscure village' to which Evelyn refers, was destined to have a more memorable association, in later years, with that unhappy family.



we soon accomplished, having made eighty-five leagues from Tours in seven days. Here, at the Golden Lion, rue de Flandre, I met divers of my acquaintance, who, coming from Paris, were designed for Italy. We lost no time in seeing the city, because of being ready to accompany these gentlemen in their journey. Lyons is excellently situated on the confluence of the rivers Soane and Rhone, which wash the walls of the city in a very rapid stream ; each of these has its bridge ; that over the Rhone consists of twenty-eight arches. The two high cliffs, called St. Just and St. Sebastian, are very stately ; on one of them stands a strong fort, garrisoned. We visited the cathedral, St. Jean, where was one of the fairest clocks for art and busy invention I had ever seen. The fabric of the church is gothic, as are likewise those of St. Etienne and St. Croix. From the top of one of the towers of St. Jean (for it has four) we beheld the whole city and country, with a prospect reaching to the Alps, many leagues distant. The Archbishop's Palace is fairly built. The church of St. Nisier is the greatest ; that of the Jacobins is well built. Here are divers other fine churches and very noble buildings we had not time to visit, only that of the Charité, or great hospital for poor infirm people, entertaining about 1500 souls, with a school, granary, gardens, and all conveniences, maintained at a wonderful expense, worthy seeing. The place of the *Belle Cour* is very spacious, observable for the view it affords, so various and agreeable, of hills, rocks, vineyards, gardens, precipices, and other extravagant and incomparable advantages, presenting themselves together. The Pall Mall is set with fair trees. In fine, this stately, clean, and noble city, built all of stone, abounds in persons of quality and rich merchants : those of Florence obtaining great privileges above the rest. In the Town-house, they show two tables of brass, on which is engraven Claudius's speech, pronounced to the Senate, concerning the franchising of the town, with the Roman privileges. There are also other antiquities.

30th September. We bargained with a waterman to carry us to Avignon on the river, and got the first night to Bienne, in Dauphiné. This is an Archbishopric, and the province gives title to the Heir-apparent of France. Here we supped and lay, having amongst other dainties, a dish of truffles, which is a certain earth-nut, found out by a hog trained to it, and for which those animals are sold at a great price. It is in truth an incomparable meat. We were showed the ruins of an amphitheatre, pretty entire ; and many handsome palaces, especially that of Pontius Pilate, not far from the town, at the foot of a solitary mountain, near the river, having four pinnacles. Here it is reported he passed his exile, and precipitated himself into the lake not far from it. The house is modern, and seems to be the seat of some gentleman ; being in a very pleasant, though melancholy place. The cathedral of Vienne is St. Maurice ; and there are many other pretty buildings, but nothing more so, than the mills where they hammer and polish the sword-blades.

Hence, the next morning we swam (for the river here is so rapid that the boat was only steered) to a small village called Thein, where we dined. Over-against this is another town, named Tournon, where is a very strong castle under a high precipice. To the castle joins the Jesuits' College, who have a fair library. The prospect was so tempting, that I could not forbear designing it with my crayon.

We then came to Valence, a capital city carrying the title of a Duchy ;

but the Bishop is now sole Lord temporal of it, and the country about it. The town having a University famous for the study of the civil law, is much frequented ; but the churches are none of the fairest, having been greatly defaced in the time of the wars. The streets are full of pretty fountains. The citadel is strong and garrisoned. Here we passed the night, and the next morning by Pont St. Esprit, which consists of twenty-two arches ; in the piers of the arches are windows, as it were, to receive the water when it is high and full. Here we went on shore, it being very dangerous to pass the bridge in a boat.

Hence, leaving our barge, we took horse, seeing at a distance the town and principality of Orange ; and, lodging one night on the way, we arrived at noon at Avignon. This town has belonged to the Popes ever since the time of Clement V ; being, in 1352, alienated by Jane, Queen of Naples and Sicily. Entering the gates, the soldiers at the guard took our pistols and carbines, and examined us very strictly ; after that, having obtained the Governor's and the Vice-Legate's leave to tarry three days, we were civilly conducted to our lodging. The city is on the Rhone, and divided from the newer part, or town, which is on the other side of the river, by a very fair stone bridge (which has been broken) ; at one end is a very high rock, on which is a strong castle well furnished with artillery. The walls of the city are of large square freestone, the most neat and best in repair I ever saw. It is full of well-built palaces ; those of the Vice-Legate and Archbishop being the most magnificent. There are many sumptuous churches, especially that of St. Magdalene and St. Martial, wherein the tomb of the Cardinal d'Amboise is the most observable. Clement VI lies buried in that of the Celestines, the altar whereof is exceeding rich : but for nothing I more admired it than the tomb of Madonna Laura, the celebrated mistress of Petrarch. We saw the Arsenal, the Pope's Palace, and the Synagogue of the Jews, who here are distinguished by their red hats. Vacluse, so much renowned for the solitude of Petrarch, we beheld from the castle ; but could not go to visit it for want of time, being now taking mules and a guide for Marseilles.

We lay at Loumas ; the next morning, came to Aix, having passed that extremely rapid and dangerous river of Durance. In this tract, all the heaths, or commons, are covered with rosemary, lavender, lentiscus, and the like sweet shrubs, for many miles together ; which to me was very pleasant. Aix is the chief city of Provence, being a Parliament and Presidential town, with other royal Courts and Metropolitan jurisdiction. It is well built, the houses very high, and the streets ample. The Cathedral, St. Saviour's, is a noble pile adorned with innumerable figures ; especially that of St. Michael ; the Baptisterie, the Palace, the Court, built in a most spacious piazza, are very fair. The Duke of Guise's house is worth seeing, being furnished with many antiquities in and about it. The Jesuits have here a royal College, and the City is a University.

*7th October.* We had a most delicious journey to Marseilles, through a country sweetly declining to the south and Mediterranean coasts, full of vineyards and olive-yards, orange trees, myrtles, pomegranates, and the like sweet plantations, to which belong pleasantly-situated villas to the number of above 1500, built all of freestone, and in prospect showing as if they were so many heaps of snow dropped out of the clouds amongst those perennial greens. It was almost at the shutting of the gates that we



arrived. Marseilles is on the sea-coast, on a pleasant rising ground, well-walled, with an excellent port for ships and galleys, secured by a huge chain of iron drawn across the harbour at pleasure ; and there is a well-fortified tower with three other forts, especially that built on a rock ; but the castle commanding the city is that of Notre Dame de la Garde. In the chapel hung up divers crocodiles' skins.

We went then to visit the galleys, being about twenty-five in number ; the Capitaine of the Galley Royal gave us most courteous entertainment in his cabin, the slaves in the interim playing both loud and soft music very rarely. Then he showed us how he commanded their motions with a nod, and his whistle making them row out. The spectacle was to me new and strange, to see so many hundreds of miserably naked persons, their heads being shaven close, and having only high red bonnets, a pair of coarse canvas drawers, their whole backs and legs naked, doubly chained about their middle and legs, in couples, and made fast to their seats, and all commanded in a trice by an imperious and cruel seaman. One Turk amongst the rest he much favoured, who waited on him in his cabin, but with no other dress than the rest, and a chain locked about his leg, but not coupled. This galley was richly carved and gilded, and most of the rest were very beautiful. After bestowing something on the slaves, the capitaine sent a band of them to give us music at dinner where we lodged. I was amazed to contemplate how these miserable caitiffs lie in their galley crowded together ; yet there was hardly one but had some occupation, by which, as leisure and calms permitted, they got some little money, insomuch as some of them have, after many years of cruel servitude, been able to purchase their liberty. The rising-forward and falling-back at their oar, is a miserable spectacle, and the noise of their chains, with the roaring of the beaten waters, has something of strange and fearful in it to one unaccustomed to it. They are ruled and chastised by strokes on their backs and soles of their feet, on the least disorder, and without the least humanity, yet are they cheerful and full of knavery.

After dinner, we saw the church of St. Victoire, where is that saint's head in a shrine of silver, which weighs 600 pounds. Thence to Notre Dame, exceedingly well-built, which is the cathedral. Thence to the Duke of Guise's Palace, the Palace of Justice, and the Maison du Roi ; but nothing is more strange than the great number of slaves working in the streets, and carrying burthens, with their confused noises, and jingling of their huge chains. The chief trade of the town is in silks and drugs out of Africa, Syria, and Egypt, and Barbary horses, which are brought hither in great numbers. The town is governed by four captains, has three consuls, and one assessor, three judges royal ; the merchants have a judge for ordinary causes. Here we bought umbrellas against the heats, and consulted of our journey to Cannes by land, for fear of the Picaroon Turks, who make prize of many small vessels about these parts ; we not finding a galley bound for Genoa, whither we were designed.

*9th October.* We took mules, passing the first night very late in sight of St. Baume, and the solitary grot where they affirm Mary Magdalen did her penance. The next day, we lay at Perigueux, a city built on an old foundation ; witness the ruins of a most stately amphitheatre, which I went out to design, being about a flight-shot from the town ; they call it now the Rolsies. There is also a strong tower near the town, called the Visone,

but the town and city are at some distance from each other. It is a bishopric ; has a cathedral with divers noblemen's houses in sight of the sea. The place was formerly called Forum Julij, well known by anti-quaries.

10th October. We proceeded by the ruins of a stately aqueduct. The soil about the country is rocky, full of pines and rare simples.

11th. We lay at Cannes, which is a small port on the Mediterranean ; here we agreed with a seaman to carry us to Genoa, and, having procured a bill of health (without which there is no admission at any town in Italy), we embarked on the 12th. We touched at the islands of St. Margaret and St. Honore, lately re-taken from the Spaniards with great bravery by Prince Harcourt. Here, having paid some small duty, we bought some trifles offered us by the soldiers, but without going on shore. Hence, we coasted within two leagues of Antibes, which is the utmost town in France. Thence by Nice, a city in Savoy, built all of brick, which gives it a very pleasant appearance towards the sea, having a very high castle which commands it. We sailed by Morgus, now called Monaco, having passed Villa Franca, heretofore Portus Herculis, when, arriving after the gates were shut, we were forced to abide all night in the barge, which was put into the haven, the wind coming contrary. In the morning, we were hastened away, having no time permitted us by our avaricious master to go up and see this strong and considerable place, which now belongs to a prince of the family of Grimaldi, of Genoa, who has put both it and himself under the protection of the French. The situation is on a promontory of solid stone and rock. The town-walls very fair. We were told that within it was an ample court, and a palace, furnished with the most rich and princely moveables, and a collection of statues, pictures, and massy plate to an immense amount.

We sailed by Menton and Ventimiglia, being the first city of the republic of Genoa ; supped at Oneglia, where we anchored and lay on shore. The next morning, we coasted in view of the Isle of Corsica, and St. Remo, where the shore is furnished with evergreens, oranges, citrons, and date-trees ; we lay at Port Mauritio. The next morning by Diano, Araisso, famous for the best coral fishing, growing in abundance on the rocks, deep and continually covered by the sea. By Albenga and Finale, a very fair and strong town belonging to the King of Spain, for which reason a monsieur in our vessel was extremely afraid, as was the patron of our bark, for they frequently catch French prizes, as they creep by these shores to go into Italy ; he therefore plied both sails and oars, to get under the protection of a Genoese galley that passed not far before us, and in whose company we sailed as far as the Cape of Savona, a town built at the rise of the Apennines : for all this coast (except a little of St. Remo) is a high and steep mountainous ground, consisting all of rock-marble, without any grass, tree, or rivage, formidable to look on. A strange object it is, to consider how some poor cottages stand fast on the declivities of these precipices, and by what steps the inhabitants ascend to them. The rock consists of all sorts of the most precious marbles.

Here, on the 15th, forsaking our galley, we encountered a little foul weather, which made us creep *terra, terra*, as they call it, and so a vessel that encountered us advised us to do ; but our patron, striving to double the point of Savona, making out into the wind put us into great hazard ;



for blowing very hard from land betwixt those horrid gaps of the mountains, it set so violently, as raised on the sudden so great a sea, that we could not recover the weather-shore for many hours, insomuch that, what with the water already entered, and the confusion of fearful passengers (of which one who was an Irish bishop, and his brother, a priest, were confessing some as at the article of death), we were almost abandoned to despair, our pilot himself giving us up for lost. And now, as we were weary with pumping and laving out the water, almost sinking, it pleased God on the sudden to appease the wind, and with much ado and great peril we recovered the shore, which we now kept in view within half a league in sight of those pleasant villas, and within scent of those fragrant orchards which are on this coast, full of princely retirements for the sumptuousness of their buildings, and nobleness of the plantations, especially those at St. Pietro d'Arena; from whence, the wind blowing as it did, might perfectly be smelt the peculiar joys of Italy in the perfumes of orange, citron, and jasmine flowers, for divers leagues seaward<sup>1</sup>.

16th October. We got to anchor under the Pharos, or watch-tower, built on a high rock at the mouth of the Mole of Genoa, the weather being still so foul that for two hours at least we durst not stand into the haven. Towards evening we adventured, and came on shore by the Prattique-house, where, after strict examination by the Syndics, we were had to the Ducal Palace, and there our names being taken, we were conducted to our inn, kept by one Zacharias, an Englishman. I shall never forget a story of our host Zachary, who, on the relation of our peril, told us another of his own, being shipwrecked, as he affirmed solemnly, in the middle of a great sea, somewhere in the West Indies, that he swam no less than twenty-two leagues to another island, with a tinder-box wrapped up in his hair, which was not so much as wet all the way; that picking up the carpenter's tools with other provisions in a chest, he and the carpenter, who accompanied him (good swimmers it seems both), floated the chest before them; and, arriving at last in a place full of wood, they built another vessel, and so escaped! After this story, we no more talked of our danger; Zachary put us quite down.

17th. Accompanied by a most courteous marchand, called Tomson, we went to view the rarities. The city is built in the hollow or bosom of a mountain, whose ascent is very steep, high, and rocky, so that, from the Lantern and Mole to the hill, it represents the shape of a theatre; the streets and buildings so ranged one above another, as our seats are in the play-houses; but, from their materials, beauty, and structure, never was an artificial scene more beautiful to the eye, nor is any place, for the size of it, so full of well-designed and stately palaces, as may be easily concluded by that rare book in a large folio which the great virtuoso and painter, Paul Rubens, has published, though it contains [the description of] only one street and two or three churches.

The first palace we went to visit was that of Hieronymo del Negros, to which we passed by boat across the harbour. Here I could not but observe the sudden and devilish passion of a seaman, who plying us was intercepted by another fellow, that interposed his boat before him and took us in; for

<sup>a</sup> Evelyn seems to have been much enchanted by the fragrancy of the air of this coast, for he has noticed it again in his dedication of the *Fumifugium* to Charles the Second.

the tears gushing out of his eyes, he put his finger in his mouth and almost bit it off by the joint, showing it to his antagonist as an assurance to him of some bloody revenge, if ever he came near that part of the harbour again. Indeed this beautiful city is more stained with such horrid acts of revenge and murders, than any one place in Europe, or haply in the world, where there is a political government, which makes it unsafe to strangers. It is made a galley matter to carry a knife whose point is not broken off.

This palace of Negros is richly furnished with the rarest pictures ; on the terrace, or hilly garden, there is a grove of stately trees, amongst which are sheep, shepherds, and wild beasts, cut very artificially in a grey stone ; fountains, rocks, and fish-ponds ; casting your eyes one way, you would imagine yourself in a wilderness and silent country ; sideways, in the heart of a great city ; and backwards, in the midst of the sea. All this is within one acre of ground. In the house, I noticed those red-plaster floors which are made so hard, and kept so polished, that for some time one would take them for whole pieces of porphyry. I have frequently wondered that we never practised this [art] in England for cabinets and rooms of state<sup>a</sup>, for it appears to me beyond any invention of that kind ; but by their carefully covering them with canvass and fine mattresses, where there is much passage, I suppose they are not lasting in their glory, and haply they are often repaired.

There are numerous other palaces of particular curiosities, for the marchands being very rich, have, like our neighbours, the Hollanders, little or no extent of ground to employ their estates in ; as those in pictures and hangings, so these lay it out on marble houses and rich furniture. One of the greatest here for circuit is that of the Prince Doria, which reaches from the sea to the summit of the mountains. The house is most magnificently built without, nor less gloriously furnished within, having whole tables<sup>b</sup> and bedsteads of massy silver, many of them set with agates, onyxes, cornelians, lazulis, pearls, torquoises, and other precious stones. The pictures and statues are innumerable. To this palace belong three gardens, the first whereof is beautified with a terrace, supported by pillars of marble : there is a fountain of eagles, and one of Neptune, with other sea-gods, all of the purest white marble ; they stand in a most ample basin of the same stone. At the side of this garden is such an aviary as Sir Francis Bacon describes in his *Sermones fidelium*, or Essays, wherein grow trees of more than two feet diameter, besides cypress, myrtles, lentiscuses, and other rare shrubs, which serve to nestle and perch all sorts of birds, who have air and place enough under their airy canopy, supported with huge iron work, stupendous for its fabric and the charge. The other two gardens are full of orange-trees, citrons, and pomegranates, fountains, grotts, and statues. One of the latter is a colossal Jupiter, under which is the sepulchre of a beloved dog, for the care of which one of this family received of the King of Spain 500 crowns a-year, during the life of that faithful animal. The reservoir of water here is a most admirable piece of art ; and so is the grotto over against it.

<sup>a</sup> There are such at Hardwick Hall, in Derbyshire, a seat of the Duke of Devonshire's.

<sup>b</sup> One of which, Lassells says, weighed 24,000 lbs. *Voyage through Italy*, 1670, p. 94.



We went hence to the Palace of the Dukes, where is also the Court of Justice; thence to the Marchant's Walk, rarely covered. Near<sup>a</sup> the Ducal Palace we saw the public armoury, which was almost all new, most neatly kept and ordered, sufficient for 30,000 men. We were showed many rare inventions and engines of war peculiar to that armoury, as in the state when guns were first put in use. The garrison of the town chiefly consists of Germans and Corsicans. The famous Strada Nova, built wholly of polished marble, was designed by Rubens, and for stateliness of the buildings, paving, and evenness of the street, is far superior to any in Europe, for the number of houses; that of Don Carlo Doria is a most magnificent structure. In the gardens of the old Marquess Spinola, I saw huge citrons hanging on the trees, applied like our apricots to the walls. The churches are no less splendid than the palaces; that of St. Francis is wholly built of Parian marble; St. Laurence, in the middle of the city, of white and black polished stone, the inside wholly incrustured with marble and other precious materials; on the altar of St. John stand four sumptuous columns of porphyry; and here we were showed an emerald, supposed to be one of the largest in the world<sup>b</sup>. The church of St. Ambrosio, belonging to the Jesuits, will, when finished, exceed all the rest; and that of the Annunciada, founded at the charges of one family<sup>c</sup>, in the present and future design can never be outdone for cost and art. From the churches we walked to the Mole, a work of solid huge stone, stretching itself near 600 paces into the main sea, and secures the harbour, heretofore of no safety. Of all the wonders of Italy, for the art and nature of the design, nothing parallels this. We passed over to the Pharos, or Lantern, a tower of very great height. Here we took horses, and made the circuit of the city as far as the new walls, built of a prodigious height, and with Herculean industry; witness those vast pieces of whole mountains which they have hewn away, and blown up with gunpowder, to render them steep and inaccessible. They are not much less than twenty English miles in extent<sup>d</sup>, reaching beyond the utmost buildings of the city. From one of these promontories we could easily discern the island of Corsica; and from the same, eastward, we saw a vale having a great torrent running through a most desolate barren country; and then turning our eyes more northward, saw those delicious villas of St. Pietro d'Arena, which present another Genoa to you, the ravishing retirements of the Genoese nobility. Hence, with much pain, we descended towards the Arsenal, where the galleys lie in excellent order.

The inhabitants of the city are much affected to the Spanish mode and stately garb<sup>e</sup>. From the narrowness of the streets, they use sedans and litters, and not coaches.

<sup>a</sup> Lassells says, in the Palace.

<sup>b</sup> Lassells calls it a great dish, in which they say here that our Saviour ate the Paschal Lamb with His Disciples; but he candidly adds that he finds no authority for it in any ancient writer, and to it must be opposed the statement of the Venerable Bede, that the dish used was of *silver*. Of an authentic relic of St. John he observes that Baronius writes credibly.

<sup>c</sup> Two brothers, named Lomellini, allow the third part of their gains.—*Lassells*.

<sup>d</sup> Lassells says (p. 83), finished in eighteen months, and yet six miles in compass.

<sup>e</sup> Thus described by Lassells (p. 96): 'Broad hats without hatbands, broad leather girdles with steel buckles, narrow breeches, with long waisted doublets and hanging sleeves. The great ladies go in guard infantas (child-preservers);

19th October. We embarked in a felucca for Livorno, or Leghorn ; but the sea running very high, we put in at Porto Venere, which we made with peril, between two narrow horrid rocks, against which the sea dashed with great velocity ; but we were soon delivered into as great a calm and a most ample harbour, being in the Golfo di Spetia. From hence, we could see Pliny's Delphini Promontorium, now called Capo fino. Here stood that famous city of Luna, whence the port was named Lunaris, being about two leagues over, more resembling a lake than a haven, but defended by castles and excessive high mountains. We landed at Lerici, where, being Sunday, was a great procession, carrying the Sacrament about the streets in solemn devotion. After dinner, we took post-horses, passing through whole groves of olive-trees, the way somewhat rugged and hilly at first, but afterwards pleasant. Thus we passed through the towns of Sarzana and Massa, and the vast marble quarries of Carrara, and lodged in an obscure inn, at a place called Viregio. The next morning, we arrived at Pisa, where I met my old friend, Mr. Thomas Henshaw, who was then newly come out of Spain, and from whose company I never parted till more than a year after.

The city of Pisa is as much worth seeing as any in Italy ; it has contended with Rome, Florence, Sardinia, Sicily, and even Carthage. The palace and church of St. Stefano (where the order of knighthood called by that name was instituted) drew first our curiosity, the outside thereof being altogether of polished marble ; within, it is full of tables relating to this Order ; over which hang divers banners and pendants, with other trophies taken by them from the Turks, against whom they are particularly obliged to fight ; though a religious order, they are permitted to marry. At the front of the palace stands a fountain, and the statue of the great Duke Cosmo. The Campanile, or Settezonio, built by John Venipont, a German, consists of several orders of pillars, thirty in a row, designed to be much higher. It stands alone on the right side of the cathedral, strangely remarkable for this, that the beholder would expect it to fall, being built exceedingly declining, by a rare address of the architect ; and how it is supported from falling I think would puzzle a good geometrician. The Duomo, or Cathedral, standing near it, is a superb structure, beautified with six columns of great antiquity ; the gates are of brass, of admirable workmanship. The cemetery called Campo Santo is made of divers galley ladings of earth formerly brought from Jerusalem, said to be of such a nature, as to consume dead bodies in forty hours. 'Tis cloistered with marble arches ; and here lies buried the learned Philip Decius, who taught in this University. At one side of this church, stands an ample and well-wrought marble vessel, which heretofore contained the tribute paid yearly by the city to Cæsar. It is placed, as I remember, on a pillar of opal stone, with divers other antique urns. Near this, and in the same field, is the Baptistry of San Giovanni, built of pure white marble, and covered with so artificial a cupola, that the voice uttered under it seems

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that is, in horrible overgrown vertigals of whalebone, which being put about the waist of the lady, and full as broad on both sides as she can reach with her hands, bear out her coats in such a manner that she appears to be as broad as long. The men look like tumblers that leap through hoops, and the women like those that anciently danced the hobby-horse in country mumblings.'



to break out of a cloud. The font and pulpit, supported by four lions, is of inestimable value for the preciousness of the materials. The place where these buildings stand they call the *Area*. Hence, we went to the College, to which joins a gallery so furnished with natural rarities, stones, minerals, shells, dried animals, skeletons, &c., as is hardly to be seen in Italy. To this the Physic Garden lies, where is a noble palm-tree, and very fine waterworks. The river Arno runs through the middle of this stately city, whence the main street is named Lung 'Arno. It is so ample that the Duke's galleys, built in the arsenal here, are easily conveyed to Livorno; over the river is an arch, the like of which, for its flatness, and serving for a bridge, is nowhere in Europe. The Duke has a stately Palace, before which is placed the statue of Ferdinand the Third; over against it is the Exchange, built of marble. Since this city came to be under the Dukes of Tuscany, it has been much depopulated, though there is hardly in Italy any which exceeds it for stately edifices. The situation of it is low and flat; but the inhabitants have spacious gardens, and even fields within the walls.

21st October. We took coach to Livorno, through the Great Duke's new park full of huge cork-trees, the underwood all myrtles, amongst which were many buffaloes feeding, a kind of wild ox, short nose with horns reversed; those who work with them command them, as our bear-wards do the bears, with a ring through the nose, and a cord. Much of this park, as well as a great part of the country about it, is very fenny, and the air very bad.

Leghorn is the prime port belonging to all the Duke's territories; heretofore a very obscure town, but since Duke Ferdinand has strongly fortified it (after the modern way), drained the marshes by cutting a channel thence to Pisa navigable sixteen miles, and has raised a Mole, emulating that at Genoa, to secure the shipping, it is become a place of great receipt; it has also a place for the galleys, where they lie safe. Before the sea is an ample piazza for the market, where are the statues in copper of the four slaves, much exceeding the life for proportion, and, in the judgment of most artists, one of the best pieces of modern work<sup>a</sup>. Here, especially in this piazza, is such a concourse of slaves, Turks, Moors, and other nations, that the number and confusion is prodigious; some buying, others selling, others drinking, others playing, some working, others sleeping, fighting, singing, weeping, all nearly naked, and miserably chained. Here was a tent, where any idle fellow might stake his liberty against a few crowns, at dice, or other hazard; and, if he lost, he was immediately chained and led away to the galleys, where he was to serve a term of years, but from whence they seldom returned: many sottish persons, in a drunken bravado, would try their fortune in this way.

The houses of this neat town are very uniform, and excellently painted, *al fresco* on the outer walls, with representations of many of their victories over the Turks. The houses, though low on account of the earthquakes which frequently happen here, (as did one during my being in Italy), are very well built; the piazza is very fair and commodious, and, with the church, whose four columns at the portico are of black marble polished,

<sup>a</sup> They had attempted to steal a galley, meaning to have rowed it themselves; but were taken in this great enterprise. *Lassells*, p. 233.

gave the first hint to the building both of the church and piazza in Covent Garden with us, though very imperfectly pursued.

*22nd October.* From Livorno, I took coach to Empoly, where we lay, and the next day arrived at Florence, being recommended to the house of Signor Baritière, in the Piazza del Spirito Santo, where we were exceedingly well treated. Florence is at the foot of the Apennines, the west part full of stately groves and pleasant meadows, beautified with more than a thousand houses and country palaces of note, belonging to gentlemen of the town. The river Arno runs through the city, in a broad, but very shallow channel, dividing it, as it were, in the middle, and over it are four most sumptuous bridges, of stone. On that nearest to our quarter are the four Seasons, in white marble; on another are the goldsmiths' shops; at the head of the former stands a column of ophite, upon which a statue of Justice, with her balance and sword, cut out of porphyry, and the more remarkable for being the first which had been carved out of that hard material, and brought to perfection, after the art had been utterly lost; they say this was done by hardening the tools in the juice of certain herbs. This statue was erected in that corner, because there Cosmo was first saluted with the news of Sienna being taken.

Near this is the famous Palazzo di Strozzi, a princely piece of architecture, in a rustic manner. The Palace of Pitti was built by that family, but of late greatly beautified by Cosmo with huge square stones of the Doric, Ionic, and the Corinthian orders, with a terrace at each side having rustic uncut balustrades, with a fountain that ends in a cascade seen from the great gate, and so forming a vista to the gardens. Nothing is more admirable than the vacant staircase, marbles, statues, urns, pictures, court, grotto, and water-works. In the quadrangle is a huge jetto of water in a volto of four faces, with noble statues at each square, especially the Diana of porphyry above the grotto. We were here showed a prodigious great loadstone.

The garden has every variety, hills, dales, rocks, groves, aviaries, vivaries, fountains, especially one of five jettos, the middle basin being one of the longest stones I ever saw. Here is everything to make such a Paradise delightful. In the garden I saw a rose grafted on an orange-tree. There was much topiary-work, and columns in architecture about the hedges. The Duke has added an ample laboratory, over-against which stands a fort on a hill, where they told us his treasure is kept. In this Palace the Duke ordinarily resides, living with his Swiss guards, after the frugal Italian way, and even selling what he can spare of his wines, at the cellar under his very house, wicker bottles dangling over even the chief entrance into the Palace, serving for a vintner's bush.

In the Church of Santo Spirito the altar and reliquary are most rich, and full of precious stones; there are four pillars of a kind of serpentine, and some of blue. Hence we went to another Palace of the Duke's, called Palazzo Vecchio, before which is a statue of David, by Michael Angelo, and one of Hercules, killing Cacus, the work of Baccio Bandinelli. The quadrangle about this is of the Corinthian order, and in the hall are many rare marbles, as those of Leo the Tenth and Clement VII, both Popes of the Medicean family; also the acts of Cosmo, in rare painting. In the chapel is kept (as they would make one believe) the original Gospel of St. John, written with his own hand; and the famous Florentine Pandects,



and divers precious stones. Near it is another pendent Tower like that of Pisa, always threatening ruin.

Under the Court of Justice is a stately arcade for men to walk in, and over that, the shops of divers rare artists who continually work for the great Duke. Above this is that renowned Ceimeliarcha, or repository, wherein are hundreds of admirable antiquities, statues of marble and metal, vases of porphyry, &c. ; but amongst the statues none so famous as the Scipio, the Boar, the Idol of Apollo, brought from the Delphic Temple, and two triumphant columns. Over these hang the pictures of the most famous persons and illustrious men in arts or arms, to the number of 300, taken out of the museum of Paulus Jovius. They then led us into a large square room, in the middle of which stood a cabinet of an octangular form, so adorned and furnished with crystals, agates, and sculptures, as exceeds any description. This cabinet is called the *Tribuna*, and in it is a pearl as big as an hazel-nut. The cabinet is of ebony, lazuli, and jasper ; over the door is a round of M. Angelo ; on the cabinet, Leo the Tenth, with other paintings of Raphael, del Sarto, Perugino, and Correggio, viz., a St. John, a Virgin, a Boy, two Apostles, two heads of Dürer, rarely carved. Over this cabinet is a globe of ivory, excellently carved ; the Labours of Hercules, in massy silver, and many incomparable pictures in small. There is another, which had about it eight Oriental columns of alabaster, on each whereof was placed a head of a Cæsar, covered with a canopy so richly set with precious stones, that they resembled a firmament of stars. Within it was our Saviour's Passion, and the twelve Apostles in amber. This cabinet was valued at two hundred thousand crowns. In another, with calcedon pillars, was a series of golden medals. Here is also another rich ebony cabinet cupolaed with a tortoise-shell, and containing a collection of gold medals esteemed worth 50,000 crowns ; a wreathed pillar of oriental alabaster, divers paintings of Da Vinci, Pontorno, del Sarto, an *Ecce Homo* of Titian, a Boy of Bronzini, &c. They showed us a branch of coral fixed on the rock, which they affirm does still grow. In another room, is kept the Tabernacle appointed for the chapel of St. Laurence, about which are placed small statues of Saints, of precious materials ; a piece of such art and cost, that, having been these forty years in perfecting, it is one of the most curious things in the world. Here were divers tables of Pietra Commesso, which is a marble ground inlaid with several sorts of marbles and stones of various colours, representing flowers, trees, beasts, birds, and landscapes. In one is represented the town of Leghorn, by the same hand who inlaid the altar of St. Laurence, Domenico Benotti, of whom I purchased nineteen pieces of the same work for a cabinet. In a press near this they showed an iron nail, one half whereof being converted into gold by one Thurnheuser, a German chymist, is looked on as a great rarity ; but it plainly appeared to have been soldered together. There is a curious watch, a monstrous turquoise as big as an egg, on which is carved an emperor's head.

In the armoury are kept many antique habits, as those of Chinese kings ; the sword of Charlemagne ; Hannibal's headpiece ; a loadstone of a yard long, which bears up 86 lbs. weight, in a chain of seventeen links, such as the slaves are tied to. In another room are such rare turneries in ivory, as are not to be described for their curiosity. There is a fair pillar of oriental alabaster ; twelve vast and complete services of silver plate, and

one of gold, all of excellent workmanship ; a rich embroidered saddle of pearls sent by the Emperor to this Duke ; and here is that embroidered chair set with precious stones in which he sits, when, on St. John's day, he receives the tribute of the cities.

25th October. We went to the Portico where the famous statue of Judith and Holofernes stands, also the Medusa, all of copper ; but what is most admirable is the Rape of a Sabine, with another man under foot, the confusion and turning of whose limbs is most admirable. It is of one entire marble, the work of John di Bologna, and is most stupendous ; this stands directly against the great piazza, where, to adorn one fountain, are erected four marble statues and eight of brass, representing Neptune and his family of sea-gods, of a Colossean magnitude, with four sea-horses, in Parian marble of Lamedrati, in the midst of a very great basin ; a work, I think, hardly to be paralleled. Here is also the famous statue of David, by M. Angelo ; Hercules and Cacus, by Baccio Bandinelli ; the Perseus, in copper, by Benevento, and the Judith of Donatelli, which stand publicly before the old Palace with the Centaur of Bologna, huge Colossean figures. Near this stand Cosmo di Medicis on horseback, in brass on a pedestal of marble, and four copper basso-relievos by John di Bologna, with divers inscriptions ; the Ferdinand the First, on horseback, is of Pietro Tacca. The brazen boar, which serves for another public fountain, is admirable.

After dinner, we went to the Church of the Annunciata, where the Duke and his Court were at their devotions, being a place of extraordinary repute for sanctity : for here is a shrine that does great miracles, [proved] by innumerable votive tablets, &c., covering almost the walls of the whole church. This is the image of Gabriel, who saluted the Blessed Virgin, and which the artist finished so well, that he was in despair of performing the Virgin's face so well ; whereupon it was miraculously done for him whilst he slept ; but others say it was painted by St. Luke himself. Whoever it was, infinite is the devotion of both sexes to it. The altar is set off with four columns of oriental alabaster, and lighted by thirty great silver lamps. There are innumerable other pictures by rare masters. Our Saviour's Passion in brass tables inserted in marble, is the work of John di Bologna and Baccio Bandinelli.

To this church joins a convent, whose cloister is painted in *fresco* very rarely. There is also near it an hospital for 1000 persons, with nurse-children, and several other charitable accommodations.

At the Duke's Cavalerizza, the Prince has a stable of the finest horses of all countries, Arabs, Turks, Barbs, Gennets, English, &c., which are continually exercised in the *manège*.

Near this is a place where are kept several wild beasts, as wolves, cats, bears, tigers, and lions. They are loose in a deep walled court, and therefore to be seen with more pleasure than those at the tower of London, in their grates. One of the lions leaped to a surprising height, to catch a joint of mutton which I caused to be hung down.

<sup>a</sup>There are many plain brick towers erected for defence, when this was a free state. The highest is called the Mangio, standing at the foot of the piazza which we went first to see after our arrival. At the entrance of

<sup>a</sup> There seems to be here an omission in the MS. between their leaving Florence and going to Sienna.



this tower is a chapel open towards the piazza, of marble well-adorned with sculpture.

On the other side is the Signoria, or Court of Justice, well built *a la moderna*, of brick ; indeed, the bricks of Sienna are so well made, that they look almost as well as porphyry itself, having a kind of natural polish.

In the Senate-House is a very fair Hall where they sometimes entertain the people with public shows and operas, as they call them. Towards the left are the statues of Romulus and Remus with the wolf, all of brass, placed on a column of ophite stone, which they report was brought from the renowned Ephesian Temple. These ensigns being the arms of the town, are set up in divers of the streets, and public ways both within and far without the city.

The piazza compasses the facciáta of the court and chapel, and, being made with descending steps, much resembles the figure of an escalop-shell. The white ranges of pavement, intermixed with the excellent bricks above mentioned, with which the town is generally well paved, render it very clean. About this market-place (for so it is) are many fair palaces, though not built with excess of elegance. There stands an arch, the work of Baltazzar di Sienna, built with wonderful ingenuity, so that it is not easy to conceive how it is supported, yet it has some imperceptible contignations, which do not betray themselves easily to the eye. On the edge of the piazza is a goodly fountain beautified with statues, the water issuing out of the wolves' mouths, being the work of Jacobo Quercei, a famous artist. There are divers other public fountains in the city, of good design.

After this we walked to the Sapienza, which is the University, or rather College, where the high Germans enjoy many particular privileges when they addict themselves to the civil law : and indeed this place has produced many excellent scholars, besides those three Popes, Alexander, Pius II, and III, of that name, the learned Æneas Sylvius ; and both were of the ancient house of the Piccolomini.

The chief street is called Strada Romana, in which Pius II has built a most stately Palace of square stone, with an incomparable portico joining near to it. The town is commanded by a castle which hath four bastions and a garrison of soldiers. Near it is a list to ride horses in, much frequented by the gallants in summer.

Not far from hence is the Church and Convent of the Dominicans, where in the chapel of St. Catherine of Sienna they show her head, the rest of her body being translated to Rome. The Duomo, or Cathedral, both without and within, is of large square stones of black and white marble polished, of inexpressible beauty, as is the front adorned with sculpture and rare statues. In the middle is a stately cupola and two columns of sundry streaked coloured marble. About the body of the church, on a cornice within, are inserted the heads of all the Popes. The pulpit is beautified with marble figures, a piece of exquisite work ; but what exceeds all description is the pavement, where (besides the various emblems and other figures in the nave) the choir is wrought with the history of the Bible, so artificially expressed in the natural colours of the marbles, that few pictures exceed it. Here stands a Christo, rarely cut in marble, and on the large high altar is a brazen vessel of admirable invention and art. The organs

are exceeding sweet and well tuned. On the left side of the altar is the library, where are painted the acts of Æneas Sylvius, and others by Raphael. They showed us an arm of St. John the Baptist, wherewith, they say, he baptized our Saviour in Jordan ; it was given by the King of Peloponnesus to one of the Popes, as an inscription testifies. They have also St. Peter's sword, with which he smote off the ear of Malchus.

Just against the cathedral, we went into the Hospital, where they entertain and refresh for three or four days, gratis, such pilgrims as go to Rome. In the chapel belonging to it lies the body of St. Susorius, their founder, as yet uncorrupted, though dead many hundreds of years. They show one of the nails which pierced our Saviour, and Saint Chrysostom's Comment on the Gospel, written by his own hand. Below the hill stands the pool called Fonte Brande, where fish are fed for pleasure more than food.

St. Francis's Church is a large pile, near which, yet a little without the city, grows a tree which they report in their legend grew from the Saint's staff, which, on going to sleep, he fixed in the ground, and at his waking found it had grown a large tree. They affirm that the wood of it in decoction cures sundry diseases.

*2nd November.* We went from Sienna, desirous of being present at the cavalcade of the new Pope, Innocent X<sup>a</sup>, who had not yet made the grand procession to St. John di Laterano. We set out by Porto Romano, the country all about the town being rare for hunting and game. Wild boar and venison are frequently sold in the shops in many of the towns about it. We passed near Monte Oliveto, where the monastery of that Order is pleasantly situated, and worth seeing. Passing over a bridge, which, by the inscription, appears to have been built by Prince Matthias, we went through Buon-Convento, famous for the death of the Emperor, Henry VII, who was here poisoned with the holy Eucharist. Thence, we came to Torrinieri, where we dined. This village is in a sweet valley, in view of Montalcino, famous for the rare Muscatello<sup>b</sup>. After three miles more, we go by St. Quirico, and lay at a private osteria near it, where, after we were provided of lodging, came in Cardinal Donghi, a Genoese by birth, now come from Rome ; he was so civil as to entertain us with great respect, hearing we were English, for that, he told us he had been once in our country. Amongst other discourse, he related how a dove had been seen to sit on the chair in the Conclave at the election of Pope Innocent, which he magnified as a great good omen, with other particulars which we inquired of him, till our suppers parted us. He came in great state with his own bedstead and all the furniture, yet would by no means suffer us to resign the room we had taken up in the lodging before his arrival. Next morning, we rode by Monte Pientio, or, as vulgarly called, Monte Mantumiato, which is of an excessive height, ever and anon peeping above any clouds with its snowy head, till we had climbed to the inn at Radicofani, built by Ferdinand, the great Duke, for the necessary refreshment of travellers in so inhospitable a place. As we ascended, we entered a very thick, solid, and dark body of clouds, looking like rocks at a little distance, which lasted near a mile in going up ; they were dry misty vapours, hanging undissolved for a vast thickness, and obscuring both the sun and earth, so that we seemed to be in the sea rather than in the clouds, till, having

<sup>a</sup> John Baptista Pamphili, chosen Pope in October, 1644, died in 1655.

<sup>b</sup> The wine so called.



pierced through it, we came into a most serene heaven, as if we had been above all human conversation, the mountain appearing more like a great island than joined to any other hills; for we could perceive nothing but a sea of thick clouds rolling under our feet like huge waves, every now and then suffering the top of some other mountain to peep through, which we could discover many miles off: and between some breaches of the clouds we could see landscapes and villages of the subjacent country. This was one of the most pleasant, new, and altogether surprising objects that I had ever beheld.

On the summit of this horrid rock (for so it is) is built a very strong fort, garrisoned, and somewhat beneath it is a small town; the provisions are drawn up with ropes and engines, the precipice being otherwise inaccessible. At one end of the town lie heaps of rocks so strangely broken off from the ragged mountain, as would affright one with their horror and menacing postures. Just opposite to the inn gushed out a plentiful and most useful fountain which falls into a great trough of stone, bearing the Duke of Tuscany's arms. Here we dined, and I with my black lead pen took the prospect<sup>a</sup>. It is one of the utmost confines of the Etrurian State towards St. Peter's Patrimony, since the gift of Matilda to Gregory VII, as is pretended.

Here we pass a stone bridge, built by Pope Gregory XIV, and thence immediately to Acquapendente<sup>b</sup>, a town situated on a very ragged rock, down which precipitates an entire river (which gives it the denomination), with a most horrid roaring noise. We lay at the post-house, on which is this inscription:

L'Insegna della Posta, é posta a posta,  
In questa posta, fin che habbia à sua posta  
Ogn' un Cavallo a Vetturi in Posta.

Before it was dark, we went to see the Monastery of the Franciscans, famous for six learned Popes, and sundry other great scholars, especially the renowned physician and anatomist, Fabricius de Acquapendente, who was bred and born there.

*4th November.* After a little riding, we descended towards the Lake of Bolsena, which being above twenty miles in circuit, yields from hence a most incomparable prospect. Near the middle of it are two small islands, in one of which is a convent of melancholy Capuchins, where those of the Farnesian family are interred. Pliny calls it *Tarquiniensis Lacus*, and talks of divers floating islands about it, but they did not appear to us. The lake is environed with mountains, at one of whose sides we passed towards the town Bolsena, anciently Volsinium, famous in those times, as is testified by divers rare sculptures in the court of St. Christiana's church, the urn, altar, and jasper columns.

After seven miles' riding, passing through a wood heretofore sacred to Juno, we came to Montefiascone, the head of the Falisci, a famous people in old time, and heretofore Falernum, as renowned for its excellent wine, as now for the story of the Dutch Bishop, who lies buried in St. Flavian's church with this epitaph:

Propter Est, Est, dominus meus mortuus est.

<sup>a</sup> An etching of it, with others, is in the library at Wotton.

<sup>b</sup> Twelve miles from the Duke's inn, according to Lassells.

Because, having ordered his servant to ride before, and enquire where the best wine was, and there write *Est*, the man found some so good that he wrote *Est, Est*, upon the vessels, and the Bishop drinking too much of it, died.

From Montefiascone, we travel a plain and pleasant champain to Viterbo, which presents itself with much state afar off, in regard of her many lofty pinnacles and towers; neither does it deceive our expectation; for it is exceedingly beautified with public fountains, especially that at the entrance, which is all of brass and adorned with many rare figures, and salutes the passenger with a most agreeable object and refreshing waters. There are many Popes buried in this city, and in the palace is this odd inscription:

Osiridis victoriam in Gigantas litteris historiographicis in hoc antiquissimo marmore inscriptam, ex Herculis olim, nunc Divi Laurentij Templo translata, ad conversanda: vetustiss: patriæ monumenta atq' decora hic locandum statuit S.P.Q.V.

Under it:

Sum Osiris Rex Jupiter universo in terrarum orbe.	Sum Osiris Rex qui ab Itala in Gigantes exercitus veni, vidi, et vici.	Sum Osiris Rex quater rarum pacata Italiam de- cem a'nos quorum inven- tor fui.
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Near the town is a sulphureous fountain, which continually boils. After dinner we took horse by the new way of Capranica, and so passing near Mount Ciminus and the Lake, we began to enter the plains of Rome; at which sight my thoughts were strangely elevated, but soon allayed by so violent a shower, which fell just as we were contemplating that proud Mistress of the world, and descending by the Vatican (for at that gate we entered), that before we got into the city I was wet to the skin.

I came to Rome on the 4th November, 1644, about five at night; and being perplexed for a convenient lodging, wandered up and down on horseback, till at last one conducted us to Monsieur Petit's, a Frenchman, near the Piazza Spagnola. Here I alighted, and, having bargained with my host for twenty crowns a month, I caused a good fire to be made in my chamber and went to bed, being so very wet. The next morning (for I was resolved to spend no time idly here) I got acquainted with several persons who had long lived at Rome. I was especially recommended to Father John, a Benedictine monk and Superior of his Order for the English College of Douay, a person of singular learning, religion, and humanity; also to Mr. Patrick Cary, an Abbot, brother to our learned Lord Falkland, a witty young priest, who afterwards came over to our church; Dr. Bacon and Dr. Gibbs<sup>a</sup>, physicians who had dependence on Cardinal Caponi, the latter being an excellent poet; Father Courtney, the chief of the Jesuits in the English College; my Lord of Somerset, brother to the Marquis of Worcester<sup>b</sup>; and some others, from whom I received instructions how to

<sup>a</sup> James Alban Gibbs, a Scotchman, bred at Oxford, and resident many years at Rome, where he died 1677, and was buried in the Pantheon there, with an epitaph to his memory under a marble bust. He was an extraordinary character. In Wood's *Athenæ* is a long account of him, and some curious additional particulars will be found in Wharton's *Life of Dr. Bathurst*. He was a writer of Latin poetry, a small collection of which he published at Rome, with his portrait prefixed.

<sup>b</sup> Thomas, third son of Edward fourth Earl of Worcester, made a Knight of the Bath by King James, and in 1626 created Viscount Somerset, of Cashel, in Ireland. He died in 1651.



behave in town, with directions to masters and books to take in search of the antiquities, churches, collections, &c. Accordingly, the next day, November 6, I began to be very pragmatical<sup>a</sup>.

In the first place, our sights-man<sup>b</sup> (for so they name certain persons here who get their living by leading strangers about to see the city) went to the Palace Farnese, a magnificent square structure, built by Michael Angelo, of the three orders of columns after the ancient manner, and when architecture was but newly recovered from the Gothic barbarity. The court is square and terraced, having two pair of stairs which lead to the upper rooms, and conducted us to that famous gallery painted by Augustine Caracci, than which nothing is more rare of that art; so deep and well-studied are all the figures, that it would require more judgment than I confess I had, to determine whether they were flat, or embossed. Thence, we passed into another, painted in *chiaroscûro*, representing the fabulous history of Hercules. We went out on a terrace, where was a pretty garden on the leads, for it is built in a place that has no extent of ground backwards. The great hall is wrought by Salviati and Zuccharo, furnished with statues, one of which being modern is the figure of a Farnese, in a triumphant posture, of white marble, worthy of admiration. Here we were showed the Museum of Fulvius Ursinos, replete with innumerable collections; but the Major-Domo being absent, we could not at this time see all we wished. Descending into the court, we with astonishment contemplated those two incomparable statues of Hercules and Flora, so much celebrated by Pliny, and indeed by all antiquity, as two of the most rare pieces in the world: there likewise stands a modern statue of Hercules and two Gladiators, not to be despised. In a second court was a temporary shelter of boards over the most stupendous and never-to-be-sufficiently-admired Torso of Amphion and Dirce, represented in five figures, exceeding the life in magnitude, of the purest white marble, the contending work of those famous statuarys, Apollonius and Taurisco, in the time of Augustus, hewed out of one entire stone, and remaining unblemished, to be valued beyond all the marbles of the world for its antiquity and workmanship. There are divers other heads and busts. At the entrance of this stately palace stand two rare and vast fountains of garnito stone, brought into this piazza out of Titus's Baths. Here, in summer, the gentlemen of Rome take the *fresco* in their coaches and on foot. At the sides of this court, we visited the Palace of Signor Pichini, who has a good collection of antiquities, especially the Adonis of Parian marble, which my Lord Arundel would once have purchased, if a great price would have been taken for it.

We went into the *Campo Vaccino*, by the ruins of the Temple of Peace, built by Titus Vespasianus, and thought to be the largest as well as the most richly furnished of all the Roman dedicated places: it is now a heap rather than a temple, yet the roof and *volto* continue firm, showing it to have been formerly of incomparable workmanship. This goodly structure was, none knows how, consumed by fire the very night, by all computation, that our blessed Saviour was born.

<sup>a</sup> The sense in which Evelyn uses this word is that of its old signification, as being very active and full of business,—setting to work systematically with what he came upon, namely, to view the antiquities and beauties of Rome.

<sup>b</sup> The name for these gentlemen since universal with Italians is *cicerone*, but they affect universally the title of antiquaries.

From hence, we passed by the place into which Curtius precipitated himself for the love of his country, now without any sign of a lake, or vorago. Near this stand some columns of white marble, of exquisite work, supposed to be part of the Temple of Jupiter Tonans, built by Augustus; the work of the capitals (being Corinthian) and architrave is excellent, full of sacrificing utensils. There are three other of Jupiter Stator. Opposite to these are the oratories, or churches, of St. Cosmo and Damiano, heretofore the Temples of Romulus; a pretty old fabric, with a tribunal, or tholus within, wrought all of Mosaic. The gates before it are brass, and the whole much obliged to Pope Urban VIII. In this sacred place lie the bodies of those two martyrs; and in a chapel on the right hand is a rare painting of Cavaliere Baglioni.

We next entered St. Lorenzo in Miranda. The portico is supported by a range of most stately columns; the inscription cut in the architrave shows it to have been the Temple of Faustina. It is now made a fair church, and has an hospital which joins it. On the same side is St. Adriano, heretofore dedicated to Saturn. Before this was once placed a military column, supposed to be set in the centre of the city, from whence they used to compute the distance of all the cities and places of note under the dominion of those universal monarchs. To this church are likewise brazen gates and a noble front; just opposite we saw the heaps and ruins of Cicero's Palace. Hence we went towards Mons Capitolinus, at the foot of which stands the arch of Septimus Severus, full and entire, save where the pedestal and some of the lower members are choked up with ruins and earth. This arch is exceedingly enriched with sculpture and trophies, with a large inscription. In the terrestrial and naval battles here graven, is seen the Roman Aries [the battering-ram]; and this was the first triumphal arch set up in Rome. The Capitol, to which we climbed by very broad steps, is built about a square court, at the right hand of which, going up from Campo Vaccino, gushes a plentiful stream from the statue of Tyber, in porphyry, very antique, and another representing Rome; but, above all, is the admirable figure of Marforius, casting water into a most ample concha. The front of this court is crowned with an excellent fabric containing the Courts of Justice, and where the Criminal Notary sits, and others. In one of the halls they show the statues of Gregory XIII and Paul III, with several others. To this joins a handsome tower, the whole facciáta adorned with noble statues, both on the outside and on the battlements, ascended by a double pair of stairs, and a stately Posario.

In the centre of the court stands that incomparable horse bearing the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, as big as the life, of Corinthian metal, placed on a pedestal of marble, esteemed one of the noblest pieces of work now extant, antique and very rare. There is also a vast head of a colossean magnitude, of white marble, fixed in the wall. At the descending stairs are set two horses of white marble governed by two naked slaves, taken to be Castor and Pollux, brought from Pompey's Theatre. On the balustrade, the trophies of Marius against the Cimbrians, very ancient and instructive. At the foot of the steps towards the left hand is that Colonna Miliaria, with the globe of brass on it, mentioned to have been formerly set in Campo Vaccino. On the same hand, is the Palace of the Segniori Conservatori, or three Consuls, now the civil governors of the city, containing the fraternities, or halls and guilds, (as we call them) of sundry



companies, and other offices of state. Under the portico within, are the statues of Augustus Cæsar, a Bacchus, and the so renowned Colonna Rostrata of Duillius, with the excellent bassi relievi. In a smaller court, the statue of Constantine, on a fountain, a Minerva's head of brass, and that of Commodus, to which belongs a hand, the thumb whereof is at least an ell long, and yet proportionable ; but the rest of the Colosse is lost. In the corner of this court stand a horse and lion fighting, as big as life, in white marble, exceedingly valued ; likewise the Rape of the Sabines ; two cumbent figures of Alexander and Mammea ; two monstrous feet of a colosse of Apollo ; the Sepulchre of Agrippina ; and the standard, or antique measure, of the Roman foot. Ascending by the steps of the other corner, are inserted four basso-relievos, viz. the triumph and sacrifice of Marcus Aurelius, which last, for the antiquity and rareness of the work, I caused my painter, Carlo Neapolitano, to copy. There are also two statues of the Muses, and one of Adrian, the Emperor : above stands the figure of Marius, and by the wall Marsyas bound to a tree ; all of them excellent and antique. Above in the lobby, are inserted into the walls those ancient laws, on brass, called the Twelve Tables ; a fair Madonna of Pietro Perugino, painted on the wall ; near which are the archives, full of ancient records.

In the great hall are divers excellent paintings of Cavaliero Giuseppe d'Arpino, a statue in brass of Sextus V and of Leo X, of marble. In another hall, are many modern statues of their late Consuls and Governors, set about with fine antique heads ; others are painted by excellent masters, representing the actions of M. Scævola, Horatius Cocles, &c.—The room where the Conservatori now feast upon solemn days, is tapestried with crimson damask, embroidered with gold, having a state or *balduquino* of crimson velvet, very rich ; the frieze above rarely painted. Here are in brass, Romulus and Remus sucking the wolf, of brass, with the Shepherd, Faustulus, by them ; also the boy plucking the thorn out of his foot, of brass, so much admired by artists. There are also holy statues and heads of Saints. In a gallery near adjoining are the names of the ancient Consuls, Prætors, and Fasti Romani, so celebrated by the learned : also the figure of an old woman ; two others representing Poverty ; and more in fragments. In another large room, furnished with velvet, are the statue of Adonis, very rare, and divers antique heads. In the next chamber, is an old statue of Cicero, one of another Consul, a Hercules in brass, two women's heads of incomparable work, six other statues ; and, over the chimney, a very rare basso-relievo, and other figures. In a little lobby before the chapel, is the statue of Hannibal, a Bacchus very antique, bustos of Pan and Mercury, with other old heads. All these noble statues, &c., belong to the city, and cannot be disposed of to any private person, or removed hence, but are preserved for the honour of the place, though great sums have been offered for them by divers Princes, lovers of art and antiquity. We now left the Capitol, certainly one of the most renowned places in the world, even as now built by the design of the famous M. Angelo.

Returning home by Ara Cœli, we mounted to it by more than 100 marble steps, not in devotion, as I observed some to do on their bare knees, but to see those two famous statues of Constantine, in white marble, placed there out of his baths. In this church is a Madonna, reported to be painted by St. Luke, and a column, on which we saw the print of a foot, which they affirm to have been that of the Angel, seen on the Castle of St. Angelo.

Here the feast of our Blessed Saviour's nativity being yearly celebrated with divers pageants, they began to make the preparation. Having viewed the Palace and fountain, at the other side of the stairs, we returned weary to our lodgings.

On the 7th November, we went again near the Capitol, towards the Tarpeian rock, where it has a goodly prospect of the Tyber. Thence, descending by the Tullianum, where they told us St. Peter was imprisoned, they showed us a chapel (S. Pietro de Vincoli) in which a rocky side of it bears the impression of his face. In the nave of the church gushes a fountain, which they say was caused by the Apostle's prayers, when having converted some of his fellow-captives he wanted water to make them Christians. The painting of the Ascension is by Rapha I. We then walked about Mount Palatinus and the Aventine, and thence to the Circus Maximus, capable of holding 40,000 spectators, now a heap of ruins, converted into gardens. Then by the *Forum Boarium*, where they have a tradition that Hercules slew Cacus, some ruins of his temple remaining. The Temple of Janus Quadrifrons, having four arches, importing the four Seasons, and on each side niches for the months, is still a substantial and pretty entire antiquity. Near to this is the Arcus Argentariorum. Bending now towards the Tyber, we went into the Theatre of Marcellus, which would hold 80,000 persons, built by Augustus, and dedicated to his nephew; the architecture, from what remains, appears to be inferior to none. It is now wholly converted into the house of the Savelli, one of the old Roman families. The people were now generally busy in erecting temporary triumphs and arches with statues and flattering inscriptions against his Holiness's grand procession to St. John di Laterani, amongst which the Jews also began one in testimony of gratitude for their protection under the Papal State. The Palazzo Barberini, designed by the present Pope's architect, Cavaliero Bernini, seems from the size to be as princely an object, as any modern building in Europe. It has a double portico, at the end of which we ascended by two pair of oval stairs, all of stone, and void in the well. One of these led us into a stately hall, the *volto*-whereof was newly painted *al fresco*, by the rare hand of Pietro Berretini il Cortone. To this is annexed a gallery completely furnished with whatever art can call rare and singular, and a library full of worthy collections, medals, marbles, and manuscripts; but, above all, an Egyptian Osyris, remarkable for its unknown material and antiquity. In one of the rooms near this hangs the Sposaliccio of St. Sebastian, the original of Annibal Caracci, of which I procured a copy, little inferior to the prototype; a table, in my judgment, superior to anything I had seen in Rome. In the court is a vast broken guglia, or obelisk, having divers hieroglyphics cut on it.

8th November. We visited the Jesuits' Church, the front whereof is esteemed a noble piece of architecture, the design of Giacomo della Porta and the famous Vignola. In this church lies the body of their renowned Ignatius Loyola, an arm of Xaverius, their other Apostle; and, at the right end of their high altar, their champion, Cardinal Bellarmine. Here Father Kircher<sup>a</sup> (professor of Mathematics and the oriental tongues) showed us

<sup>a</sup> Athanasius Kircher was born at Fulda, in Germany, early in the seventeenth century. He received his education at Wurtzburg, and in 1635 entered the College of Jesuits, at Avignon. He became a good scholar in Oriental literature,



many singular courtesies, leading us into their refectory, dispensatory, laboratory, gardens, and finally (through a hall hung round with pictures of such of their order as had been executed for their pragmatistical and busy adventures) into his own study, where, with Dutch patience, he showed us his perpetual motions, catoptrics, magnetical experiments, models, and a thousand other crotchets and devices, most of them since published by himself, or his industrious scholar, Schottia.

Returning home, we had time to view the Palazzo de Medicis, which was an house of the Duke of Florence near our lodging, upon the brow of Mons Pincius, having a fine prospect towards the Campo Marzo. It is a magnificent, strong building, with a substruction very remarkable, and a portico supported with columns towards the gardens, with two huge lions, of marble, at the end of the balustrade. The whole outside of the *facciata* is incrusted with antique and rare basso-relievos and statues. Descending into the garden is a noble fountain governed by a Mercury of brass. At a little distance, on the left, is a lodge full of fine statues, amongst which the Sabines, antique and singularly rare. In the arcade near this stand twenty-four statues of great price, and hard by is a mount planted with cypresses, representing a fortress, with a goodly fountain in the middle. Here is also a row balustred with white marble, covered over with the natural shrubs, ivy, and other perennial greens, divers statues and heads being placed as in niches. At a little distance are those famed statues of Niobe and her family, in all fifteen, as large as the life, of which we have ample mention in Pliny, esteemed among the best pieces of work in the world for the passions they express, and all other perfections of that stupendous art. There is likewise in this garden a fair obelisk, full of hieroglyphics. In going out, the fountain before the front casts water near fifty feet in height, when it is received in a most ample marble basin. Here they usually rode the great horse every morning; which gave me much diversion from the terrace of my own chamber, where I could see all their motions. This evening, I was invited to hear rare music at the Chiesa Nova; the black marble pillars within led us to that most precious oratory of Philippus Neri, their founder; they being of the oratory of secular priests, under no vow. There are in it divers good pictures, as the Assumption of Girolamo Mutiano; the Crucifix; the Visitation of Elizabeth; the Presentation of the Blessed Virgin; Christo Sepolto, of Guido Rheno, Caravaggio, Arpino, and others. This fair church consists of fourteen altars, and as many chapels. In it is buried (besides their Saint) Cæsar Baronius, the great annalist. Through this, we went into the

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and an admirable mathematician; but he directed his attention particularly to the study of hieroglyphics. Father Kircher's works on various abstruse subjects amount to twenty folio volumes, for which he acquired great renown in his day. On Evelyn's visit to Rome, he was considered one of the greatest mathematicians and Hebrew scholars of which the metropolis of Christianity (then the headquarters of learning) could boast. He died in 1680. He is mentioned in other passages of the *Diary*.

<sup>a</sup> Caspar Schott, a native of Wurtzburg, where he was born in 1608, who had the advantage of being the favourite pupil of Father Kircher. He taught philosophy and mathematics at Rome and Palermo, and published several curious and erudite works in philosophy and natural history; but they have long since ceased to possess any authority. He died in 1666.

*sacristia*, where, the tapers being lighted, one of the Order preached ; after him stepped up a child of eight or nine years old, who pronounced an oration with so much grace, that I never was better pleased than to hear Italian so well and so intelligently spoken. This course it seems they frequently use, to bring their scholars to a habit of speaking distinctly, and forming their action and assurance, which none so much want as ours in England. This being finished, began their *motettos*, which in a lofty cupola richly painted, were sung by eunuchs, and other rare voices, accompanied by theorboes, harpsichords, and viols, so that we were even ravished with the entertainment of the evening. This room is painted by Cortona, and has in it two figures in the niches, and the church stands in one of the most stately streets of Rome.

10th November. We went to see Prince Ludovisio's villa, where was formerly the *Viridarium* of the poet, Sallust. The house is very magnificent, and the extent of the ground exceedingly large, considering that it is in a city ; in every quarter of the garden are antique statues, and walks planted with cypress. To this garden belongs a house of retirement, built in the figure of a cross, after a particular ordonnance, especially the staircase. The whiteness and smoothness of the excellent pargeting was a thing I much observed, being almost as even and polished, as if it had been of marble. Above, is a fair prospect of the city. In one of the chambers hang two famous pieces of Bassano, the one a Vulcan, the other a Nativity ; there is a German clock full of rare and extraordinary motions ; and, in a little room below are many precious marbles, columns, urns, vases, and noble statues of porphyry, oriental alabaster, and other rare materials. About this fabric is an ample area, environed with sixteen vast jars of red earth, wherein the Romans used to preserve their oil, or wine rather, which they buried, and such as are properly called *testæ*. In the Palace I must never forget the famous statue of the Gladiator, spoken of by Pliny, so much followed by all the rare artists as the many copies testify, dispersed through almost all Europe, both in stone and metal. There is also a Hercules, a head of porphyry, and one of Marcus Aurelius. In the villa-house is a man's body, flesh and all, petrified, and even converted to marble, as it was found in the Alps, and sent by the Emperor to one of the Popes ; it lay in a chest, or coffin, lined with black velvet, and one of the arms being broken, you may see the perfect bone from the flesh which remains entire. The Rape of Proserpine, in marble, is of the purest white, the work of Bernini. In the cabinet near it are innumerable small brass figures, and other curiosities. But what some look upon as exceeding all the rest, is a very rich bedstead (which sort of gross furniture the Italians much glory in, as formerly did our grandfathers in England in their inlaid wooden ones) inlaid with all sorts of precious stones and antique heads, onyxes, agates, and cornelians, esteemed to be worth 80 or 90,000 crowns. Here are also divers cabinets and tables of the Florence work, besides pictures in the gallery, especially the Apollo—a conceited chair to sleep in with the legs stretched out, with hooks, and pieces of wood to draw out longer or shorter.

From this villa, we went to see Signor Angeloni's study, who very courteously showed us such a collection of rare medals as is hardly to be paralleled ; divers good pictures, and many outlandish and Indian curiosities, and things of nature.



From him, we walked to Monte Cavallo, heretofore called Mons Quirinalis, where we saw those two rare horses, the work of the rivals Phidias and Praxiteles, as they were sent to Nero [by Tiridates King] out of Armenia. They were placed on pedestals of white marble by Sextus V, by whom I suppose their injuries were repaired, and are governed by four naked slaves, like those at the foot of the Capitol. Here runs a most noble fountain, regarding four of the most stately streets for building and beauty to be seen in any city of Europe. Opposite to these statues is the Pope's summer palace, built by Gregory XIII; and, in my opinion, it is, for largeness and the architecture, one of the most conspicuous in Rome, having a stately portico which leads round the court under columns, in the centre of which there runs a beautiful fountain. The chapel is incrustated with such precious materials, that nothing can be more rich, or glorious, nor are the other ornaments and moveables about it at all inferior. The hall is painted by Lanfranci, and others. The garden, which is called the Belvedere di Monte Cavallo, in emulation to that of the Vatican, is most excellent for air and prospect; its exquisite fountains, close walks, grots, piscinas, or stews for fish, planted about with venerable cypresses, and refreshed with water-music, aviaries, and other rarities.

12th November. We saw Dioclesian's Baths, whose ruins testify the vastness of the original foundation and magnificence; by what M. Angelo took from the ornaments about it, 'tis said he restored the then almost lost art of architecture. This monstrous pile was built by the labour of the primitive Christians, then under one of the ten great persecutions. The Church of St. Bernardo is made out of one only of these ruinous cupolas, and is in the form of an urn with a cover.

Opposite to this, is the Fontana delle Therme, otherwise called *Fons Felix*; in it is a basso-relievo of white marble, representing Moses striking the rock, which is adorned with camels, men, women, and children drinking, as large as life; a work for the design and vastness truly magnificent. The water is conveyed no less than twenty-two miles in an aqueduct by Sextus V, *ex agro Columna*, by way of Præneste, as the inscription testifies. It gushes into three ample lavers raised about with stone, before which are placed two lions of a strange black stone, very rare and antique. Near this are the store-houses for the city's corn, and over against it the Church of St. Susanna, where were the gardens of Sallust. The facciata of this church is noble, the *soffitto* within gilded and full of pictures; especially famous is that of Susanna, by Baldassa di Bologna. The tribunal of the high altar is of exquisite work, from whose marble steps you descend under-ground to the repository of divers Saints. The picture over this altar is the work of Jacomo Siciliano. The foundation is for Bernadine Nuns.

Santa Maria della Vittoria presents us with the most ravishing front. In this church was sung the Te Deum by Gregory XV, after the signal victory of the Emperor at Prague; the standards then taken still hang up, and the impress waving this motto over the Pope's arms, *Extirpentur*. I observed that the high altar was much frequented for an image of the Virgin. It has some rare statues, as Paul ravished into the third heaven, by Fiamingo, and some good pictures. From this, we bent towards Dioclesian's Baths, never satisfied with contemplating that immense pile, in building which 150,000 Christians were destined to labour fourteen

years, and were then all murdered. Here is a monastery of Carthusians, called Santa Maria degli Angeli, the architecture of M. Angelo, and the cloister encompassing walls in an ample garden.

Mont Alto's villa is entered by a stately gate of stone built on the Viminalis, and is no other than a spacious park full of fountains, especially that which salutes us at the front ; stews for fish ; the cypress walks are so beset with statues, inscriptions, relievos, and other ancient marbles, that nothing can be more stately and solemn. The citron trees are uncommonly large. In the Palace joining to it are innumerable collections of value. Returning, we stepped into St. Agnes church, where there is a tribunal of antique mosaic, and on the altar a most rich ciborio of brass, with a statue of St. Agnes in oriental alabaster. The church of Santa Constanza has a noble cupola. Here they showed us a stone ship borne on a column heretofore sacred to Bacchus, as the relievo intimates by the drunken emblems and instruments wrought upon it. The altar is of rich porphyry, as I remember. Looking back, we had the entire view of the Via Pia down to the two horses before the Monte Cavallo, before mentioned, one of the most glorious sights for state and magnificence that any city can show a traveller. We returned by Porta Pia, and the Via Salaria, near Campo Scelerato, in whose gloomy caves the wanton Vestals were heretofore immured alive.

Thence to Via Felix, a straight and noble street, but very precipitous, till we came to the four fountains of Lepidus, built at the abutments of four stately ways, making an exact cross of right angles ; and, at the fountains, are as many cumbent figures of marble, under very large niches of stone, the water pouring into huge basins. The church of St. Carlo is a singular fabric for neatness, of an oval design, built of a new white stone ; the columns are worth notice. Under it is another church of a structure nothing less admirable.

Next, we came to Santa Maria Maggiore, built upon the Esqueline Mountain, which gives it a most conspicuous face to the street at a great distance. The design is mixed, partly antique, partly modern. Here they affirm that the Blessed Virgin appearing, showed where it should be built 300 years since. The first pavement is rare and antique ; so is the portico built by P. P. Eugenius II. The ciborio is the work of Paris Romano, and the tribunal of Mosaic.

We were showed in the church a concha of porphyry, wherein they say Patricius, the founder, lies. This is one of the most famous of the seven Roman Churches, and is, in my opinion at least, after St. Peter's, the most magnificent. Above all, for incomparable glory and materials, are the two chapels of Sextus V and Paulus V. That of Sextus was designed by Dom. Fontana, in which are two rare great statues, and some good pieces of painting ; and here they pretended to show some of the Holy Innocents' bodies slain by Herod : as also that renowned tabernacle of metal, gilt, sustained by four angels, holding as many tapers, placed on the altar. In this chapel is the statue of Sextus, in copper, with basso-relievos of most of his famous acts, in Parian marble ; but that of P. Paulus, which we next entered, opposite to this, is beyond all imagination glorious, and above description. It is so encircled with agates, and other most precious materials, as to dazzle and confound the beholders. The basso-relievos are for the most part of pure snowy marble, intermixed



with figures of molten brass, double gilt, on *lapis lazuli*. The altar is a most stupendous piece ; but most incomparable is the cupola painted by Giuseppe Rheni, and the present Baglioni, full of exquisite sculptures. There is a most sumptuous *sacristia* ; and the piece over the altar was by the hand of St. Luke ; if you will believe it. Paulus V hath here likewise built two other altars ; under the one lie the bones of the Apostle, St. Matthias. In another oratory, is the statue of this Pope, and the head of the Congo Ambassador, who was converted at Rome, and died here. In a third chapel, designed by Michael Angelo, lie the bodies of Platina, and the Cardinal of Toledo, Honorius III, Nicephorus IV, the ashes of St. Hierom, and many others. In that of Sextus V, before mentioned, was showed us part of the crib in which Christ was swaddled at Bethlehem ; there is also the statue of Pius V ; and going out at the further end, is the resurrection of Lazarus, by a very rare hand. In the portico, is this late inscription : ‘ Cardinal Antonio Barberino Archypresbytero, aream marmoream quam Christianorum pietas exsculpsit, laborante sub Tyrannis ecclesiâ, ut esset loci sanctitate venerabilior, Francis Gualdus Arm. Eques S. Stephani è suis ædibus huc transtulit et ornavit, 1632.’ Just before this portico, stands a very sublime and stately Corinthian column, of white marble, translated hither for an ornament from the old Temple of Peace, built by Vespasian, having on the plinth of the capital the image of our Lady, gilt on metal ; at the pedestal runs a fountain. Going down the hill, we saw the obelisk taken from the Mausoleum of Augustus, and erected in this place by Domenico Fontana, with this epigraph : ‘ Sextus V Pont. Max. Obeliscum ex Egypto advectum, Augusti in Mausoleo dicatum, eversum, deinde et in plures confractum partes, in via ad S. Rochum jacentem, in pristinam faciem restitutum Salutiferæ Cruci feliciùs hic erigi jussit, anno MDLXXXVIII, Pont. III’ : and so we came weary to our lodgings.

At the foot of this hill, is the Church of St. Prudentia, in which is a well, filled with the blood and bones of several martyrs, but grated over with iron, and visited by many devotees. Near this stands the church of her sister, S. Praxedes, much frequented for the same reason. In a little obscure place, cancelled in with iron work, is the pillar, or stump, at which they relate our Blessed Saviour was scourged, being full of bloody spots, at which the devout sex are always rubbing their chaplets, and convey their kisses by a stick having a tassel on it. Here, besides a noble statue of St. Peter, is the tomb of the famous Cardinal Cajetan, an excellent piece : and here they hold that St. Peter said his first mass at Rome, with the same altar and the stone he kneeled on, he having been first lodged in this house, as they compute about the forty-fourth year of the Incarnation. They also show many relics, or rather rags, of his mantle. St. Laurence in Panisperna did next invite us, where that martyr was cruelly broiled on the gridiron, there yet remaining. St. Bridget is buried in this church under a stately monument. In the front of the pile is the suffering of St. Laurence painted *al fresco* on the wall. The fabric is nothing but Gothic. On the left is the Therma Novatii ; and, on the right, Agrippina’s Lavacrum.

14th November. We passed again through the stately Capitol and Campo Vaccino towards the Amphitheatre of Vespasian, but first stayed

to look at Titus's Triumphal Arch, erected by the people of Rome, in honour of his victory at Jerusalem ; on the left hand whereof he is represented drawn in a chariot with four horses abreast ; on the right-hand, or side of the arch within, is sculptured in figures, or basso-relievo as big as the life (and in one entire marble) the Ark of the Covenant, on which stands the seven-branched candlestick described in Leviticus, as also the two Tables of the Law, all borne on men's shoulders by the bars, as they are described in some of St. Hierom's bibles ; before this, go many crowned and laureated figures, and twelve Roman fasces, with other sacred vessels. This much confirmed the idea I before had ; and therefore, for the light it gave to the Holy History, I caused my painter, Carlo, to copy it exactly. The rest of the work of the Arch is of the noblest, best understood composita ; and the inscription is this, in capital letters

S. P. Q. R.

D. TITO, D. VESPASIANI, F. VESPASIANI AVGVSTO.

Santa Maria Nova is on the place where they told us Simon Magus fell out of the air at St. Peter's prayer, and burst himself to pieces on a flint. Near this is a marble monument, erected by the people of Rome in memory of the Pope's return from Avignon.

Being now passed the ruins of Meta-Sudante (which stood before the Colosseum, so called, because there once stood here the statue of Commodus provided to refresh the gladiators), we enter the mighty ruins of the Vespasian Amphitheatre, begun by Vespasian, and finished by that excellent prince, Titus. It is 830 Roman palms in length, (*i.e.* 130 paces), 90 in breadth at the area, with caves for the wild beasts which used to be baited by men instead of dogs ; the whole oval periphery  $2888\frac{1}{4}$  palms, and capable of containing 87,000 spectators with ease and all accommodation : the three rows of circles are yet entire ; the first was for the senators, the middle for the nobility, the third for the people. At the dedication of this place were 5000 wild beasts slain in three months during which the feast lasted, to the expense of ten millions of gold. It was built of Tiburtine stone, a vast height, with the five orders of architecture, by 30,000 captive Jews. It is without, of a perfect circle, and was once adorned thick with statues, and remained entire, till of late that some of the stones were carried away to repair the city-walls and build the Farnesian Palace. That which still appears most admirable is, the contrivance of the porticos, vaults, and stairs, with the excessive altitude, which well deserves this distich of the poet :

Omnis Cæsareo cedat labor Amphitheatro ;  
Unum pro cunctis fama loquatur opus.

Near it is a small chapel called Santa Maria della Pieta nel Colisseo, which is erected on the steps, or stages, very lofty at one of its sides, or ranges, within, and where there lives only a melancholy hermit. I ascended to the very top of it with wonderful admiration.

The Arch of Constantine the Great is close by the Meta-Sudante, before mentioned, at the beginning of the Via Appia, on one side Monte Celio, and is perfectly entire, erected by the people in memory of his victory over Maxentius, at the Pons Milvius, now Ponte Mole. In the front is this inscription :



IMP. CAES. FL. CONSTANTINO MAXIMO  
 P. F. AVGVSTO S. P. Q. R.  
 QVOD INSTINCTV DIVINITATIS MENTIS  
 MAGNITVDINE CVM EXERCITV SVO  
 TAM DE TYRANNO QVAM DE OMNI EIVS  
 FACTIONE VNO TEMPORE IVSTIS  
 REMPVBLICAM VLTVS EST ARMIS  
 ARCVN TRIVMPHIS INSIGNEM DICAVIT

Hence, we went to St. Gregorio, in Monte Celio, where are many privileged altars, and there they showed us an arm of that saint, and other relics. Before this church stands a very noble portico.

*15th November.* Was very wet, and I stirred not out, and the 16th I went to visit Father John, Provincial of the Benedictines.

*17th.* I walked to Villa Borghese, a house and ample garden on Mons Pincius, yet somewhat without the city-walls, circumscribed by another wall full of small turrets and banqueting-houses; which makes it appear at a distance like a little town. Within it is an elysium of delight, having in the centre of it a noble palace; but the entrance of the garden presents us with a very glorious fabric, or rather door-case, adorned with divers excellent marble statues. This garden abounded with all sorts of delicious fruit and exotic simples, fountains of sundry inventions, groves, and small rivulets. There is also adjoining to it a vivarium for ostriches, peacocks, swans, cranes, &c., and divers strange beasts, deer, and hares. The grotto is very rare, and represents, among other devices, artificial rain, and sundry shapes of vessels, flowers, &c.; which is effected by changing the heads of the fountains. The groves are of cypress, laurel, pine, myrtle, and olive. The four sphinxes are very antique, and worthy observation. To this is a volary, full of curious birds. The house is square with turrets, from which the prospect is excellent towards Rome, and the environing hills, covered as they now are with snow, which indeed commonly continues even a great part of the summer, affording sweet refreshment. Round the house is a baluster of white marble, with frequent jettons of water, and adorned with a multitude of statues. The walls of the house are covered with antique incrustations of history, as that of Curtius, the Rape of Europa, Leda, &c. The cornices above consist of fruitages and festoons, between which are niches furnished with statues, which order is observed to the very roof. In the lodge, at the entry, are divers good statues of Consuls, &c., with two pieces of field-artillery upon carriages, (a mode much practised in Italy before the great men's houses) which they look on as a piece of state more than defence. In the first hall within, are the twelve Roman Emperors, of excellent marble; betwixt them stand porphyry columns, and other precious stones of vast height and magnitude, with urns of oriental alabaster. Tables of pietra-commessa: and here is that renowned Diana which Pompey worshipped, of eastern marble: the most incomparable Seneca of touch, bleeding in an huge vase of porphyry, resembling the drops of his blood; the so famous Gladiator, and the Hermaphrodite upon a quilt of stone. The new piece of Daphne, and David, of Cavaliero Bernini, is observable for the pure whiteness of the stone, and the art of the statuary plainly stupendous. There is a multitude of rare pictures of infinite value, by the best masters; huge tables of porphyry, and two exquisitely wrought vases of the same. In another chamber, are divers sorts of instruments of music: amongst other toys that of a satyr, which

so artificially expressed a human voice, with the motion of eyes and head, that it might easily affright one who was not prepared for that most extravagant sight. They showed us also a chair that catches fast any who sits down in it, so as not to be able to stir out, by certain springs concealed in the arms and back thereof, which at sitting down surprises a man on the sudden, locking him in by the arms and thighs, after a true treacherous Italian guise. The perspective is also considerable, composed by the position of looking-glasses, which render a strange multiplication of things resembling divers most richly furnished rooms. Here stands a rare clock of German work ; in a word, nothing but what is magnificent is to be seen in this Paradise.

The next day, I went to the Vatican, where, in the morning, I saw the ceremony of Pamfilio, the Pope's nephew, receiving a Cardinal's hat ; this was the first time I had seen his Holiness *in pontificalibus*. After the Cardinals and Princes had met in the consistory, the ceremony was in the Pope's chapel, where he was at the altar invested with most pompous rites.

19th November. I visited St. Peter's, that most stupendous and incomparable Basilica, far surpassing any now extant in the world, and perhaps, Solomon's Temple excepted, any that was ever built. The largeness of the piazza before the portico is worth observing, because it affords a noble prospect of the church, not crowded up, as for the most part is the case in other places where great churches are erected. In this is a fountain, out of which gushes a river rather than a stream which, ascending a good height, breaks upon a round emboss of marble into millions of pearls that fall into the subjacent basins with great noise ; I esteem this one of the goodliest fountains I ever saw.

Next is the obelisk transported out of Egypt, and dedicated by Octavius Augustus to Julius Cæsar, whose ashes it formerly bore on the summit ; but, being since overturned by the barbarians, was re-erected with vast cost and a most stupendous invention by Domenico Fontana, architect to Sextus V. The obelisk consists of one entire square stone without hieroglyphics, in height seventy-two feet, but comprehending the base and all it is 108 feet high, and rests on four Lions of gilded copper, so as you may see through the base of the obelisk and plinth of the pedestal.

Upon two faces of the obelisk is engraven

DIVO CAES. DIVI  
IVLII F. AVGVSTO  
TI. CAES. DIVI AVG.  
F. AVGVS. SACRVM.

It now bears on the top a cross in which it is said that Sextus V inclosed some of the holy wood ; and under it is to be read by good eyes :

SANCTISSIMAE CRVCI  
SEXTVS V. PONT. MAX.  
CONSECRAVIT.  
E. PRIORE SEDE AVVLSVM  
ET CAESS. AVG. AC TIB.  
I. L. ABLATUM M.D.LXXXVI.

On the four faces of the base below :

I. CHRISTVS VINCIT.  
CHRISTVS REGNAT.  
CHRISTVS IMPERAT.  
CHRISTVS AB OMNI MALO  
PLEBEM SVAM DEFENDAT.



2. SEXTVS V. PONT. MAX.  
 OBELISCVM VATICANVM DIIS GENTIVM  
 IMPIO CVLTV DICATVM  
 AD APOSTOLORVM LIMINA  
 OPEROSO LABORE TRANSTVLIT  
 AN. M.D.LXXXVI. PONT. II.

3. ECCE CRVX DOMINI  
 FVGITE PARTES  
 ADVERSAE  
 VINCIT LEO  
 DE TRIBV IVDA.

4. SEXTVS V. PONT. MAX.  
 CRVCI INVICTAE  
 OBELISCVM VATICANVM  
 AB IMPIA SVPERSTITIONE  
 EXPIATVM IVSTIVS  
 ET FELICITVS CONSECRAVIT  
 AN. M.D.LXXXVI. PONT. II.

A little lower :

DOMINICVS FONTANA EX PAGO MILIAGRI NOVOCOMENSIS TRANSTVLIT  
 ET EREXIT<sup>a</sup>.

It is reported to have taken a year in erecting, to have cost 37,975 crowns, the labour of 907 men, and 75 horses : this being the first of the four Egyptian obelisks set up at Rome, and one of the forty-two brought to the city out of Egypt, set up in several places, but thrown down by the Goths, Barbarians, and earthquakes<sup>b</sup>. Some coaches stood before the steps of the ascent, whereof one, belonging to Cardinal Medici, had all the metal work of massy silver, viz. the bow behind and other places. The coaches at Rome, as well as covered waggons also much in use, are generally the richest and largest I ever saw. Before the facciáta of the church is an ample pavement. The church was first begun by St. Anacletus, when rather a chapel, on a foundation, as they give out, of Constantine the Great, who, in honour of the Apostles, carried twelve baskets full of sand to the work. After him, Julius II took it in hand, to which all his successors have contributed more or less.

The front is supposed to be the largest and best-studied piece of architecture in the world ; to this we went up by four steps of marble. The first entrance is supported by huge pilasters ; the *volto* within is the richest possible, and overlaid with gold. Between the five large anti-ports are columns of enormous height and compass, with as many gates of brass, the work and sculpture of Pollaiuola, the Florentine, full of cast figures and histories in a deep relievo. Over this runs a terrace of like amplitude and ornament, where the Pope, at solemn times, bestows his Benediction on the vulgar. On each side of this portico are two campaniles, or towers, whereof there was but one perfected, of admirable art. On the top of all, runs a balustrade which edges it quite round, and upon this at equal distances are Christ and the twelve Disciples, of gigantic size and stature, yet below showing no greater than the life. Entering the church, admirable is the breadth of the *volto*, or roof, which is all carved with foliage and roses

<sup>a</sup> In 1589, this distinguished architect published a folio volume, with engravings, descriptive of the manner of removing and re-erecting this famous monument of antiquity, entitled *Del modo tenuto nel trasportare l'Obelisco Vaticano* ; with his portrait in the title-page, holding a model of this column.

<sup>b</sup> See Platina *In Vita Pontiff.*, p. 315.

overlaid with gold in nature of a deep basso-relievo, *à l'antique*. The nave, or body, is in form of a cross, whereof the foot-part is the longest ; and, at the *internodium* of the transept, rises the cupola, which being all of stone and of prodigious height is more in compass than that of the Panthéon (which was the largest amongst the old Romans, and is yet entire) or any other known. The inside, or concave, is covered with most exquisite Mosaic, representing the Celestial Hierarchy, by Giuseppe d'Arpino, full of stars of gold ; the convex, or outside, exposed to the air, is covered with lead, with great ribs of metal double gilt (as are also the ten other lesser cupolas, for no fewer adorn this glorious structure), which gives a great and admirable splendour in all parts of the city. On the summit of this is fixed a brazen globe gilt, capable of receiving thirty-five persons. This I entered, and engraved my name amongst other travellers. Lastly, is the Cross, the access to which is between the leaden covering and the stone convex, or arch-work ; a most truly astonishing piece of art ! On the battlements of the church, also all overlaid with lead and marble, you would imagine yourself in a town, so many are the cupolas, pinnacles, towers, juttings, and not a few houses inhabited by men who dwell there, and have enough to do to look after the vast reparations which continually employ them.

Having seen this, we descended into the body of the church, full of collateral chapels and large oratories, most of them exceeding the size of ordinary churches ; but the principal are four incrustated with most precious marbles and stones of various colours, adorned with an infinity of statues, pictures, stately altars, and innumerable relics. The altar-piece of St. Michael being of Mosaic, I could not pass without particular note, as one of the best of that kind. The chapel of Gregory XIII, where he is buried, is most splendid. Under the cupola, and in the centre of the church, stands the high altar, consecrated first by Clement VIII, adorned by Paul V, and lately covered by Pope Urban VIII ; with that stupendous canopy of Corinthian brass, which heretofore was brought from the Pantheon ; it consists of four wreathed columns, partly channelled and encircled with vines, on which hang little *puti* birds and bees (the arms of the *Barberini*), sustaining a *baldacchina* of the same metal. The four columns weigh an hundred and ten thousand pounds, all over richly gilt ; this, with the pedestals, crown, and statues about it, form a thing of that art, vastness, and magnificence, as is beyond all that man's industry has produced of the kind ; it is the work of Bernini, a Florentine sculptor, architect, painter, and poet, who, a little before my coming to the city, gave a public opera (for so they call shows of that kind), wherein he painted the scenes, cut the statues, invented the engines, composed the music, writ the comedy, and built the theatre. Opposite to either of these pillars, under those niches which, with their columns, support the weighty cupola, are placed four exquisite statues of Parian marble, to which are four altars ; that of St. Veronica, made by Fra. Mochi, has over it the reliquary, where they showed us the miraculous *Sudarium* indued with the picture of our Saviour's face, with this inscription : ' *Salvatoris imaginem Veronicæ Sudario exceptam ut loci majestas decentèr custodiret, Urbanus VIII Pont. Max. Marmoreum signum et Altare addidit, Conditorium extruxit et ornavit.*'

Right against this is that of Longinus, of a Colossean magnitude, also



by Bernini, and over him the conservatory of the iron lance inserted in a most precious crystal, with this epigraph : ' Longini Lanceam quam Innocentius VIII à Bajazete Turcarum Tyranno accepit, Urbanus VIII statuâ appositâ, et Sacello substructo, in exornatum Conditorium transtulit.'

The third chapel has over the altar the statue of our countrywoman, St. Helena, the mother of Constantine the Great ; the work of Boggi, an excellent sculptor ; and here is preserved a great piece of the pretended wood of the holy cross, which she is said to have first detected miraculously in the Holy Land. It was placed here by the late Pope with this inscription : ' Partem Crucis quam Helena Imperatrix è Calvario in Urbem adduxit, Urbanus VIII Pont. Max. è Sissorianâ Basilicâ desumptam, additis arâ et statuâ, hic in Vaticano collocavit.'

The fourth hath over the altar, and opposite to that of St. Veronica, the statue of St. Andrew, the work of Fiamingo, admirable above all the other ; above is preserved the head of that Apostle, richly enchased. It is said that this excellent sculptor died mad to see his statue placed in a disadvantageous light by Bernini, the chief architect, who found himself outdone by this artist. The inscription over it is this :

St. Andreae caput quod Pius II ex Achaia in Vaticanum asportandum curavit, Urbanus VIII novis hic ornamentis decoratum sacrisque statuæ ac Sacelli honoribus coli voluit.

The relics showed and kept in this church are without number, as are also the precious vessels of gold, silver, and gems, with the vests and services to be seen in the Sacristy, which they showed us. Under the high altar is an ample grot inlaid with *pietra-commessa*, wherein half of the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul are preserved ; before hang divers great lamps of the richest plate, burning continually. About this and contiguous to the altar, runs a balustrade, in form of a theatre, of black marble. Towards the left, as you go out of the church by the portico, a little beneath the high altar, is an old brass statue of St. Peter sitting, under the soles of whose feet many devout persons rub their heads, and touch their chaplets. This was formerly cast from a statue of Jupiter Capitolinus. In another place, stands a column grated about with iron, whereon they report that our Blessed Saviour was often wont to lean as he preached in the Temple. In the work of the reliquary under the cupola there are eight wreathed columns brought from the Temple of Solomon. In another chapel, they showed us the chair of St. Peter, or, as they name it, the Apostolical Throne. But amongst all the chapels the one most glorious has for an altar-piece a Madonna bearing a dead Christ on her knees, in white marble, the work of Michael Angelo. At the upper end of the Cathedral, are several stately monuments, especially that of Urban VIII. Round the Cupola, and in many other places in the church, are confession-seats, for all languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, French, English, Irish, Welsh, Sclavonian, Dutch, &c., as it is written on their friezes in golden capitals, and there are still at confessions some of all nations. Towards the lower end of the church, and on the side of a vast pillar sustaining a weighty roof, is the *depositum* and statue of the Countess Matilda, a rare piece, with basso-relievos about it of white marble, the work of Bernini. Here are also those of Sextus IV and Paulus III, etc. Amongst the exquisite pieces in this sumptuous fabric is that of the ship with St. Peter held up from

sinking by our Saviour; the emblems about it are the Mosaic of the famous Giotto, who restored and made it perfect after it had been defaced by the Barbarians. Nor is the pavement under the cupola to be passed over without observation, which with the rest of the body and walls of the whole church, are all inlaid with the richest of *pietra-commessa*, in the most splendid colours of polished marbles, agates, serpentine, porphyry, calcedon, &c., wholly incrusting to the very roof. Coming out by the portico at which we entered, we were showed the Porta Santa, never opened but at the year of jubilee. This glorious foundation hath belonging to it thirty canons, thirty-six beneficiates, twenty-eight clerks beneficed, with innumerable chaplains, &c., a Cardinal being always arch-priest; the present Cardinal was Francisco Barberini, who also styled himself Protector of the English, to whom he was indeed very courteous.

20th November. I went to visit that ancient See and Cathedral of St. John di Laterano, and the holy places thereabout. This is a church of extraordinary devotion, though, for outward form, not comparable to St. Peter's, being of Gothic ordonnance. Before we went into the cathedral, the Baptistery of St. John Baptist presented itself, being formerly part of the Great Constantine's Palace, and, as it is said, his chamber where by St. Silvester he was made a Christian. It is of an octagonal shape, having before the entrance eight fair pillars of rich porphyry, each of one entire piece, their capitals of divers orders, supporting lesser columns of white marble, and these supporting a noble cupola, the moulding whereof is excellently wrought. In the chapel which they affirm to have been the lodging place of this Emperor, all women are prohibited from entering, for the malice of Herodias who caused him to lose his head. Here are deposited several sacred relics of St. James, Mary Magdalen, St. Matthew, &c., and two goodly pictures. Another chapel, or oratory near it, is called St. John the Evangelist, well adorned with marbles and tables, especially those of Cavalière Giuseppe, and of Tempesta, in fresco. We went hence into another called St. Venantius, in which is a tribunal all of Mosaic in figures of Popes. Here is also an altar of the Madonna, much visited, and divers Slavonish saints, companions of Pope John IV. The portico of the church is built of materials brought from Pontius Pilate's house in Jerusalem.

The next sight which attracted our attention, was a wonderful concourse of people at their devotions before a place called *Scala Sancta*, to which is built a noble front. Entering the portico, we saw those large marble stairs, twenty-eight in number, which are never ascended but on the knees, some lip-devotion being used on every step; on which you may perceive divers red specks of blood under a grate, which they affirm to have been drops of our Blessed Saviour, at the time he was so barbarously misused by Herod's soldiers; for these stairs are reported to have been translated hither from his palace in Jerusalem. At the top of them is a chapel, whereat they enter (but we could not be permitted) by gates of marble, being the same our Saviour passed when he went out of Herod's house. This they name the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and over it we read this epigraph:

Non est in toto sanctor orbe locus.

Here, through a grate, we saw that picture of Christ painted (as they say) by the hand of St. Luke, to the life. Descending again, we saw before the



church the obelisk, which is indeed most worthy of admiration. It formerly lay in the Circo Maximo, and was erected here by Sextus V, in 1587, being 112 feet in height without the base or pedestal; at the foot nine and a half one way, and eight the other. This pillar was first brought from Thebes at the utmost confines of Egypt, to Alexandria, from thence to Constantinople, thence to Rome, and is said by Ammianus Marcellinus to have been dedicated to Rameses, King of Egypt. It was transferred to this city by Constantine the son of the Great, and is full of hieroglyphics, serpents, men, owls, falcons, oxen, instruments, &c., containing (as Father Kircher the Jesuit will shortly tell us in a book which he is ready to publish) all the recondite and abstruse learning of that people. The vessel, galley, or float, that brought it to Rome so many hundred leagues, must needs have been of wonderful bigness and strange fabric. The stone is one and entire, and [having been thrown down] was erected by the famous Dom. Fontana, for that magnificent Pope, Sextus V, as the rest were; is now cracked in many places, but solidly joined. The obelisk is thus inscribed at the several facciâtas :

Fl. Constantinus Augustus, Constantini Augusti F. Obeliscum a patre suo motum diuq; Alexandriae jacentem, trecentorum remigum impositum navi mirandæ vastitatis per mare Tyberimq; magnis molibus Romam convectum in Circo Max. ponendum S.P.Q.R.D.D.

On the second square :

Fl. Constantinus Max : Aug : Christianæ fidei Vindex & Assertor, Obeliscum ab Ægyptio Rege impuro voto Soli dicatum, sedibus avulsum suis per Nilum transfer. Alexandriam, ut Novam Romam ab se tunc conditam eo decoraret monumento.

On the third :

Sextus V. Pontifex Max : Obeliscum hunc specie eximia temporum calamitate fractum, Circi Maximi ruinis humo, limoq; alte demersum, multa impensa extraxit, hunc in locum magno labore transtulit, formâq; pristina accurate vestitum, Cruci invictissimæ dicavit anno M.D.LXXXVIII. Pont. IIIL.

On the fourth :

Constantinus per Crucem Victor à Silvestro hinc Baptizatus Crucis gloriam propagavit.

Leaving this wonderful monument (before which is a stately public fountain, with a statue of St. John in the middle of it), we visited his Holiness's Palace, being a little on the left hand, the design of Fontana, architect to Sextus V. This I take to be one of the best Palaces in Rome; but not staying, we entered the church of St. John di Laterano, which is properly the Cathedral of the Roman See, as I learned by these verses engraven upon the architrave of the portico :

Dogmate Papali datur, et simul Imperiali  
Quod sim cunctarum mater caput Ecclesiarū  
Hinc Salvatoris cœlestia regna datoris  
Nomine Sanxerunt, cum cuncta peracta fuerunt ;  
Sic vos ex toto conversi supplice voto  
Nostra quòd hæc ædes ; tibi Christe sit inclyta sedes.

It is called Lateran, from a noble family formerly dwelling it seems hereabouts, on Mons Cælius. The church is Gothic, and hath a stately tribunal; the paintings are of Pietro Pisano. It was the first church that

was consecrated with the ceremonies now introduced, and where altars of stone supplied those of wood heretofore in use, and made like large chests for the easier removal in times of persecution ; such an altar is still the great one here preserved, as being that on which (they hold) St. Peter celebrated mass at Rome ; for which reason none but the Pope may now presume to make that use of it. The pavement is of all sorts of precious marbles, and so are the walls to a great height, over which it is painted *al fresco* with the life and acts of Constantine the Great, by most excellent masters. The organs are rare, supported by four columns. The *soffitto* is all richly gilded, and full of pictures. Opposite to the porta is an altar of exquisite architecture, with a tabernacle on it all of precious stones, the work of Targoni ; on this is a cœna of plate, the invention of Curtius Vanni, of exceeding value ; the tables hanging over it are of Giuseppe d'Arpino. About this are four excellent columns transported out of Asia by the Emperor Titus, of brass, double gilt, about twelve feet in height ; the walls between them are incrustated with marble and set with statues in niches, the vacuum reported to be filled with holy earth, which St. Helena sent from Jerusalem to her son, Constantine, who set these pillars where they now stand. At one side of this is an oratory full of rare paintings and monuments, especially those of the great Connestabile Colonna. Out of this we came into the Sacristia, full of good pictures of Albert and others. At the end of the church is a flat stone supported by four pillars which they affirm to have been the exact height of our Blessed Saviour, and say they never fitted any mortal man that tried it, but he was either taller or shorter ; two columns of the veil of the Temple which rent at his passion ; the stone on which they threw lots for his seamless vesture ; and the pillar on which the cock crowed, after Peter's denial ; and, to omit no fine thing, the just length of the Virgin Mary's foot as it seems her shoemaker affirmed ! Here is a sumptuous cross, beset with precious stones, containing some of the *very* wood of the holy cross itself ; with many other things of this sort : also numerous most magnificent monuments, especially those of St. Helena, of porphyry ; Cardinal Farnese ; Martin I, of copper ; the pictures of Mary Magdalen, Martin V, Laurentius Valla, &c., are of Gaetano ; the Nunciata, designed by M. Angelo ; and the great crucifix of Sermoneta. In a chapel at one end of the porch is a statue of Henry IV of France, in brass, standing in a dark hole, and so has done many years ; perhaps from not believing him a thorough proselyte. The two famous Œcumenical Councils were celebrated in this Church by Pope Simachus, Martin I, Stephen, &c.

Leaving this venerable church (for in truth it has a certain majesty in it), we passed through a fair and large hospital of good architecture, having some inscriptions put up by Barberini, the late Pope's nephew. We then went by St. Sylvia, where is a noble statue of St. Gregory P., begun by M. Angelo ; a St. Andrew, and the bath of St. Cecilia. In this church are some rare paintings, especially that story on the wall of Guido Rheni. Thence to St. Giovanni e Paula, where the friars are reputed to be great chymists. The choir, roof, and paintings in the tribuna are excellent.

Descending the Mons Cælius, we came against the vestiges of the Palazzo Maggiore, heretofore the Golden House of Nero ; now nothing but a heap of vast and confused ruins, to show what time and the vicissitude of human things does change from the most glorious and magnificent to the most



deformed and confused. We next went into St. Sebastian's Church, which has a handsome front : then we passed by the place where Romulus and Remus were taken up by Faustus, the Forum Romanum, and so by the edge of the Mons Palatinus ; where we saw the ruins of Pompey's house, and the Church of St. Anacletus ; and so into the Circus Maximus, heretofore capable of containing a hundred and sixty thousand spectators, but now all one entire heap of rubbish, part of it converted into a garden of pot-herbs. We concluded this evening with hearing the rare voices and music at the Chiesa Nova.

*21st November.* I was carried to see a great virtuoso, Cavaliéro Pozzo, who showed us a rare collection of all kind of antiquities, and a choice library, over which are the effigies of most of our late men of polite literature. He had a great collection of the antique basso-relievos about Rome, which this curious man had caused to be designed in several folios : many fine medals ; the stone which Pliny calls Enhydros ; it had plainly in it the quantity of half a spoonful of water, of a yellow pebble colour, of the bigness of a walnut. A stone paler than an amethyst, which yet he affirmed to be the true carbuncle, and harder than a diamond ; it was set in a ring, without foil, or anything at the bottom, so as it was transparent, of a greenish yellow, more lustrous than a diamond. He had very pretty things painted on crimson velvet, designed in black, and shaded and heightened with white, set in frames ; also a number of choice designs and drawings.

Hence we walked to the Suburra and *Ærarium Saturni*, where yet remain some ruins and an inscription. From thence to St. Pietro in vinculis, one of the seven churches on the Esquiline, an old and much-frequented place of great devotion for the relics there, especially the bodies of the seven Maccabean brethren, which lie under the altar. On the wall is a St. Sebastian, of mosaic, after the Greek manner : but what I chiefly regarded was, that noble sepulchre of Pope Julius II, the work of M. Angelo ; with that never-sufficiently-to-be-admired statue of Moses, in white marble, and those of Vita Contemplativa and Activa, by the same incomparable hand. To this church belongs a monastery, in the court of whose cloisters grow two tall and very stately palm-trees. Behind these, we walked a turn amongst the Baths of Titus, admiring the strange and prodigious receptacles for water, which the vulgar call the *Setti Sali*, now all in heaps.

*22nd.* Was the solemn and greatest ceremony of all the State Ecclesiastical, viz., the procession of the Pope (Innocent X) to St. John di Laterano, which, standing on the steps of Ara Celi, near the Capitol, I saw pass in this manner : First went a guard of Switzers to make way, and divers of the avant guard of horse carrying lances. Next followed those who carried the robes of the Cardinals, two and two ; then the Cardinal's macebearers ; the caudatari, on mules ; the masters of their horse ; the Pope's barber, tailor, baker, gardener, and other domestic officers, all on horseback, in rich liveries ; the squires belonging to the Guard ; five men in rich liveries led five noble Neapolitan horses, white as snow, covered to the ground with trappings richly embroidered ; which is a service paid by the King of Spain for the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, pretended feudatories to the Pope ; three mules of exquisite beauty and price, trapped in crimson velvet ; next followed three rich litters with

mules, the litters empty ; the master of the horse alone, with his squires ; five trumpeters ; the armerieri estra muros ; the fiscal and consistorial advocates ; capellani, camerieri de honore, cubiculari and chamberlains, called secreti.

Then followed four other camerieri, with four caps of the dignity-pontifical, which were Cardinals' hats carried on staves ; four trumpets ; after them, a number of noble Romans and gentlemen of quality, very rich, and followed by innumerable staffieri and pages ; the secretaries of the cancellaria, abbreviatori-accoliti in their long robes, and on mules ; auditori di rota ; the dean of the roti and master of the sacred palace, on mules, with grave, but rich foot-clothes, and in flat episcopal hats ; then went more of the Roman and other nobility and courtiers, with divers pages in most rich liveries on horseback ; fourteen drums belonging to the Capitol ; the marshals with their staves ; the two syndics ; the conservators of the city, in robes of crimson damask ; the knight-confalionier and prior of the R. R., in velvet toques ; six of his Holiness's mace-bearers ; then the captain, or governor, of the Castle of St. Angelo, upon a brave prancer ; the governor of the city ; on both sides of these two long ranks of Switzers ; the masters of the ceremonies ; the cross-bearer on horseback, with two priests at each hand on foot ; pages, footmen, and guards, in abundance. Then came the Pope himself, carried in a litter, or rather open chair, of crimson velvet, richly embroidered, and borne by two stately mules ; as he went, he held up two fingers, blessing the multitude who were on their knees, or looking out of their windows and houses, with loud *vivas* and acclamations of felicity to their new Prince. This chair was followed by the master of his chamber, cup-bearer, secretary, and physician ; then came the Cardinal-Bishops, Cardinal-Priests, Cardinal-Deacons, Patriarchs, Archbishops, and Bishops, all in their several and distinct habits, some in red, others in green flat hats with tassels, all on gallant mules richly-trapped with velvet, and led by their servants in great state and multitudes ; after them, the apostolical protonotari, auditor, treasurer, and referendaries ; lastly, the trumpets of the rear-guard, two pages of arms in helmets with feathers, and carrying lances ; two captains ; the pontifical standard of the Church ; the two alferi, or cornets, of the Pope's light horse, who all followed in armour and carrying lances ; which, with innumerable rich coaches, litters, and people, made up the procession. What they did at St. John di Laterano, I could not see, by reason of the prodigious crowd ; so I spent most of the day in viewing the two triumphal arches which had been purposely erected a few days before, and till now covered ; the one by the Duke of Parma, in the Foro Romano, the other by the Jews in the Capitol, with flattering inscriptions. They were of excellent architecture, decorated with statues and abundance of ornaments proper for the occasion, since they were but temporary, and made up of boards, cloth, &c., painted and framed on the sudden, but as to outward appearance, solid and very stately. The night ended with fire-works. What I saw was that which was built before the Spanish Ambassador's house, in the Piazza del Trinita, and another, before that of the French. The first appeared to be a mighty rock, bearing the Pope's Arms, a dragon, and divers figures, which being set on fire by one who flung a rocket at it, kindled immediately, yet preserving the figure both of the rock and statues a very long time ; insomuch as it was deemed ten thousand reports



of squibs and crackers spent themselves in order. That before the French Ambassador's Palace was a Diana drawn in a chariot by her dogs, with abundance of other figures as large as the life, which played with fire in the same manner. In the mean time, the windows of the whole city were set with tapers put into lanterns, or sconces, of several coloured oiled paper, that the wind might not annoy them ; this rendered a most glorious show. Besides these, there were at least twenty other fire-works of vast charge and rare art for their invention before divers Ambassadors, Princes, and Cardinals' Palaces, especially that on the Castle of St. Angelo, being a pyramid of lights, of great height, fastened to the ropes and cables which support the standard-pole. The streets were this night as light as day, full of bonfires, cannon roaring, music playing, fountains running wine, in all excess of joy and triumph.

23<sup>rd</sup> November. I went to the Jesuits' College again, the front whereof gives place to few for its architecture, most of its ornaments being of rich marble. It has within a noble portico and court, sustained by stately columns, as is the corridor over the portico, at the sides of which are the schools for arts and sciences, which are here taught as at the University. Here I heard Father Athanasius Kircher upon a part of Euclid, which he expounded. To this joins a glorious and ample church for the students ; a second is not fully finished ; and there are two noble libraries, where I was showed that famous wit and historian, Famianus Strada<sup>a</sup>. Hence we went to the house of Hippolito Vitellesco (afterwards bibliothecary of the Vatican library), who showed us one of the best collections of statues in Rome, to which he frequently talks as if they were living, pronouncing now and then orations, sentences, and verses, sometimes kissing and embracing them. He has a beard of Brutus scarred in the face by order of the Senate for killing Julius ; this is much esteemed. Also a Minerva, and others of great value. This gentleman not long since purchased land in the kingdom of Naples, in hope, by digging the ground, to find more statues ; which it seems so far succeeded, as to be much more worth than the purchase. We spent the evening at the Chiesa Nova, where was excellent music ; but, before that began, the courteous fathers led me into a nobly furnished library, contiguous to their most beautiful convent.

28<sup>th</sup>. I went to see the garden and house of the Aldobrandini, now Cardinal Borghese's. This Palace is, for architecture, magnificence, pomp, and state, one of the most considerable about the city. It has four fronts, and a noble piazza before it. Within the courts, under arches supported by marble columns, are many excellent statues. Ascending the stairs, there is a rare figure of Diana, of white marble. The St. Sebastian and Hermaphrodite are of stupendous art. For paintings, our Saviour's Head, by Correggio ; several pieces of Raphael, some of which are small ; some of Bassano Veronese ; the Leda, and two admirable Venuses, are of Titian's pencil ; so is the Psyche and Cupid ; the Head of St. John, borne by Herodias ; two heads of Albert Dürer, very exquisite. We were shown here a fine cabinet and tables of Florence-work in stone. In the gardens

<sup>a</sup> Born at Rome, in 1572 ; after joining the Society of Jesus, in 1592, appointed professor of rhetoric in their college in Rome ; and known to the English reader by his *Prolusiones Academicæ*, in which he introduced clever imitations of the Latin poets, translations of several of which Addison published in the 'Guardian.' He died at Rome in 1649.

are many fine fountains, the walls covered with citron-trees, which, being rarely spread, invest the stone-work entirely ; and, towards the street, at a back gate, the port is so handsomely clothed with ivy as much pleased me. About this palace are many noble antique bassi-relievi : two especially are placed on the ground, representing armour, and other military furniture of the Romans ; besides these, stand about the garden numerous rare statues, altars, and urns. Above all for antiquity and curiosity (as being the only rarity of that nature now known to remain) is that piece of old Roman painting representing the Roman *Sponsalia*, or celebration of their marriage, judged to be 1400 years old, yet are the colours very lively, and the design very entire, though found deep in the ground. For this morsel of painting's sake only, it is said the Borghesi purchased the house, because this being on a wall in a kind of banqueting-house the garden, could not be removed, but passes with the inheritance.

29th November. I a second time visited the Medicean Palace, being near my lodging, the more exactly to have a view of the noble collections that adorn it, especially the bassi-relievi and antique friezes inserted about the stone-work of the house. The Saturn, of metal, standing in the portico, is a rare piece ; so is the Jupiter and Apollo, in the hall. We were now led into those rooms above we could not see before, full of incomparable statues and antiquities ; above all, and haply preferable to any in the world, are the Two Wrestlers, for the inextricable mixture with each other's arms and legs is stupendous. In the great chamber is the Gladiator, whetting a knife ; but the Venus is without parallel, being the masterpiece of one whose name you see graven under it in old Greek characters ; nothing in sculpture ever approached this miracle of art. To this add Marcius, Ganymede, a little Apollo playing on a pipe ; some relievi incrusted on the palace-walls ; and an antique vasa of marble, near six feet high. Among the pictures may be mentioned the Magdalen and St. Peter, weeping. I pass over the cabinets and tables of pietra commessa, being the proper invention of the Florentines. In one of the chambers is a whimsical chair, which folded into so many varieties, as to turn into a bed, a bolster, a table, or a couch. I had another walk in the garden, where are two huge vases, or baths of stone.

I went further up the hill to the Pope's Palaces at Monte Cavallo, where I now saw the garden more exactly, and found it to be one of the most magnificent and pleasant in Rome. I am told the gardener is annually allowed 2000 scudi for the keeping of it. Here I observed hedges of myrtle above a man's height ; others of laurel, oranges, nay, of ivy and juniper ; the close walks, and rustic grotto ; a cryptall, of which the laver, or basin, is of one vast, entire, antique porphyry, and below this flows a plentiful cascade ; the steps of the grotto and the roofs being of rich mosaic. Here are hydraulic organs, a fish-pond, and an ample bath. From hence, we went to taste some rare Greco ; and so home.

Being now pretty weary of continual walking, I kept within, for the most part, till the 6th December ; and, during this time, I entertained one Signor Alessandro, who gave me some lessons on the theorbo.

The next excursion was over the Tiber, which I crossed in a ferry-boat, to see the Palazzo di Ghisi, standing in Transtevere, fairly built, but famous only for the painting *al fresco* on the *volto* of the portico towards the garden ; the story is the Amours of Cupid and Psyche, by the hand



of the celebrated Raphael d'Urbino. Here you always see painters designing and copying after it, being esteemed one of the rarest pieces of that art in the world ; and with great reason. I must not omit that incomparable table of Galatea (as I remember), so carefully preserved in the cupboard at one of the ends of this walk, to protect it from the air, being a most lively painting. There are likewise excellent things of Baldassare, and others.

Thence we went to the noble house of the Duke of Bracciano, fairly built, with a stately court and fountain.

Next, we walked to St. Mary's Church, where was the *Taberna Meritoria*, where the old Roman soldiers received their triumphal garland, which they ever after wore. The high altar is very fair, adorned with columns of porphyry : here is also some mosaic work about the choir, and the Assumption is an esteemed piece. It is said that this church was the first that was dedicated to the Virgin at Rome. In the opposite piazza is a very sumptuous fountain.

12th December. I went again to St. Peter's, to see the chapels, churches, and grotts under the whole church (like our St. Faith's under Paul's), in which lie interred a multitude of Saints, Martyrs, and Popes ; amongst them our countryman, Adrian IV, (Nicholas Brekespere) in a chest of porphyry ; Sir J. Chrysostom ; Petronella ; the heads of St. James Minor, St. Luke, St. Sebastian, and our Thomas à Becket ; a shoulder of St. Christopher ; an arm of Joseph of Arimathea ; Longinus ; besides 134 more Bishops, Soldiers, Princes, Scholars, Cardinals, Kings, Emperors, their wives ; too long to particularize.

Hence we walked into the cemetery, called Campo Santo, the earth consisting of several ship-loads of mould, transported from Jerusalem, which consumes a carcase in twenty-four hours. To this joins that rare hospital, where once was Nero's Circus ; the next to this is the Inquisition-house and prison, the inside whereof, I thank God, I was not curious to see. To this joins his Holiness's Horse-guards.

On Christmas-eve, I went not to bed, being desirous of seeing the many extraordinary ceremonies performed then in their churches, as midnight masses and sermons. I walked from church to church the whole night in admiration at the multitude of scenes and pageantry which the friars had with much industry and craft set out, to catch the devout women and superstitious sort of people, who never parted without dropping some money into a vessel set on purpose ; but especially observable was the puppetry in the Church of the Minerva, representing the Nativity. I thence went and heard a sermon at the Apollinare ; by which time it was morning. On Christmas-day, his Holiness sang mass, the artillery of St. Angelo went off, and all this day was exposed the cradle of our Lord.

29th. We were invited by the English Jesuits to dinner, being their great feast of Thomas [à Becket] of Canterbury. We dined in their common refectory, and afterwards saw an Italian comedy acted by their alumni before the Cardinals.

1645. January. We saw pass the new officers of the people of Rome ; especially, for their noble habits were most conspicuous, the three Consuls, now called Conservators, who take their places in the Capitol, having been sworn the day before between the hands of the Pope. We ended the day with the rare music at the Chiesa Nova.

6th January. Was the ceremony of our Saviour's baptism in the Church of St. Athanasius, and at Ara Celi was a great procession, del Bambino, as they call it, where were all the magistrates, and a wonderful concourse of people.

7th. A sermon was preached to the Jews, at Ponte Sisto, who are constrained to sit till the hour is done ; but it is with so much malice in their countenances, spitting, humming, coughing, and motion, that it is almost impossible they should hear a word from the preacher. A conversion is very rare.

14th. The heads of St. Peter and St. Paul are exposed at St. John Laterano.

15th. The zitelle, or young wenches, which are to have portions given them by the Pope, being poor, and to marry them, walked in procession to St. Peter's, where the Veronica was showed.

I went to the Ghetto, where the Jews dwell as in a suburb by themselves ; being invited by a Jew of my acquaintance to see a circumcision. I passed by the Piazza Judea, where their seraglio begins ; for, being environed with walls, they are locked up every night. In this place remains yet part of a stately fabric, which my Jew told me had been a palace of theirs for the ambassador of their nation, when their country was subject to the Romans. Being led through the Synagogue into a private house, I found a world of people in a chamber : by and bye came an old man, who prepared and laid in order divers instruments brought by a little child of about seven years old in a box. These the man laid in a silver basin ; the knife was much like a short razor to shut into the half. Then they burnt some incense in a censer, which perfumed the room all the while the ceremony was performing. In the basin was a little cap made of white paper like a capuchin's hood, not bigger than the finger : also a paper of a red astringent powder, I suppose of bole ; a small instrument of silver, cleft in the middle at one end, to take up the prepuce withal ; a fine linen cloth wrapped up. These being all in order, the women brought the infant swaddled, out of another chamber, and delivered it to the Rabbi, who carried and presented it before an altar, or cupboard, dressed up, on which lay the five Books of Moses, and the Commandments, a little unrolled. Before this, with profound reverence, and mumbling a few words, he waved the child to and fro awhile ; then he delivered it to another Rabbi, who sate all this time upon a table. Whilst the ceremony was performing, all the company fell singing a Hebrew hymn, in a barbarous tone, waving themselves to and fro ; a ceremony they observe in all their devotions.—The Jews in Rome all wear yellow hats, live only upon brokage and usury, very poor and despicable, beyond what they are in other territories of Princes where they are permitted.

18th. I went to see the Pope's Palace, the Vatican, where he for the most part keeps his Court. It was first built by Pope Simachus, and since augmented to a vast pile of building by his successors. That part of it added by Sextus V is most magnificent. This leads us into divers terraces arched *sub dio*, painted by Raphael with the histories of the Bible, so esteemed, that artists come from all parts of Europe to make their studies from these designs. The foliage and grotesque about some of the compartments are admirable<sup>a</sup>. In another room are represented at

<sup>a</sup> Painted from the designs of Raphael, by John of Udine, his scholar.



large, maps and plots of most countries in the world, in vast tables, with brief descriptions. The stairs which ascend out of St. Peter's portico into the first hall, are rarely contrived for ease; these lead into the hall of Gregory XIII, the walls whereof, half way to the roof, are incrustured with most precious marbles of various colours and works. So is also the pavement inlaid work; but what exceeds description is, the *volta*, or roof itself, which is so exquisitely painted, that it is almost impossible for the skilfullest eye to discern whether it be the work of the pencil upon a flat, or of a tool cut deep in stone. The *Rota dentata*, in this admirable perspective, on the left hand as one goes out, the *Stella*, &c., are things of art incomparable. Certainly this is one of the most superb and royal apartments in the world, much too beautiful for a guard of gigantic Switzers, who do nothing but drink and play at cards in it. Going up these stairs is a painting of St. Peter, walking on the sea towards our Saviour.

Out of this I went into another hall, just before the chapel, called the *Sala del Conclave*, full of admirable paintings; amongst others is the Assassination of Coligni, the great [Protestant] French Admiral, murdered by the Duke of Guise, in the Parisian massacre at the nuptials of Henry IV with Queen Margaret; under it is written, '*Coligni et sociorum cædes*': on the other side '*Rex Coligi necem probat*.'

There is another very large picture, under which is inscribed:

Alexander Papa III, Frederici Primi Imperatoris iram et impetum fugiens, abdidit se Venetijs; cognitum et à senatu perhonorificè susceptum, Othone Imperatoris filio navali prælio victo captoq; Fredericus, pace facta, supplex adorat; fidem et obedientiam pollicitus. Ita Pontifici sua dignitas Venet. Reip. beneficio restituta MCLXXVIII<sup>a</sup>.

This inscription I the rather took notice of, because Urban VIII had caused it to be blotted out during the difference between him and that State; but it was now restored and refreshed by his successor, to the great honour of the Venetians. The Battle of Lepanto is another fair piece here.

Now we came into the Pope's chapel, so much celebrated for the Last Judgment painted by M. Angelo Buonarrotti. It is a painting in fresco, upon a dead wall at the upper end of the chapel, just over the high altar, of a vast design and miraculous fancy, considering the multitude of naked figures and variety of posture. The roof also is full of rare work. Hence, we went into the sacristia, where were showed all the most precious vestments, copes, and furniture of the chapel. One priestly cope, with the whole suite, had been sent from one of our English Henrys, and is shown for a great rarity. There were divers of the Pope's pantouffles that are kissed on his foot, having rich jewels embroidered on the instep, covered with crimson velvet; also his tiara, or triple crown, divers mitres, crosiers, &c., all bestudded with precious stones, gold, and pearl, to a very great value; a very large cross, carved (as they affirm) out of the holy wood

<sup>a</sup> Pope Alexander III, flying from the wrath and violence of the Emperor Frederick I, took shelter at Venice, where he was acknowledged, and most honourably received by the Senate. The Emperor's son, Otho, being conquered and taken in a naval battle, the Emperor, having made peace, became a suppliant to the Pope, promising fealty and obedience. Thus his dignity was restored to the Pontiff, by the aid of the Republic of Venice, MCLXXVIII.

itself ; numerous utensils of crystal, gold, agate, amber, and other costly materials for the altar.

We then went into those chambers painted with the Histories of the burning of Rome, quenched by the procession of a Crucifix ; the victory of Constantine over Maxentius ; St. Peter's delivery out of Prison ; all by Julio Romano, and are therefore called the Painters' Academy, because you always find some young men or other designing from them : a civility which is not refused in Italy, where any rare pieces of the old and best masters are extant, and which is the occasion of breeding up many excellent men in that profession.

The Sala Clementina's Suffito is painted by Cherubin Alberti, with an ample landscape of Paul Bril's.

We were then conducted into a new gallery, whose sides were painted with views of the most famous places, towns, and territories in Italy, rarely done, and upon the roof the chief Acts of the Roman Church since St. Peter's pretended Sec there. It is doubtless one of the most magnificent galleries in Europe. Out of this we came into the Consistory, a noble room, the volto painted in grotesque, as I remember. At the upper end, is an elevated throne and a baldacchino, or canopy of state, for his Holiness, over it.

From thence, through a very long gallery (longer, I think, than the French Kings at the Louvre), but only of bare walls, we were brought into the Vatican Library. This passage was now full of poor people, to each of whom, in his passage to St. Peter's, the Pope gave a mezzo grosse. I believe they were in number near 1500 or 2000 persons.

This library is the most nobly built, furnished, and beautified of any in the world ; ample, stately, light, and cheerful, looking into a most pleasant garden. The walls and roof are painted, not with antiques and grotesques, like our Bodleian at Oxford, but emblems, figures, diagrams, and the like learned inventions, found out by the wit and industry of famous men, of which there are now whole volumes extant. There were likewise the effigies of the most illustrious men of letters and fathers of the church, with divers noble statues, in white marble, at the entrance, viz., Hippolytus and Aristides. The General Councils are painted on the side-walls. As to the ranging of the books, they are all shut up in presses of wainscot, and not exposed on shelves to the open air, nor are the most precious mixed amongst the more ordinary, which are showed to the curious only ; such are those two Virgils written on parchment, of more than a thousand years old ; the like, a Terence ; the Acts of the Apostles in golden capital letters ; Petrarch's Epigrams, written with his own hand ; also a Hebrew parchment, made up in the ancient manner, from whence they were first called *Volumina*, with the Cornua ; but what we English do much inquire after, the book which our Henry VIII writ against Luther<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> This very book, by one of those curious chances that occasionally happen, found its way into England some forty years ago, and was seen by the Editor of the early edition of this Diary. It may be worth remarking that wherever, in the course of it, the title of 'Defender of the Faith' was subjoined to the name of Henry, the Pope had drawn his pen through the title. The name of the King occurred in his own handwriting both at the beginning and end ; and on the binding were the Royal Arms. Its possessor had purchased it in Italy for a few shillings from an old bookstall.



The largest room is 100 paces long ; at the end is the gallery of printed books ; then the gallery of the Duke of Urban's library, in which are MSS. of remarkable miniature, and divers China, Mexican, Samaritan, Abyssinian, and other oriental books.

In another wing of the edifice, 200 paces long, were all the books taken from Heidelberg, of which the learned Gruter, and other great scholars, had been keepers. These walls and volta are painted with representations of the machines invented by Domenico Fontana for erection of the obelisks ; and the true design of Mahomet's sepulchre at Mecca.

Out of this we went to see the Conclave, where, during a vacancy, the Cardinals are shut up till they are agreed upon a new election ; the whole manner whereof was described to us.

Hence we went into the Pope's Armoury, under the Library. Over the door is this inscription :

URBANUS VIII LITTERIS ARMA, ARMA LITTERIS.

I hardly believe any Prince in Europe is able to show a more completely furnished library of Mars, for the quality and quantity, which is 40,000 complete for horse and foot, and neatly kept. Out of this we passed again by the long gallery, and at the lower end of it down a very large pair of stairs, round, without any steps as usually, but descending with an evenness so ample and easy, that a horse-litter, or coach, may with ease be drawn up ; the sides of the vacuity are set with columns : those at Amboise, on the Loire, in France, are something of this invention, but nothing so spruce. By these, we descended into the Vatican gardens, called Belvedere, where entering first into a kind of court, we were showed those incomparable statues (so famed by Pliny and others) of Laocoon with his three sons embraced by a huge serpent, all of one entire Parian stone, very white and perfect, somewhat bigger than the life, the work of those three celebrated sculptors, Agesandrus, Polydorus, and Artemidorus, Rhodians ; it was found amongst the ruins of Titus's Baths, and placed here. Pliny says this statue is to be esteemed before all pictures and statues in the world ; and I am of his opinion, for I never beheld anything of art approach it. Here are also those two famous images of Nilus with the Children playing about him, and that of Tyber ; Romulus and Remus with the Wolf ; the dying Cleopatra ; the Venus and Cupid, rare pieces ; the Mercury ; Cybel ; Hercules ; Apollo ; Antinous : most of which are, for defence against the weather, shut up in niches with wainscot doors. We were likewise showed the relics of the Hadrian Moles, viz., the Pine, a vast piece of metal which stood on the summit of that mausoleum ; also a peacock of copper, supposed to have been part of Scipio's monument.

In the garden without this (which contains a vast circuit of ground) are many stately fountains, especially two casting water into antique lavers, brought from Titus's Baths ; some fair grotts and water-works, that noble cascade where the ship dances, with divers other pleasant inventions, walks, terraces, meanders, fruit-trees, and a most goodly prospect over the greatest part of the city. One fountain under the gate I must not omit, consisting of three jettos of water gushing out of the mouths or probosces of bees (the arms of the late Pope), because of the inscription :

Quid miraris Apem, quæ mel de floribus haurit ?  
Si tibi mellitam gutture fundit aquam.

23<sup>rd</sup> January. We went without the walls of the city to visit St. Paul's, to which place it is said the Apostle bore his own head after Nero had caused it to be cut off. The church was founded by the great Constantine ; the main roof is supported by 100 vast columns of marble, and the mosaic work of the great arch is wrought with a very ancient story A° 440 ; as is likewise that of the *facciata*. The gates are brass, made at Constantinople in 1070, as you may read by those Greek verses engraven on them. The church is near 500 feet long and 258 in breadth, and has five great aisles joined to it, on the basis of one of whose columns is this odd title : ' Fl. Eugenius Asellus C. C. Præf. Urbis V. S. I. reparavit.' Here they showed us that miraculous Crucifix which they say spake to St. Bridget : and, just before the Ciborio, stand two excellent statues. Here are buried part of the bodies of St. Paul and St. Peter. The pavement is richly interwoven with precious oriental marbles about the high altar, where are also four excellent paintings, whereof one, representing the stoning of St. Stephen, is by the hand of a Bolognian lady, named Lavinia. The tabernacle on this altar is of excellent architecture, and the pictures in the Chapel del Sacramento are of Lanfranco. Divers other relics there be also in this venerable church, as a part of St. Anna ; the head of the Woman of Samaria ; the chain which bound St. Paul, and the Eculeus used in tormenting the primitive Christians. The church stands in the Via Ositensis, about a mile from the walls of the city, separated from many buildings near it except the *Trie Fontana*, to which (leaving our coach) we walked, going over the mountain or little rising, upon which story says a hundred seventy and four thousand Christians had been martyred by Maximianus, Dioclesian, and other bloody tyrants. On this stand St. Vincent's and St. Anastasius ; likewise the Church of St. Maria Scala del Cielo, in whose Tribuna is a very fair mosaic work. The Church of the *Trie Fontana* (as they are called) is perfectly well built, though but small (whereas that of St. Paul is but Gothic), having a noble cupola in the middle ; in this they show the pillar to which St. Paul was bound, when his head was cut off, and from whence it made three prodigious leaps, where there immediately broke out the three remaining fountains, which give denomination to this church. The waters are reported to be medicinal ; over each is erected an altar and a chained ladle, for better tasting of the waters. That most excellent picture of St. Peter's Crucifixion is of Guido.

25<sup>th</sup>. I went again to the Palazzo Farnese, to see some certain statues and antiquities which, by reason of the Major-Domo not being within, I could not formerly obtain. In the hall stands that triumphant Colosse of one of the family, upon three figures, a modern, but rare piece. About it stood some Gladiators ; and, at the entrance into one of the first chambers, are two cumbent figures of *Age* and *Youth*, brought hither from St. Peter's to make room for the Longinus under the cupola. Here was the statue of a ram running at a man on horseback, a most incomparable expression of Fury, cut in stone ; and a table of *pietra-commessa*, very curious. The next chamber was all painted *al fresco*, by a rare hand, as was the carving in wood of the ceiling, which, as I remember, was in cedar, as the Italian mode is, and not poor plaster, as ours are ; some of them most richly gilt. In a third room, stood the famous Venus, and the child Hercules strangling a serpent, of Corinthian brass, antique, on



a very curious basso-relievo ; the sacrifice to Priapus ; the Egyptian Isis, in the hard, black ophite stone, taken out of the Pantheon, greatly celebrated by the antiquaries : likewise two tables of brass, containing divers old Roman laws. At another side of this chamber, was the statue of a wounded Amazon falling from her horse, worthy the name of the excellent sculptor, whoever the artist was. Near this was a bass-relievo of a Bacchanalia, with a most curious Silenus. The fourth room was totally environed with statues ; especially observable was that so renowned piece of a Venus looking backward over her shoulder, and divers other naked figures, by the old Greek masters. Over the doors are two Venuses, one of them looking on her face in a glass, by M. Angelo ; the other is painted by Caracci. I never saw finer faces, especially that under the mask, whose beauty and art are not to be described by words. The next chamber is also full of statues ; most of them the heads of Philosophers, very antique. One of the Cæsars and another of Hannibal cost 1200 crowns. Now I had a second view of that never-to-be-sufficiently-admired gallery, painted in deep relievo, the work of ten years' study, for a trifling reward. In the wardrobe above they showed us fine wrought plate, porcelain, mazers of beaten and solid gold, set with diamonds, rubies, and emeralds ; a treasure, especially the workmanship considered, of inestimable value. This is all the Duke of Parma's. Nothing seemed to be more curious and rare in its kind than the complete service of the purest crystal, for the altar of the chapel, the very bell, cover of a book, sprinkler, &c., were all of the rock, incomparably sculptured, with the holy story in deep Levati ; thus was also wrought the crucifix, chalice, vases, flower-pots, the largest and purest crystal that my eyes ever beheld. Truly I looked on this as one of the greatest curiosities I had seen in Rome. In another part were presses furnished with antique arms, German clocks, perpetual motions, watches, and curiosities of Indian works. A very ancient picture of Pope Eugenius ; a St. Bernard ; and a head of marble found long since, supposed to be a true portrait of our Blessed Saviour's face.

Hence, we went to see Dr. Gibbs, a famous poet and countryman of ours, who had some intendency in an Hospital built on the Via Triumphalis, called Christ's Hospital, which he showed us. The Infirmary, where the sick lay, was paved with various coloured marbles, and the walls hung with noble pieces ; the beds are very fair ; in the middle is a stately cupola, under which is an altar decked with divers marble statues, all in sight of the sick, who may both see and hear mass, as they lie in their beds. The organs are very fine, and frequently played on to recreate the people in pain. To this joins an apartment destined for the orphans ; and there is a school : the children wear blue, like ours in London, at an hospital of the same appellation. Here are forty nurses, who give suck to such children as are accidentally found exposed and abandoned. In another quarter, are children of a bigger growth, 450 in number, who are taught letters. In another, 500 girls, under the tuition of divers religious matrons, in a monastery, as it were, by itself. I was assured there were at least 2000 more maintained in other places. I think one apartment had in it near 1000 beds ; these are in a very long room, having an inner passage for those who attend, with as much care, sweetness, and convenience as can be imagined, the Italians being generally very neat. Under the portico, the sick may walk out and take the air. Opposite to this, are

other chambers for such as are sick of maladies of a more rare and difficult cure, and they have rooms apart. At the end of the long corridor is an apothecary's shop, fair and very well stored; near which are chambers for persons of better quality, who are yet necessitous. Whatever the poor bring is, at their coming in, delivered to a treasurer, who makes an inventory, and is accountable to them, or their representatives if they die.

To this building joins the house of the commendator, who, with his officers attending the sick, make up ninety persons; besides a convent and an ample church for the friars and priests who daily attend. The church is extremely neat, and the sacristia is very rich. Indeed it is altogether one of the most pious and worthy foundations I ever saw. Nor is the benefit small which divers young physicians and chirurgeons reap by the experience they learn here amongst the sick, to whom those students have free access. Hence, we ascended a very steep hill, near the Port St. Pancratio, to that stately fountain called *Acqua Paula*, being the aqueduct which Augustus had brought to Rome, now re-edified by Paulus V; a rare piece of architecture, and which serves the city after a journey of thirty-five miles, here pouring itself into divers ample lavers, out of the mouths of swans and dragons, the arms of this Pope. Situate on a very high mount, it makes a most glorious show to the city, especially when the sun darts on the water as it gusheth out. The inscriptions on it are:

Paulus V Romanus Pontifex Opt. Max. Aquæductus ab Augusto Cæsare extructos, ævi longinquâ vetustate collapsos, in ampliorem formam restituit anno salutis M.D.C.IX. Pont. V.

And, towards the fields:

Paulus V Rom. Pontifex Optimus Maximus, priori ductu longissimi temporis injuriâ penè diruto, sublimiorem

[One or more leaves are here wanting in Evelyn's MS., descriptive of other parts of Rome, and of his leaving the City.]

Thence to Velletri, a town heretofore of the Volsci, where is a public and fair statue of P. Urban VIII, in brass, and a stately fountain in the street. Here we lay, and drank excellent wine.

28th January. We dined at Sermonetta, descending all this morning down a stony mountain, unpleasant, yet full of olive-trees; and, anon, pass a tower built on a rock, kept by a small guard against the banditti who infest these parts, daily robbing and killing passengers, as my Lord Banbury and his company found to their cost a little before. To this guard we gave some money, and so were suffered to pass, which was still on the Appian to the *Tres Tabernæ* (whither the brethren came from Rome to meet St. Paul, Acts, c. 28); the ruins whereof are yet very fair, resembling the remainder of some considerable edifice, as may be judged by the vast stones and fairness of the arched work. The country environing this passage is hilly, but rich; on the right hand stretches an ample plain, being the *Pomptini Campi*. We reposed this night at Piperno, in the post-house without the town; and here I was extremely troubled with a sore hand, from a mischance at Rome, which now began to fester, upon my base, unlucky, stiff-necked, trotting, carrion mule; which are the most wretched beasts in the world. In this town was the poet Virgil's Camilla born.

The day following, we were fain to hire a strong convoy of about thirty firelocks, to guard us through the cork-woods (much infested with the



banditti) as far as Fossa Nuova, where was the Forum Appii, and now stands a church with a great monastery, the place where Thomas Aquinas both studied and lies buried. Here we all alighted, and were most courteously received by the Monks, who showed us many relics of their learned Saint, and at the high altar the print forsooth of the mule's hoof which he caused to kneel before the Host. The church is old, built after the Gothic manner; but the place is very agreeably melancholy. After this, pursuing the same noble [Appian] way (which we had before left a little), we found it to stretch from Capua to Rome itself, and afterwards as far as Brundisium. It was built by that famous Consul, twenty-five feet broad, every twelve feet something ascending for the ease and firmer footing of horse and man; both the sides are also a little raised for those who travel on foot. The whole is paved with a kind of beach-stone, and, as I said, ever and anon adorned with some old ruin, sepulchre, or broken statue. In one of these monuments Pancirollus tells us that, in the time of Paul III, there was found the body of a young lady, swimming in a kind of bath of precious oil, or liquor, fresh and entire as if she had been living, neither her face discoloured, nor her hair disordered; at her feet burnt a lamp, which suddenly expired at the opening of the vault; having flamed, as was computed, now 1500 years, by the conjecture that she was Tulliola, the daughter of Cicero, whose body was thus found, and as the inscription testified. We dined this day at Terracina, heretofore the famous Anxur, which stands upon a very eminent promontory, the Cercean by name. Whilst meat was preparing, I went up into the town, and viewed the fair remainders of Jupiter's Temple, now converted into a church, adorned with most stately columns; its architecture has been excellent, as may be deduced from the goodly cornices, mouldings, and huge white marbles of which it is built. Before the portico stands a pillar thus inscribed:

*Inclyta Gothorum Regis monumenta vetusta  
Anxuri hoc Oculos exposuere loco.*

for, it seems, Theodoric drained their marches.

On another more ancient:

*Imp. Cæsar Divi Nervæ Filius Nerva Trojanus Aug. Germanicus Dacicus. Pontif. Max. Trib. Pop. XVIII. Imp. VI. Cos. V. p. p. XVIII. Silices suâ pecuniâ stravit.*

Meaning, doubtless, some part of the Via Appia. Then:

*Tit. Upio. Aug. optato Pontano Procuratori et Præfect. Classis.—Ti. Julius. T. Fab. optatus II. vir.*

Here is likewise a Columna Milliaria, with something engraven on it, but I could not stay to consider it. Coming down again, I went towards the sea-side to contemplate that stupendous strange rock and promontory, cleft by hand, I suppose, for the better passage. Within this is the Cercean Cave, which I went into a good way; it makes a dreadful noise, by reason of the roaring and impetuous waves continually assailing the beach, and that in an unusual manner. At the top, at an excessive height, stands an old and very great castle. We arrived this night at Fondi, a most dangerous passage for robbing; and so we passed by Galba's villa, and anon entered the kingdom of Naples, where, at the gate, this epigraph saluted us: 'Hospes, hic sunt fines Regni Neopolitani; si amicus advenis, pacatè omnia invenies, et malis moribus pulsus, bonas leges.' The Via

Appia is here a noble prospect ; having before considered how it was carried through vast mountains of rocks for many miles, by most stupendous labour : here it is infinitely pleasant, beset with sepulchres and antiquities, full of sweet shrubs in the environing hedges. At Fondi, we had oranges and citrons for nothing, the trees growing in every corner, charged with fruit.

*29th January.* We descried Mount Cæcubus, famous for the generous wine it heretofore produced, and so rid onward the Appian Way, beset with myrtles, lentiscuses, bays, pomegranates, and whole groves of orange-trees, and most delicious shrubs, till we came to Formiana [Formiæ], where they showed us Cicero's Tomb, standing in an olive grove, now a rude heap of stones without form or beauty ; for here that incomparable orator was murdered. I shall never forget how exceedingly I was delighted with the sweetness of this passage, the sepulchre mixed amongst all sorts of verdure ; besides being now come within sight of the noble city, Cajeta [Gaieta], which gives a surprising prospect along the Tyrrhene Sea, in manner of a theatre : and here we beheld that strangely cleft rock, a frightful spectacle, which they say happened upon the passion of our Blessed Saviour ; but the haste of our procaccio did not suffer us to dwell so long on these objects and the many antiquities of this town as we desired.

At Formi, we saw Cicero's grot, dining at Mola, and passing Sinuessa, Garigliano (once the city Mintern), and beheld the ruins of that vast amphitheatre and aqueduct yet standing ; the river Liris, which bounded the old Latium, Falernus, or Mons Massacus, celebrated for its wine, now named Garo ; and this night we lodged at a little village, called St. Agatha, in the Falernian Fields, near to Aurunca and Sessa.

The next day, having passed [the river] Volturnus, we come by the Torre di Francolisi, where Hannibal, in danger from Fabius Maximus, escaped by debauching his enemies ; and so at last we entered the most pleasant plains of Campania, now called Terra di Lavoro ; in very truth, I think, the most fertile spot that ever the sun shone upon. Here we saw the slender ruins of the once mighty Capua, contending at once both with Rome and Carthage, for splendour and empire, now nothing but a heap of rubbish, except showing some vestige of its former magnificence in pieces of temples, arches, theatres, columns, ports, vaults, colosses, &c., confounded together by the barbarous Goths and Longobards ; there is, however, a new city, nearer to the road by two miles, fairly raised out of these heaps. The passage from this town to Naples (which is about ten or twelve English post miles) is as straight as a line, of great breadth, fuller of travellers than I remember any of our greatest and most frequented roads near London ; but, what is extremely pleasing, is the great fertility of the fields, planted with fruit-trees, whose boles are serpented with excellent vines, and they so exuberant, that it is commonly reported one vine will load five mules with its grapes. What adds much to the pleasure of the sight is, that the vines, climbing to the summit of the trees, reach in festoons and fruitages from one tree to another, planted at exact distances, forming a more delightful picture than painting can describe. Here grow rice, canes for sugar, olives, pomegranates, mulberries, citrons, oranges, figs, and other sorts of rare fruits. About the middle of the way is the town Aversa, whither came three or four coaches to meet our lady-



travellers, of whom we now took leave, having been very merry by the way with them and the capitano, their gallant.

*31st January.* About noon, we entered the city of Naples, alighting at the Three Kings, where we found the most plentiful fare all the time we were in Naples. Provisions are wonderfully cheap; we seldom sat down to fewer than eighteen or twenty dishes of exquisite meat and fruits.

The morrow after our arrival, in the afternoon, we hired a coach to carry us about the town. First, we went to the castle of St. Elmo, built on a very high rock, whence we had an entire prospect of the whole city, which lies in shape of a theatre upon the sea-brink, with all the circumjacent islands, as far as Capreae, famous for the debauched recesses of Tiberius. This fort is the bridle of the whole city, and was well stored and garrisoned with native Spaniards. The strangeness of the precipice and rareness of the prospect of so many magnificent and stately palaces, churches, and monasteries, with the Arsenal, the Mole, and Mount Vesuvius in the distance, all in full command of the eye, make it one of the richest landscapes in the world.

Hence, we descended to another strong castle, called Il Castello Nuovo, which protects the shore; but they would by no entreaty permit us to go in; the outward defence seems to consist but in four towers, very high, and an exceeding deep graff, with thick walls. Opposite to this is the tower of St. Vincent, which is also very strong.

Then we went to the very noble Palace of the Viceroy, partly old, and part of a newer work; but we did not stay long here. Towards the evening, we took the air upon the Mole, a street on the rampart, or bank, raised in the sea for security of their galleys in port, built as that of Genoa. Here I observed a rich fountain in the middle of the piazza, and adorned with divers rare statues of copper, representing the Sirens, or Deities of the Parthenope, spouting large streams of water into an ample shell, all of cast metal, and of great cost. This stands at the entrance of the Mole, where we met many of the nobility both on horseback and in their coaches to take the fresco from the sea, as the manner is, it being in the most advantageous quarter for good air, delight and prospect. Here we saw divers goodly horses who handsomely become their riders, the Neapolitan gentlemen. This Mole is about 500 paces in length, and paved with a square hewn stone. From the Mole, we ascend to a church of great antiquity, formerly sacred to Castor and Pollux, as the Greek letters carved on the architrave and the busts of their two statues testify. It is now converted into a stately oratory by the Theatines.

The Cathedral is a most magnificent pile, and except St. Peter's in Rome, Naples exceeds all cities for stately churches and monasteries. We were told that this day the blood of St. Januarius and his head should be exposed, and so we found it, but obtained not to see the miracle of the boiling of this blood. The next we went to see was St. Peter's, richly adorned, the chapel especially, where that Apostle said mass, as is testified on the wall.

After dinner, we went to St. Dominic, where they showed us the crucifix that is reported to have said these words to St. Thomas, 'Benè de me scripsisti, Thoma.' Hence, to the Padri Olivetani, famous for the monument of the learned Alexander-ab-Alexandro.

We proceeded, the next day, to visit the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, where we spent much time in surveying the chapel of Joh. Jov. Pontanus,

and in it the several and excellent sentences and epitaphs on himself, wife, children, and friends, full of rare wit, and worthy of recording, as we find them in several writers. In the same chapel is showed an arm of Titus Livius, with this epigraph: 'Titi Livij brachium quod Anton. Panormita a Patavinis impetravit, Jo. Jovianus Pontanus multos post annos hôc in loco ponendum curavit.'

Climbing a steep hill, we came to the monastery and Church of the Carthusians, from whence is a most goodly prospect towards the sea and city, the one full of galleys and ships, the other of stately palaces, churches, monasteries, castles, gardens, delicious fields and meadows, Mount Vesuvius smoking, the Promontory of Minerva and Misenum Capreæ, Prochyta, Ischia, Pausilipum, Puteoli, and the rest, doubtless one of the most divertissant and considerable vistas in the world. The church is most elegantly built; the very pavements of the common cloister being all laid with variously polished marbles, richly figured. They showed us a massy cross of silver, much celebrated for the workmanship and carving, and said to have been fourteen years in perfecting. The choir also is of rare art; but above all to be admired, is the yet unfinished church of the Jesuits, certainly, if accomplished, not to be equalled in Europe. Hence, we passed by the Palazzo Caraffi, full of ancient and very noble statues: also the Palace of the Orsini. The next day, we did little but visit some friends, English merchants, resident for their negotiation; only this morning at the Viceroy's Cavalerizza I saw the noblest horses that I had ever beheld, one of his sons riding the menage with that address and dexterity as I had never seen anything approach it.

4th February. We were invited to the collection of exotic rarities in the Museum of Ferdinando Imperati, a Neapolitan nobleman, and one of the most observable palaces in the city, the repository of incomparable rarities. Amongst the natural herbals most remarkable was the Byssus marina and Pinna marina; the male and female chamelion; an Onocrotatus; an extraordinary great crocodile; some of the Orcades Anates, held here for a great rarity; likewise a salamander; the male and female Manu-cordiata, the male having a hollow in the back, in which it is reported the female both lays and hatches her eggs; the mandragoras, of both sexes; Papyrus, made of several reeds, and some of silk; tables of the rinds of trees, written with Japonic characters; another of the branches of palm; many Indian fruits; a crystal that had a quantity of uncongealed water within its cavity; a petrified fisher's net; divers sorts of tarantulas, being a monstrous spider, with lark-like claws, and somewhat bigger.

5th. This day we beheld the Vice-king's procession, which was very splendid for the relics, banners, and music that accompanied the Blessed Sacrament. The ceremony took up most of the morning.

6th. We went by coach to take the air, and see the diversions, or rather madness, of the Carnival; the courtesans (who swarm in this city to the number, as we are told, of 30,000, registered and paying a tax to the State) flinging eggs of sweet water into our coach, as we passed by the houses and windows. Indeed, the town is so pestered with these cattle, that there needs no small mortification to preserve from their enchantment whilst they display all their natural and artificial beauty, play, sing, feign compliment, and by a thousand studied devices seek to inveigle foolish young men.



7th February. The next day, being Saturday, we went four miles out of town on mules, to see that famous volcano, Mount Vesuvius. Here we pass a fair fountain, called Labulla, which continually boils, supposed to proceed from Vesuvius, and thence over a river and bridge, where on a large upright stone, is engraven a notable inscription relative to the memorable eruption in 1630<sup>a</sup>.

Approaching the hill, as we were able with our mules, we alighted, crawling up the rest of the proclivity with great difficulty, now with our feet, now with our hands, not without many untoward slips which did much bruise us on the various coloured cinders, with which the whole mountain is covered, some like pitch, others full of perfect brimstone, others metallic, interspersed with innumerable pumices (of all which I made a collection), we at the last gained the summit of an extensive altitude. Turning our faces towards Naples, it presents one of the goodliest prospects in the world ; all the Baiæ, Cuma, Elysian Fields, Capreæ, Ischia, Prochyta, Misenus, Puteoli, that goodly city, with a great portion of the Tyrrhene Sea, offering themselves to your view at once, and at so agreeable a distance, as nothing can be more delightful. The mountain consists of a double top, the one pointed very sharp, and commonly appearing above any clouds, the other blunt. Here, as we approached, we met many large gaping clefts and chasms, out of which issued such sulphureous blasts and smoke, that we durst not stand long near them. Having gained the very summit, I laid myself down to look over into that most frightful and terrible vorago, a stupendous pit of near three miles in circuit, and half a mile in depth, by a perpendicular hollow cliff (like that from the highest part of Dover Castle), with now and then a craggy prominence jetting out. The area at the bottom is plane, like an even floor, which seems to be made by the wind circling the ashes by its eddy blasts. In the middle and centre is a hill, shaped like a great brown loaf, appearing to consist of sulphureous matter, continually vomiting a foggy exhalation, and ejecting huge stones with an impetuous noise and roaring, like the report of many muskets discharging. This horrid barathrum engaged our attention for some hours, both for the strangeness of the spectacle, and the mention which the old histories make of it, as one of the most stupendous curiosities in nature, and which made the learned and inquisitive Pliny adventure his life to detect the causes, and to lose it in too desperate an approach. It is likewise famous for the stratagem of the rebel, Spartacus, who did so much mischief to the State, lurking amongst and protected by, these horrid caverns, when it was more accessible and less dangerous than it is now ; but especially notorious it is for the last conflagration, when, in anno 1630, it burst out beyond what it had ever done in the memory of history ; throwing out huge stones and fiery pumices in such quantity, as not only environed the whole mountain, but totally buried and overwhelmed divers towns and their inhabitants, scattering the ashes more than a hundred miles, and utterly devastating all those vineyards, where formerly grew the most incomparable Greco ; when, bursting through the bowels of the earth, it absorbed the very sea, and, with its whirling waters, drew in divers galleys and other vessels to their destruction, as is faithfully recorded. We descended with more ease than we climbed up, through a deep valley of

<sup>a</sup> It may be seen at length in Wright's *Travels*, and in Misson's *New Voyage to Italy*, i, 431.

pure ashes, which at the late eruption was a flowing river of melted and burning brimstone, and so came to our mules at the foot of the mountain.

On Sunday, we with our guide visited the so much celebrated Baia, and natural rarities of the places adjacent. Here we entered the mountain Pausilypus, at the left hand of which they showed us Virgil's sepulchre erected on a steep rock, in form of a small rotunda or cupolated column, but almost overgrown with bushes and wild bay trees. At the entrance is this inscription :

Stanisi Cencovius.

1589.

Qui cineres ? Tumuli hæc vestigia, conditur olim

Ille hôc qui cecinit Pascua, Rura Duces.

Can Ree MDLIII<sup>a</sup>

After we were advanced into this noble and altogether wonderful crypt, consisting of a passage spacious enough for two coaches to go abreast, cut through a rocky mountain near three quarters of a mile (by the ancient Cimmerii as reported, but as others say by L. Cocceius, who employed a hundred thousand men on it), we came to the midway, where there is a well bored through the diameter of this vast mountain, which admits the light into a pretty chapel, hewn out of the natural rock, wherein hang divers lamps, perpetually burning. The way is paved under foot ; but it does not hinder the dust, which rises so excessively in this much-frequented passage, that we were forced at mid-day to use a torch. At length, we were delivered from the bowels of the earth into one of the most delicious plains in the world : the oranges, lemons, pomegranates, and other fruits, blushing yet on the perpetually green trees ; for the summer is here eternal, caused by the natural and adventitious heat of the earth, warmed through the subterranean fires, as was shown us by our guide, who alighted, and, cutting up a turf with his knife, and delivering it to me, it was so hot, I was hardly able to hold it in my hands. This mountain is exceedingly fruitful in vines, and exotics grow readily.

We now came to a lake of about two miles in circumference, environed with hills ; the water of it is fresh and sweet on the surface, but salt at bottom ; some mineral salt conjectured to be the cause, and it is reported of that profunditude in the middle that it is bottomless. The people call it Lago d'Agnano, from the multitude of serpents which, involved together about the spring, fall down from the cliffy hills into it. It has no fish, nor will any live in it. We tried the old experiment on a dog in the Grotto del Cane, or Charon's Cave ; it is not above three or four paces deep, and about the height of a man, nor very broad. Whatever having life enters it, presently expires. Of this we made trial with two dogs, one of which we bound to a short pole to guide him the more directly into the further part of the den, where he was no sooner entered, but—without the least noise, or so much as a struggle, except that he panted for breath, lolling out his tongue, his eyes being fixed :—we drew him out dead to all

<sup>a</sup> Such is the inscription, as copied by Evelyn ; but as its sense is not very clear, and the Diary contains instances of incorrectness in transcribing, it may be desirable to subjoin the distich said (by Keyser in his *Travels*, ii, 433) to be the only one in the whole mausoleum :

Quæ cineris tumulo hæc vestigia ? conditur olim

Ille hoc qui cecinit pascua, rura, duces.



appearance ; but immediately plunging him into the adjoining lake, within less than half an hour he recovered, and swimming to shore, ran away from us. We tried the same on another dog, without the application of the water, and left him quite dead. The experiment has been made on men, as on that poor creature whom Peter of Toledo caused to go in ; likewise on some Turkish slaves ; two soldiers, and other fool-hardy persons, who all perished, and could never be recovered by the water of the lake, as are dogs ; for which many learned reasons have been offered, as Simon Majolus in his book of the Canicular-days has mentioned, colloq. 15. And certainly the most likely is, the effect of those hot and dry vapours which ascend out of the earth, and are condensed by the ambient cold, as appears by their converting into crystalline drops on the top, whilst at the bottom it is so excessively hot, that a torch being extinguished near it, and lifted a little distance, was suddenly relighted.

Near to this cave are the natural stoves of St. Germain, of the nature of sudatories, in certain chambers partitioned with stone for the sick to sweat in, the vapours here being exceedingly hot, and of admirable success in the gout, and other cold distempers of the nerves. Hence, we climbed up a hill, the very highway in several places even smoking with heat like a furnace. The mountains were by the Greeks called Leucogæi, and the fields Phlegræan. Hercules here vanquished the Giants, assisted with lightning. We now came to the Court of Vulcan, consisting of a valley near a quarter of a mile in breadth, the margent environed with steep cliffs, out of whose sides and foot break forth fire and smoke in abundance, making a noise like a tempest of water, and sometimes discharging in loud reports, like so many guns. The heat of this place is wonderful, the earth itself being almost unsufferable, and which the subterranean fires have made so hollow, by having wasted the matter for so many years, that it sounds like a drum to those who walk upon it ; and the water thus struggling with those fires, bubbles and spouts aloft into the air. The mouths of these spiracles are bestrewed with variously coloured cinders, which rise with the vapour, as do many coloured stones, according to the quality of the combustible matter, insomuch as it is no little adventure to approach them. They are, however, daily frequented both by sick and well ; the former receiving the fumes, have been recovered of diseases esteemed incurable. Here we found a great deal of sulphur made, which they refine in certain houses near the place, casting it into canes, to a very great value. Near this we were showed a hill of alum, where is one of the best mineries, yielding a considerable revenue. Some flowers of brass are found here ; but I could not but smile at those who persuade themselves that here are the gates of purgatory (for which it may be they have erected, very near it, a convent, and named it St. Januarius), reporting to have often heard screeches and horrible lamentations proceeding from these caverns and volcanoes ; with other legends of birds that are never seen save on Sundays, which cast themselves into the lake at night, appearing no more all the week after.

We now approached the ruins of a very stately temple, or theatre, of 172 feet in length, and about 80 in breadth, thrown down by an earthquake, not long since ; it was consecrated to Vulcan, and under the ground are many strange meanders ; from which it is named the *Labyrinth* ; this

place is so haunted with bats, that their perpetual fluttering endangered the putting-out our links.

Hence, we passed again those boiling and smoking hills, till we came to Pozzolo, formerly the famous Puteoli, the landing-place of St. Paul, when he came into Italy, after the tempest described in the Acts of the Apostles. Here we made a good dinner, and bought divers medals, antiquities, and other curiosities, of the country-people, who daily find such things amongst the very old ruins of those places. This town was formerly a Greek colony, built by the Samians, a reasonable commodious port, and full of observable antiquities. We saw the ruins of Neptune's Temple, to whom this place was sacred, and near it the stately Palace and gardens of Peter de Toledo, formerly mentioned. Afterwards, we visited that admirably built Temple of Augustus, seeming to have been hewn out of an entire rock, though indeed consisting of several square stones. The inscription remains thus: 'L. Calphurnius L. F. Templum Augusto cum ornamentis D. D.'; and under it, 'L. Coccejus L. C. Postumi L. Auctus Architectus.' It is now converted into a church, in which they showed us huge bones, which they affirm to have been of some giant.

We went to see the ruins of the old haven, so compact with that bituminous sand in which the materials are laid, as the like is hardly to be found, though all this has not been sufficient to protect it from the fatal concussions of several earthquakes (frequent here) which have almost demolished it, thirteen vast piles of marble only remaining; a stupendous work in the bosom of Neptune! To this joins the bridge of Caligula, by which (having now embarked ourselves) we sailed to the pleasant Baia, almost four miles in length, all which way that proud Emperor would pass in triumph. Here we rowed along towards a villa of the orator Cicero's, where we were showed the ruins of his Academy; and, at the foot of a rock, his Baths, the waters reciprocating their tides with the neighbouring sea. Hard at hand, rises Mount Gaurus, being, as I conceived, nothing save a heap of pumices, which here float in abundance on the sea, exhausted of all inflammable matter by the fire, which renders them light and porous, so as the beds of nitre, which lie deep under them, having taken fire, do easily eject them. They dig much for fancied treasure said to be concealed about this place. From hence, we coasted near the ruins of Portus Julius, where we might see divers stately palaces that had been swallowed up by the sea after earthquakes. Coming to shore, we pass by the Lucrine Lake, so famous heretofore for its delicious oysters, now producing few or none, being divided from the sea by a bank of incredible labour, the supposed work of Hercules; it is now half choked up with rubbish, and by part of the new mountain, which rose partly out of it, and partly out of the sea, and that in the space of one night and a day, to a very great altitude, on the 29th September, 1538, after many terrible earthquakes, which ruined divers places thereabout, when at midnight the sea retiring near 200 paces, and yawning on the sudden, it continued to vomit forth flames and fiery stones in such quantity, as produced this whole mountain by their fall, making the inhabitants of Pozzolo to leave their habitations, supposing the end of the world had been come.

From the left part of this, we walked to the Lake Avernus, of a round form, and totally environed with mountains. This lake was feigned by the poet for the gates of hell, by which Æneas made his descent, and



where he sacrificed to Pluto and the Manes. The waters are of a remarkably black colour; but I tasted of them without danger; hence, they feign that the river Styx has its source. At one side, stand the handsome ruins of a Temple dedicated to Apollo, or rather Pluto, but it is controverted. Opposite to this, having new lighted our torches, we enter a vast cave, in which having gone about two hundred paces, we pass a narrow entry which leads us into a room of about ten paces long, proportionable broad and high; the side walls and roof retain still the golden mosaic, though now exceedingly decayed by time. Here is a short cell or rather niche, cut out of the solid rock, somewhat resembling a couch, in which they report that the Sibylla lay, and uttered her Oracles; but it is supposed by most to have been a bath only. This subterranean grot leads quite through to Cuma, but is in some places obstructed by the earth which has sunk in, so as we were constrained back again, and to creep on our bellies, before we came to the light. It is reported Nero had once resolved to cut a channel for two great galleys that should have extended to Ostia, 150 miles distant. The people now call it Licola.

From hence, we ascended to that most ancient city of Italy, the renowned Cuma, built by the Grecians. It stands on a very eminent promontory, but is now a heap of ruins. A little below, stands the Arco Felice, heretofore part of Apollo's Temple, with the foundations of divers goodly buildings; amongst whose heaps are frequently found statues and other antiquities, by such as dig for them. Near this is the Lake Acherutia, and Acheron. Returning to the shore, we came to the Bagni de Tritoli and Diana, which are only long narrow passages cut through the main rock, where the vapours ascend so hot, that entering with the body erect you will even faint with excessive perspiration; but, stooping lower, as sudden a cold surprises. These sudatories are much in request for many infirmities. Now we entered the haven of the Bahiæ, where once stood that famous town, so called from the companion of Ulysses here buried; not without great reason celebrated for one of the most delicious places that the sun shines on, according to that of Horace:

*Nullus in Orbe locus Baiis præluet amœnis.*

Though, as to the stately fabrics, there now remain little save the ruins, whereof the most entire is that of Diana's Temple, and another of Venus. Here were those famous poles of lampreys that would come to hand when called by name, as Martial tells us. On the summit of the rock stands a strong castle garrisoned to protect the shore from Turkish pirates. It was once the retiring place of Julius Cæsar.

Passing by the shore again, we entered Bauli, observable from the monstrous murder of Nero committed on his mother Agrippina. Her sepulchre was yet showed us in the rock, which we entered, being covered with sundry heads and figures of beasts. We saw there the roots of a tree turned into stone, and are continually dropping.

Thus having viewed the foundations of the old Cimmeria, the palaces of Marius, Pompey, Nero, Hortensius, and other villas and antiquities, we proceeded towards the promontory of Misenus, renowned for the sepulchre of Æneas's Trumpeter. It was once a great city, now hardly a ruin, said to have been built from this place to the promontory of Minerva, fifty miles distant, now discontinued and demolished by the frequent earthquakes.

Here was the villa of Caius Marius, where Tiberius Cæsar died ; and here runs the Aqueduct, thought to be dug by Nero, a stupendous passage, heretofore nobly arched with marble, as the ruins testify. Hence, we walked to those receptacles of water called *Piscina Mirabilis*, being a vault of 500 feet long, and twenty-two in breadth, the roof propped up with four ranks of square pillars, twelve in a row ; the walls are brick, plastered over with such a composition as for strength and politure resembles white marble. 'Tis conceived to have been built by Nero, as a conservatory for fresh water ; as were also the Centi Camerelli, into which we were next led. All these crypta being now almost sunk into the earth, show yet their former amplitude and magnificence.

Returning towards the Baia, we again pass the Elysian Fields, so celebrated by the poets, nor unworthily, for their situation and verdure, being full of myrtles and sweet shrubs, and having a most delightful prospect towards the Tyrrhene Sea. Upon the verge of these remain the ruins of the Mercato di Saboto, formerly a Circus ; over the arches stand divers urns, full of Roman ashes.

Having well satisfied our curiosity among these antiquities, we retired to our felucca, which rowed us back again towards Pozzolo, at the very place of St. Paul's landing. Keeping along the shore, they showed us a place where the sea-water and sands did exceedingly boil. Thence, to the island Nesis, once the fabulous Nymph ; and thus we leave the Baia, so renowned for the sweet retirements of the most opulent and voluptuous Romans. They certainly were places of uncommon amenity, as their yet tempting site, and other circumstances of natural curiosities, easily invite me to believe, since there is not in the world so many stupendous rarities to be met with, as in the circle of a few miles which environ these blissful abodes.

*8th February.* Returned to Naples, we went to see the Arsenal, well-furnished with galleys and other vessels. The city is crowded with inhabitants, gentlemen and merchants. The government is held of the Pope by an annual tribute of 40,000 ducats and a white jennet ; but the Spaniard trusts more to the power of those his natural subjects there ; Apulia and Calabria yielding him near four millions of crowns yearly to maintain it. The country is divided into thirteen Provinces, twenty Archbishops, and one hundred and seven Bishops ; the estates of the nobility, in default of the male line, reverting to the King. Besides the Vice-Roy, there is amongst the Chief Magistrates a High Constable, Admiral, Chief Justice, Great Chamberlain, and Chancellor, with a Secretary ; these being prodigiously avaricious, do wonderfully enrich themselves out of the miserable people's labour, silks, manna, sugar, oil, wine, rice, sulphur, and alum ; for with all these riches is this delicious country blest. The manna falls at certain seasons on the adjoining hills in form of a thick dew. The very winter here is a summer, ever fruitful, so that in the middle of February we had melons, cherries, apricots, and many other sorts of fruit.

The building of the city is for the size the most magnificent of any in Europe, the streets exceeding large, well-paved, having many vaults and conveyances under them for the sulliage ; which renders them very sweet and clean, even in the midst of winter. To it belongeth more than 3000 churches and monasteries, and these the best built and adorned of any in Italy. They greatly affect the Spanish gravity in their habit ; delight in



good horses ; the streets are full of gallants on horseback, in coaches and sedans, from hence brought first into England by Sir Sanders Duncomb. The women are generally well-featured, but excessively libidinous. The country people so jovial and addicted to music, that the very husbands almost universally play on the guitar, singing and composing songs in praise of their sweethearts, and will commonly go to the field with their fiddle ; they are merry, witty, and genial ; all which I much attribute to the excellent quality of the air. They have a deadly hatred to the French, so that some of our company were flouted at for wearing red cloaks, as the mode then was.

This I made the *non ultra* of my travels, sufficiently sated with rolling up and down, and resolving within myself to be no longer an *individuum vagum*, if ever I got home again ; since, from the report of divers experienced and curious persons, I had been assured there was little more to be seen in the rest of the civil world, after Italy, France, Flanders, and the Low Countries, but plain and prodigious barbarism.

Thus, about the 7th of February<sup>a</sup>, we set out on our return to Rome by the same way we came, not daring to adventure by sea, as some of our company were inclined to do, for fear of Turkish pirates hovering on that coast ; nor made we any stay save at Albano, to view the celebrated place and sepulchre of the famous duellists who decided the ancient quarrel between their imperious neighbours with the loss of their lives. These brothers, the Horatii and Curiatii, lie buried near the highway, under two ancient pyramids of stone, now somewhat decayed and overgrown with rubbish. We took the opportunity of tasting the wine here, which is famous.

Being arrived at Rome on the 13th February, we were again invited to Signor Angeloni's study, where with greater leisure we surveyed the rarities, as his cabinet and medals especially, esteemed one of the best collections of them in Europe. He also showed us two antique lamps, one of them dedicated to Pallas, the other *Laribus Sacru'*, as appeared by their inscriptions ; some old Roman rings and keys ; the Egyptian Isis, cast in iron ; sundry rare basso-relievos ; good pieces of painting, principally the Christ of Correggio, with this painter's own face admirably done by himself ; divers of both the Bassanos ; a great number of pieces by Titian, particularly the Triumphs ; an infinity of natural rarities, dried animals, Indian habits and weapons, shells, &c. ; divers very antique statues of brass : some lamps of so fine an earth that they resembled cornelians, for transparency and colour ; hinges of Corinthian brass, and one great nail of the same metal found in the ruins of Nero's golden house.

In the afternoon, we ferried over to Transtevere, to the Palace of Gichi, to review the works of Raphael : and, returning by St. Angelo, we saw the castle as far as was permitted, and on the other side considered those admirable pilasters supposed to be of the foundation of the Pons Sublicius, over which Horatius Cocles passed ; here anchor three or four water-mills, invented by Belizarius : and thence had another sight of the Farnesi's gardens, and of the terrace where is that admirable painting of Raphael, being a Cupid playing with a Dolphin, wrought *al fresco*, preserved in

<sup>a</sup> Evelyn's dates in this portion of his Diary appear to require occasionally that qualification of ' about '.

shutters of wainscot, as well it merits, being certainly one of the most wonderful pieces of work in the world.

14th February. I went to Santa Cecilia, a church built and endowed by Cardinal Sfrondæti, who has erected a stately altar near the body of this martyr, not long before found in a vesture of silk girt about, a veil on her head, and the bloody scars of three wounds on the neck; the body is now in a silver chest, with her statue over it, in snow-white marble. Other Saints lie here, decorated with splendid ornaments, lamps, and incensories of great cost. A little farther, they show us the Bath of St. Cecilia, to which joins a Convent of Friars, where is the picture of the *Flagellation* by Vanni, and the columns of the portico, taken from the Baths of Septimius Severus.

15th. Mr. Henshaw and I walked by the Tyber, and visited the Stola Tybertina (now St. Bartholomew's), formerly cut in the shape of a ship, and wharfed with marble, in which a lofty obelisk represented the mast. In the Church of St. Bartholomew is the body of the Apostle. Here are the ruins of the Temple of Æsculapius, now converted into a stately hospital and a pretty convent. Opposite to it, is the convent and church of St. John Calabita, where I saw nothing remarkable, save an old broken altar. Here was the Temple of Fortuna Virilis. Hence, we went to a cupola, now a church, formerly dedicated to the sun. Opposite to it, Santa Maria Schola Græca, where formerly that tongue was taught; said to be the second church dedicated in Rome to the Blessed Virgin; bearing also the title of a Cardinalate. Behind this stands the great altar of Hercules, much demolished. Near this, being at the foot of Mount Aventine, are the Pope's salt-houses. Ascending the hill, we came to St. Sabina, an ancient fabric, formerly sacred to Diana; there, in a chapel, is an admirable picture, the work of Livia Fontana, set about with columns of alabaster, and in the middle of the church is a stone, cast, as they report, by the Devil at St. Dominic, whilst he was at mass. Hence, we travelled towards a heap of rubbish, called the Marmorata, on the bank of the Tyber, a magazine of stones; and near which formerly stood a triumphal arch, in honour of Horatius vanquishing the Tuscans. The ruins of the bridge yet appear.

We were now got to Mons Testaceus, a heap of potsherds, almost 200 feet high, thought to have been thrown there and amassed by the subjects of the Commonwealth bringing their tribute in earthen vessels, others (more probably) that it was a quarter of the town where potters lived; at the summit Rome affords a noble prospect. Before it is a spacious green, called the Hippodrome, where Olympic games were celebrated, and the people mustered, as in our London Artillery-Ground. Going hence, to the old wall of the city, we much admired the pyramid, or tomb, of Caius Cestius, of white marble, one of the most ancient entire monuments, inserted in the wall, with this inscription:

C. Cestius L. F. Pob. Epulo (an order of priests) Pr. Tr. pl. VII. Vir. Epulonum.

And a little beneath:

Opus absolutum ex testamento diebus CCCXXX. arbitrato. Ponti P. F. Cla. Melæ Heredis et Pothi L.

At the left hand, is the Port of St. Paul, once Tergemina, out of which the three Horatii passed to encounter the Curiatii of Albano. Hence,



bending homewards by St. Saba, by Antoninus's Baths (which we entered), is the marble sepulchre of Vespasian. The thickness of the walls and stately ruins show the enormous magnitude of these baths. Passing by a corner of the Circus Maximus, we viewed the place where stood the Septizonium, demolished by Sextus V, for fear of its falling. Going by Mons Coelius, we beheld the devotions of St. Maria in Navicula, so named from a ship carved out in white marble standing on a pedestal before it, supposed to be the vow of one escaped from shipwreck. It has a glorious front to the street. Adjoining to this are the Hortii Mathæi, which only of all the places about the city I omitted visiting, though I was told inferior to no garden in Rome for statues, ancient monuments, aviaries, fountains, groves, and especially a noble obelisk, and maintained in beauty at an expense of 6000 crowns yearly, which, if not expended to keep up its beauty, forfeits the possession of a greater revenue to another family : so curious are they in their villas and places of pleasure, even to excess.

The next day, we went to the once famous Circus Caracalla, in the midst of which there now lay prostrate one of the most stately and ancient obelisks, full of Egyptian hieroglyphics. It was broken into four pieces, when overthrown by the Barbarians, and would have been purchased and transported into England by the magnificent Thomas Earl of Arundel, could it have been well removed to the sea. This is since set together and placed on the stupendous artificial rock made by Innocent X, and serving for a fountain in Piazza Navona, the work of Bernini, the Pope's architect. Near this is the sepulchre of Metellus, of massy stone, pretty entire, now called Capo di Bove. Hence, to a small oratory, named *Domine, quo vadis* ; where the tradition is, that our Blessed Saviour met St. Peter as he fled, and turned him back again.

St. Sebastian's was the next, a mean structure (the *facciâta* excepted), but is venerable, especially for the relics and grots, in which lie the ashes of many holy men. Here is kept the pontifical chair sprinkled with the blood of Pope Stephen, to which great devotion is paid ; also a well full of martyrs' bones, and the sepulchre of St. Sebastian, with one of the arrows (used in shooting him). These are preserved by the Fulgentine Monks, who have here their monastery, and who led us down into a grotto which they affirmed went divers furlongs under ground ; the sides, or walls which we passed were filled with bones and dead bodies, laid (as it were) on shelves, whereof some were shut up with broad stones, and now and then a cross, or a palm, cut in them. At the end of some of these subterranean passages, were square rooms with altars in them, said to have been the receptacles of primitive Christians, in the times of persecution, nor seems it improbable.

17th February. I was invited, after dinner, to the Academy of the Humorists, kept in a spacious hall belonging to Signor Mancini, where the wits of the towns meet on certain days to recite poems, and debate on several subjects. The first that speaks is called the Lord, and stands in an eminent place, and then the rest of the Virtuosi recite in order. By these ingenious exercises, besides the learned discourses, is the purity of the Italian tongue daily improved. The room is hung round with devices, or emblems, with mottoes under them. There are several other Academies of this nature, bearing like fantastical titles. In this of the Humorists is the picture of Guarini, the famous author of the *Pastor Fido*, once of this

society. The chief part of the day we spent in hearing the academic exercises.

*18th February.* We walked to St. Nicholas in Carcere ; it has a fair front, and within are parts of the bodies of St. Mark and Marcellino ; on the Tribuna is a painting of Gentileschi, and the altar of Caval ; Baglioni, with some other rare paintings. Coming round from hence, we passed by the Circus Flaminius, formerly very large, now totally in ruins. In the afternoon, we visited the English Jesuits, with whose Superior, P. Stafford, I was well acquainted ; who received us courteously. They call their church and college St. Thomasso de gli Inglesi, and it is a seminary. Amongst other trifles, they show the relics of Becket, their reputed martyr. Of paintings there is one of Durante, and many representing the sufferings of several of their society executed in England, especially F. Campion.

In the Hospital of the Pelerini della S. Trinita, I had seen the feet of many pilgrims washed by Princes, Cardinals, and noble Romans, and served at table, as the ladies and noble women did to other poor creatures in another room. It was told us that no less than 444,000 men had been thus treated in the Jubilee of 1600, and 25,500 women, as appears by the register, which brings store of money.

Returning homeward, I saw the Palace of Cardinal Spada, where is a most magnificent hall painted by Daniel de Volterra and Giulio Piacentino, who made the fret in the little Court ; but the rare perspectives are of Bolognesi. Near this is the Mont Pieta, instituted as a bank for the poor, who, if the sum be not great, may have money upon pawns. To this joins St. Martino, to which belongs a Schola, or Corporation, that do many works of charity. Hence, we came through Campo di Fiori, or herb-market, in the midst of which is a fountain casting out water of a dolphin, in copper ; and in this piazza is common execution done.

*19th.* I went, this afternoon, to visit my Lord John Somerset, brother to the Marquis of Worcester, who had his apartment in Palazzo della Cancellaria, belonging to Cardinal Francesco Barberini, as Vice-chancellor of the Church of Rome, and Protector of the English. The building is of the famous architect, Bramante, of incrusted marble, with four ranks of noble lights ; the principal entrance is of Fontana's design, and all marble ; the portico within sustained by massy columns ; on the second peristyle above, the chambers are rarely painted by Salviati and Vasari ; and so ample is this Palace, that six princes with their families have been received in it at one time, without incommoding each other.

*20th.* I went as was my usual custom and spent an afternoon in Piazza Navona, as well as to see what antiquities I could purchase among the people who hold market there for medals, pictures, and such curiosities, as to hear the Mountebanks prate, and distribute their medicines. This was formerly the Circus, or Agonales, dedicated to sports and pastimes, and is now the greatest market of the city, having three most noble fountains, and the stately palaces of the Pamfilii, St. Giacomo de Spagnoli belonging to that nation, to which add two convents for Friars and Nuns, all Spanish. In this Church was erected a most stately Catafalco, or Capella ardente, for the death of the Queen of Spain ; the church was hung with black, and here I heard a Spanish sermon, or funebral oration, and observed the statues, devices, and impresses hung about the walls, the church and pyramid stuck with thousands of lights and tapers, which made a



glorious show. The statue of St. James is by Sansovino; there are also some good pictures of Caracci. The *facciata*, too, is fair. Returning home, I passed by the stumps of old Pasquin, at the corner of a street, called Strada Pontificia; here they still paste up their drolling lampoons and scurrilous papers. This had formerly been one of the best statues for workmanship and art in all the city, as the remaining bust does still show.

21st February. I walked in the morning up the hill towards the Capuchins, where was then Cardinal Unufrio (brother to the late Pope Urban VIII) of the same order. He built them a pretty church, full of rare pictures, and there lies the body of St. Felix, that they say still does miracles. The piece at the great altar is by Lanfranc. It is a lofty edifice, with a beautiful avenue of trees, and in a good air. After dinner, passing along the Strada del Corso, I observed the column of Antoninus, passing under Arco Portogallo, which is but a relic, heretofore erected in honour of Domitian, called now Portogallo, from a Cardinal living near it. A little further on the right hand stands the column in a small piazza, heretofore set up in honour of M. Aurelius Antoninus, comprehending in a basso-relievo of white marble his hostile acts against the Parthians, Armenians, Germans, &c.; but it is now somewhat decayed. On the summit has been placed the image of St. Paul, of gilded copper. The pillar is said to be 161 feet high, ascended by 207 steps, receiving light by fifty-six apertures, without defacing the sculpture.

At a little distance, are the relics of the Emperor's Palace, the heads of whose pillars show them to have been Corinthian.

Turning a little down, we came to another piazza, in which stands a sumptuous vase of porphyry, and a fair fountain; but the grace of this market, and indeed the admiration of the whole world, is the Pantheon, now called S. Maria della Rotonda, formerly sacred to all the Gods, and still remaining the most entire antiquity of the city. It was built by Marcus Agrippa, as testifies the architrave of the portico, sustained by thirteen pillars of Theban marble, six feet thick, and fifty-three in height, of one entire stone. In this porch is an old inscription.

Entering the church, we admire the fabric, wholly covered with one cupola, seemingly suspended in the air, and receiving light by a hole in the middle only. The structure is near as high as broad, viz. 144 feet, not counting the thickness of the walls, which is twenty-two more to the top, all of white marble; and, till Urban VIII converted part of the metal into ordnance of war against the Duke of Parma, and part to make the high altar in St. Peter's, it was all over covered with Corinthian brass, ascending by forty degrees within the roof, or convex, of the cupola, richly carved in octagons in the stone. There are niches in the walls, in which stood heretofore the statues of Jupiter and the other Gods and Goddesses; for here was that Venus which had hung in her ear the other Union<sup>a</sup> that

<sup>a</sup> And in the cup an *union* shall he throw,  
Richer than that which four successive kings

In Denmark's crown have worn. Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, act v, sc. 2.

Theobald says, an *union* is the finest sort of pearl, and has its place in all crowns and coronets. Steevens cites from Soliman and Persida—'Ay, were it Cleopatra's *union*'—adding this elucidation of the term from P. Holland's translation of Pliny's Natural History: 'And hereupon it is that our dainties and delicates here at Rome, &c., call them *unions*, as a man would say singular and by themselves alone.' The Latin word for a single large pearl, it is hardly necessary to add, is *unio*.

Cleopatra was about to dissolve and drink up, as she had done its fellow. There are several of these niches, one above another, for the celestial, terrestrial, and subterranean deities ; but the place is now converted into a church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and all the Saints. The pavement is excellent, and the vast folding-gates, of Corinthian brass. In a word, it is of all the Roman antiquities the most worthy of notice. There lie interred in this Temple the famous Raphael di Urbino, Perino del Vaga, F. Zuccharo, and other painters.

Returning home, we pass by Cardinal Cajetan's Palace, a noble piece of architecture of Vincenzo Ammanatti, which is the grace of the whole Corso.

22nd February. I went to Trinitá del Monte, a monastery of French, a noble church built by Louis XI and Charles VIII, the chapels well painted, especially that by Zaccara da Volterra, and the cloister with the miracles of their St. Francis de Paulo, and the heads of the French Kings. In the *pergola* above, the walls are wrought with excellent perspective, especially the St. John ; there are the Babylonish dials, invented by Kircher, the Jesuit. This convent, so eminently situated on Mons Pincius, has the entire prospect of Campus Martius, and has a fair garden which joins to the Palazzo di Medici.

23rd. I went to hear a sermon at St. Giacomo de gli Incurabili, a fair church built by F. da Volterra, of good architecture, and so is the hospital, where only desperate patients are brought. I passed the evening at St. Maria del Popolo, heretofore Nero's sepulchre, where his ashes lay many years in a marble chest. To this church joins the monastery of St. Augustine, which has pretty gardens on Mons Pincius, and in the church is the miraculous shrine of the Madonna which Pope Paul III brought barefooted to the place, supplicating for a victory over the Turks in 1464. In a chapel of the Ghisi, are some rare paintings of Raphael, and noble sculptures. Those two in the choir are by Sansovino, and in the chapel de Cerasii, a piece of Caravaggio. Here lie buried many great scholars and artists, of which I took notice of this inscription :

Hospes, disce novum mortis genus ; improba felix,  
Dum trahitur, digitum mordet, et intereo.

Opposite to the *facciata* of the church is a superb obelisk full of hieroglyphics, the same that Sennesertus, King of Egypt, dedicated to the Sun ; brought to Rome by Augustus, erected in the Circus Maximus, and since placed here by Pope Sextus V. It is eighty-eight feet high, of one entire stone, and placed with great art and engines by the famous Domenico Fontana.

Hence, turning on the right out of the Porto del Popolo, we came to Justinian's gardens, near the Muro Torto, so prominently built as threatening every moment to fall, yet standing so for these thousand years. Under this is the burying place for the common prostitutes, where they are put into the ground, *sans ceremonie*.

24th. We walked to St. Roche's and Martine's, near the brink of the Tyber, a large hospital for both sexes. Hence, to the Mausoleum Augusti, betwixt the Tyber and the Via Flaminia, now much ruined, which had formerly contended for its sumptuous architecture. It was intended as a cemetery for the Roman Emperors, had twelve ports, and was covered with a cupola of white marble, environed with stately trees and innumerable



statues, all of it now converted into a garden. We passed the afternoon at the Sapienza, a very stately building full of good marbles, especially the portico, of admirable architecture. These are properly the University Schools, where lectures are read on Law, Medicine, and Anatomy, and students perform their exercises.

Hence, we walked to the church of St. Andrea della Valle, near the former Theatre of Pompey, and the famous Piccolomini, but given to this church and the Order, who are Theatins. The Barberini have in this place a chapel, of curious incrusted marbles of several sorts, and rare paintings. Under it is the place where St. Sebastian is said to have been beaten with rods before he was shot with darts. The cupola is painted by Lanfranc, an inestimable work, and the whole fabric and monastery adjoining are admirable.

25th February. I was invited by a Dominican Friar, whom we usually heard preach to a number of Jews, to be godfather to a converted Turk and Jew. The ceremony was performed in the Church of Santa Maria sopra la Minerva, near the Capitol. They were clad in white; then exorcised at their entering the church with abundance of ceremonies, and, when led into the choir, were baptised by a Bishop, *in pontificalibus*. The Turk lived afterwards in Rome, sold hot waters, and would bring us presents when he met us, kneeling and kissing the hems of our cloaks; but the Jew was believed to be a counterfeit. This church, situated on a spacious rising, was formerly consecrated to Minerva. It was well built and richly adorned, and the body of St. Catherine di Sienna lies buried here. The paintings of the chapel are by Marcello Venuti; the Madonna over the altar is by Giovanni di Fiesole, called the Angelic Painter, who was of the Order of these Monks. There are many charities dealt publicly here, especially at the procession on the Annunciation, when I saw his Holiness, with all the Cardinals, Prelates, &c., *in pontificalibus*; dowries being given to 300 poor girls all clad in white. The Pope had his tiara on his head, and was carried on men's shoulders in an open arm-chair, blessing the people as he passed. The statue of Christ, at the Columna, is esteemed one of the masterpieces of M. Angelo: innumerable are the paintings by the best artists, and the organ is accounted one of the sweetest in Rome. Cardinal Bembo is interred here. We returned by St. Mark's, a stately church, with an excellent pavement, and a fine piece by Perugino, of the Two Martyrs. Adjoining to this is a noble palace built by the famous Bramante.

26th. Ascending the hill, we came to the Forum Trajanum, where his column stands yet entire, wrought with admirable basso-relievo recording the Dacian war, the figures at the upper part appearing of the same proportion with those below. It is ascended by 192 steps, enlightened with 44 apertures, or windows, artificially disposed; in height from the pedestal 140 feet.

It had once the ashes of Trajan and his statue, where now stands St. Peter's of gilt brass, erected by Pope Sextus V. The sculpture of this stupendous pillar is thought to be the work of Apollodorus; but what is very observable is, the descent to the plinth of the pedestal, showing how this ancient city lies now buried in her ruins; this monument being at first set up on a rising ground. After dinner we took the air in Cardinal Bentivoglio's delicious gardens, now but newly deceased. He had a fair palace

built by several good masters on part of the ruins of Constantine's Baths; well adorned with columns and paintings, especially those of Guido Reni.

*27th February.* In the morning, Mr. Henshaw and myself walked to the Trophies of Marius, erected in honour of his victory over the Cimbrians, but these now taken out of their niches are placed on the balusters of the Capitol, so that their ancient station is now a ruin. Keeping on our way, we came to St. Croce of Jerusalem, built by Constantine over the demolition of the Temple of Venus and Cupid, which he threw down; and it was here they report he deposited the wood of the true Cross found by his mother, Helena; in honour whereof this church was built, and in memory of his victory over Maxentius when that holy sign appeared to him. The edifice without is Gothic, but very glorious within, especially the roof, and one tribuna (gallery) well painted. Here is a chapel dedicated to St. Helena, the floor whereof is of earth brought from Jerusalem; the walls are of fair mosaic, in which they suffer no women to enter, save once a year. Under the high altar of the Church is buried St. Anastasius, in Lydian marble, and Benedict VII; and they show a number of relics, exposed at our request; with a phial of our blessed Saviour's blood; two thorns of his crown; three chips of the real cross; one of the nails, wanting a point; St. Thomas's doubting finger; and a fragment of the title (put on the cross), being part of a thin board; some of Judas's pieces of silver; and many more, if one had faith to believe it. To this venerable church joins a Monastery, the gardens taking up the space of an ancient amphitheatre.

Hence, we passed beyond the walls out at the Port of St. Laurence, to that Saint's church, and where his ashes are enshrined. This was also built by the same great Constantine, famous for the Coronation of Pietro Altissiodorensis, Emperor of Constantinople, by Honorius the Second. It is said the corpse of St. Stephen, the proto-martyr, was deposited here by that of St. Sebastian, which it had no sooner touched, but Sebastian gave it place of its own accord. The Church has no less than seven privileged altars, and excellent pictures. About the walls are painted this martyr's sufferings; and, when they built them, the bones of divers saints were translated to other churches. The front is Gothic. In our return, we saw a small ruin of an aqueduct built by Quintus Marcius, the prætor; and so passed through that incomparable straight street leading to Santa Maria Maggiore, to our lodging, sufficiently tired.

We were taken up next morning in seeing the impertinences of the Carnival, when all the world are as mad at Rome as at other places; but the most remarkable were the three races of the Barbary horses, that run in the Strada del Corso without riders, only having spurs so placed on their backs, and hanging down by their sides, as by their motion to stimulate them: then of mares, then of asses, of buffalos, naked men, old and young, and boys, and abundance of idle ridiculous pastime. One thing is remarkable, their acting comedies on a stage placed on a cart, or *plaustrum*, where the scene, or tiring-place, is made of boughs in a rural manner, which they drive from street to street with a yoke or two of oxen, after the ancient guise. The streets swarm with prostitutes, buffoons, and all manner of rabble.

*1st March.* At the Greek Church, we saw the Eastern ceremonies performed by a Bishop, &c., in that tongue. Here the unfortunate Duke



and Duchess of Bouillon received their ashes, it being the first day of Lent. There was now as much trudging up and down of devotees, as the day before of licentious people ; all saints alike to appearance.

The gardens of Justinian, which we next visited, are very full of statues and antiquities, especially urns ; amongst which is that of Minutius Felix ; a terminus that formerly stood in the Appian way, and a huge colossé of the Emperor Justinian. There is a delicate aviary on the hill ; the whole gardens furnished with rare collections, fresh, shady, and adorned with noble fountains. Continuing our walk a mile farther, we came to Pons Milvius, now Mela, where Constantine overthrew Maxentius, and saw the miraculous sign of the cross, *In hoc signo vinces*. It was a sweet morning, and the bushes were full of nightingales. Hence, to Aqua Claudia again, an aqueduct finished by that Emperor at the expense of eight millions. In the afternoon, to Farnese's gardens, near the Campo Vaccino ; and upon the Palatine Mount to survey the ruins of Juno's Temple, in the Piscina, a piazza so called near the famous bridge built by Antoninus Pius, and re-edified by Pope Sextus IV.

The rest of this week, we went to the Vatican, to hear the sermons, at St. Peter's, of the most famous preachers, who discourse on the same subjects and text yearly, full of Italian eloquence and action. On our Lady-day, 25th March, we saw the Pope and Cardinals ride in pomp to the Minerva, the great guns of the Castle of St. Angelo being fired, when he gives portions to 500 *zitelle* (young women), who kiss his feet in procession, some destined to marry, some to be nuns ;—the scholars of the college celebrating the blessed Virgin with their compositions. The next day, his Holiness was busied in blessing golden roses, to be sent to several great Princes ; the Procurator of the Carmelites preaching on our Saviour's feeding the multitude with five loaves, the ceremony ends. The sacrament being this day exposed, and the relics of the Holy Cross, the concourse about the streets is extraordinary. On Palm-Sunday, there was a great procession, after a papal mass.

11th April. St. Veronica's handkerchief (with the impression of our Saviour's face) was exposed, and the next day the spear, with a world of ceremony. On Holy Thursday, the Pope said mass, and afterwards carried the Host in procession about the chapel, with an infinity of tapers. This finished, his Holiness was carried in his open chair on men's shoulders to the place where, reading the Bull *In Cæna Domini*, he both curses and blesses all in a breath ; then the guns are again fired. Hence, he went to the Ducal hall of the Vatican, where he washed the feet of twelve poor men, with almost the same ceremony as it is done at Whitehall ; they have clothes, a dinner, and alms, which he gives with his own hands, and serves at their table ; they have also gold and silver medals, but their garments are of white woollen long robes, as we paint the Apostles. The same ceremonies are done by the Conservators and other officers of state at St. John di Lateran ; and now the table on which they say our blessed Lord celebrated his last supper is set out, and the heads of the Apostles. In every famous church they are busy in dressing up their pageantries to represent the Holy Sepulchre, of which we went to visit divers.

On Good Friday, we went again to St. Peter's, where the handkerchief, lance, and cross were all exposed, and worshipped together. All the confession-seats were filled with devout people, and at night was a pro-

cession of several who most lamentably whipped themselves till the blood stained their clothes, for some had shirts, others upon the bare back, having visors and masks on their faces; at every three or four steps dashing the knotted and ravelled whip-cord over their shoulders, as hard as they could lay it on; whilst some of the religious orders and fraternities sung in a dismal tone, the lights and crosses going before, making all together a horrible and indeed heathenish pomp.

The next day, there was much ceremony at St. John di Lateran, so as the whole week was spent in running from church to church, all the town in busy devotion, great silence, and unimaginable superstition.

Easter-day, I was awakened by the guns from St. Angelo: we went to St. Peter's, where the Pope himself celebrated mass, showed the relics before-named, and gave a public Benediction.

Monday, we went to hear music in the Chiesa Nova; and, though there were abundance of ceremonies at the other great churches, and great exposure of relics, yet being wearied with sights of this nature, and the season of the year, summer, at Rome being very dangerous, by reason of the heats minding us of returning northwards, we spent the rest of our time in visiting such places as we had not yet sufficiently seen. Only I do not forget the Pope's benediction of the *Canfalone*, or Standard, and giving the hallowed palms; and, on May-day, the great procession of the University and the muleteers at St. Anthony's, and their setting up a foolish May-pole in the Capitol, very ridiculous. We therefore now took coach a little out of town, to visit the famous Roma Soterrána, being much like what we had seen at St. Sebastian's. Here, in a corn-field, guided by two torches, we crept on our bellies into a little hole, about twenty paces, which delivered us into a large entry that led us into several streets, or alleys, a good depth in the bowels of the earth, a strange and fearful passage for divers miles, as Bosio has measured and described them in his book.<sup>a</sup> We ever and anon came into pretty square rooms, that seemed to be chapels with altars, and some adorned with very ordinary ancient painting. Many skeletons and bodies are placed on the sides one above the other in degrees like shelves, whereof some are shut up with a coarse flat stone, having engraven on them *Pro Christo*, or a cross and palms, which are supposed to have been martyrs. Here, in all likelihood, were the meetings of the Primitive Christians during the persecutions, as Pliny the younger describes them. As I was prying about, I found a glass phial, filled (as was conjectured) with dried blood, and two lachrymatories. Many of the bodies, or rather bones (for there appeared nothing else) lay so entire, as if placed by the art of the surgeon, but being only touched fell all to dust. Thus, after wandering two or three miles in this subterranean meander, we returned almost blind when we came into the daylight, and even choked by the smoke of the torches. It is said that a French bishop and his retinue adventuring too far in these dens, their lights going out, were never heard of more.

We were entertained at night with an English play at the Jesuits', where we before had dined; and the next day at Prince Galicano's, who himself composed the music to a magnificent opera, where were present Cardinal Pamphilio, the Pope's nephew, the Governors of Rome, the cardinals, ambassadors, ladies, and a number of nobility and strangers. There had

<sup>a</sup> *Roma Sotterrána*, folio, Rome, 1632.



been in the morning a joust and tournament of several young gentlemen on a formal defy, to which we had been invited; the prizes being distributed by the ladies, after the knight-errantry way. The lancers and swordsmen running at tilt against the barriers, with a great deal of clatter, but without any bloodshed, giving much diversion to the spectators, and was new to us travellers.

The next day, Mr. Henshaw and I spent the morning in attending the entrance and cavalcade of Cardinal Medici, the ambassador from the Grand Duke of Florence, by the Via Flaminia. After dinner, we went again to the Villa Borghese, about a mile without the city; the garden is rather a park, or a Paradise, contrived and planted with walks and shades of myrtles, cypress, and other trees, and groves, with abundance of fountains, statues, and bass-relievos, and several pretty murmuring rivulets. Here they had hung large nets to catch woodcocks. There was also a vivary, where, amongst other exotic fowls, was an ostrich; besides a most capacious aviary; and, in another inclosed part, a herd of deer. Before the Palace (which might become the court of a great prince) stands a noble fountain, of white marble, enriched with statues. The outer walls of the house are encrusted with excellent antique bass-relievos, of the same marble, incornished with festoons and niches set with statues from the foundation to the roof. A stately portico joins the Palace, full of statues and columns of marble, urns, and other curiosities of sculpture. In the first hall were the Twelve Cæsars, of antique marble, and the whole apartments furnished with pictures of the most celebrated masters, and two rare tables of porphyry, of great value. But of this already<sup>a</sup>; for I often visited this delicious place.

This night were glorious fire-works at the Palace of Cardinal Medici before the gate, and lights of several colours all about the windows through the city, which they contrive by setting the candles in little paper lanterns dyed with various colours, placing hundreds of them from story to story; which renders a gallant show.

*4th May.* Having seen the entry of the ambassador of Lucca, I went to the Vatican, where, by favour of our Cardinal Protector, Fran. Barberini, I was admitted into the Consistory, heard the ambassador make his oration in Latin to the Pope, sitting on an elevated state, or throne, and changing two pontifical mitres; after which, I was presented to kiss his toe, that is, his embroidered slipper, two Cardinals holding up his vest and surplice; and then, being sufficiently blessed with his thumb and two fingers for that day, I returned home to dinner.

We went again to see the medals of Signor Gotefredi, which are absolutely the best collection in Rome.

Passing the Ludovisia Villa, where the petrified human figure lies, found on the snowy Alps; I measured the hydra, and found it not a foot long; the three necks and fifteen heads seem to be but patched up with several pieces of serpents' skins.

*5th.* We took coach, and went fifteen miles out of the city to Frascati, formerly Tusculum, a villa of Cardinal Aldobrandini, built for a country-house; but, surpassing, in my opinion, the most delicious places I ever beheld for its situation, elegance, plentiful water, groves, ascents, and prospects. Just behind the Palace (which is of excellent architecture)

<sup>a</sup> *ante*, p. 80.

in the centre of the enclosure, rises a high hill, or mountain, all over clad with tall wood, and so formed by nature, as if it had been cut out by art, from the summit whereof falls a cascade, seeming rather a great river than a stream precipitating into a large theatre of water, representing an exact and perfect rainbow, when the sun shines out. Under this is made an artificial grot, wherein are curious rocks, hydraulic organs, and all sorts of singing birds, moving and chirping by force of the water, with several other pageants and surprising inventions. In the centre of one of these rooms, rises a copper ball that continually dances about three feet above the pavement, by virtue of a wind conveyed secretly to a hole beneath it; with many other devices to wet the unwary spectators, so that one can hardly step without wetting to the skin. In one of these theatres of water, is an Atlas spouting up the stream to a very great height; and another monster makes a terrible roaring with a horn; but, above all, the representation of a storm is most natural, with such fury of rain, wind, and thunder, as one would imagine oneself in some extreme tempest. The garden has excellent walks and shady groves, abundance of rare fruit, oranges, lemons, &c., and the goodly prospect of Rome, above all description, so as I do not wonder that Cicero and others have celebrated this place with such encomiums. The Palace is indeed built more like a cabinet than anything composed of stone and mortar; it has in the middle a hall furnished with excellent marbles and rare pictures, especially those of Gioseppino d'Arpino; the moveables are princely and rich. This was the last piece of architecture finished by Giacomo della Porta, who built it for Pietro Cardinal Aldobrandini, in the time of Clement VIII<sup>a</sup>.

We went hence to another house and garden not far distant, on the side of a hill called Mondragone, finished by Cardinal Scipio Borghese, an ample and kingly edifice. It has a very long gallery, and at the end a theatre for pastimes, spacious courts, rare grots, vineyards, olive-grounds, groves, and solitudes. The air is so fresh and sweet, as few parts of Italy exceed it; nor is it inferior to any palace in the city itself for statues, pictures, and furniture; but, it growing late, we could not take such particular notice of these things as they deserved.

*6th May.* We rested ourselves; and next day, in a coach, took our last farewell of visiting the circumjacent places, going to Tivoli, or the old Tiburtum. At about six miles from Rome, we pass the Teverone, a bridge built by Mammea, the mother of Severus, and so by divers ancient sepulchres, amongst others that of Valerius Volusi; and near it past the stinking sulphureous river over the Ponte Lucano, where we found a heap, or turret, full of inscriptions, now called the Tomb of Plautius. Arrived at Tivoli, we went first to see the Palace d'Este, erected on a plain, but where was formerly an hill. The Palace is very ample and stately. In the garden, on the right hand, are sixteen vast conchas of marble, jetting out waters; in the midst of these stands a Janus quadrifrons, that cast forth four girandolas, called from the resemblance (to a particular exhibition in fireworks so named) the Fontana di Spéccho (looking-glass). Near this is a place for tilting. Before the ascent of the Palace is the famous fountain of Leda, and not far from that, four sweet and delicious gardens. Descending thence are two pyramids of water, and in a grove of trees near it the

<sup>a</sup> Cardinal Hippolito Aldobrandini was elected Pope in January, 1592, by the name of Clement VIII, and died in March, 1605.



fountains of Tethys, Esculapius, Arethusa, Pandora, Pomona, and Flora ; then the prancing Pegasus, Bacchus, the Grot of Venus, the two Colosses of Melicerta and Sibylla Tiburtina, all of exquisite marble, copper, and other suitable adornments. The Cupids pouring out water are especially most rare, and the urns on which are placed the ten nymphs. The grotts are richly paved with *pietra-commessa*, shells, coral, &c.

Towards Roma Triumphans, leads a long and spacious walk, full of fountains, under which is historised the whole Ovidian Metamorphosis, in rarely sculptured *mezzo rilievo*. At the end of this, next the wall, is the city of Rome as it was in its beauty, of small models, representing that city, with its amphitheatres ; naumachi, thermæ, temples, arches, aqueducts, streets, and other magnificences, with a little stream running through it for the Tiber, gushing out of an urn next the statue of the river. In another garden, is a noble aviary, the birds artificial, and singing till an owl appears, on which they suddenly change their notes. Near this is the fountain of dragons, casting out large streams of water with great noise. In another grotto, called Grotto di Natura, is an hydraulic organ ; and, below this, are divers stews and fish-ponds, in one of which is the statue of Neptune in his chariot on a sea-horse, in another a Triton ; and, lastly, a garden of simples. There are besides in the palace many rare statues and pictures, bedsteads richly inlaid, and sundry other precious moveables : the whole is said to have cost the best part of a million.

Having gratified our curiosity with these artificial miracles, and dined, we went to see the so famous natural precipice and cascade of the river Anio, rushing down from the mountains of Tivoli with that fury that, what with the mist it perpetually casts up by the breaking of the water against the rocks, and what with the sun shining on it and forming a natural Iris, and the prodigious depth of the gulf below, it is enough to astonish one that looks on it. Upon the summit of this rock stands the ruins and some pillars and cornices of the Temple of Sibylla Tyburtina, or Albunea, a round fabric, still discovering some of its pristine beauty. Here was a great deal of gunpowder drying in the sun, and a little beneath, mills belonging to the Pope.

And now we returned to Rome. By the way, we were showed, at some distance, the city Præneste, and the Hadrian villa, now only a heap of ruins ; and so came late to our lodging.

We now determined to desist from visiting any more curiosities, except what should happen to come in our way, when my companion, Mr. Henshaw, or myself should go to take the air : only I may not omit that one afternoon, diverting ourselves in the Piazza Navona, a mountebank there to allure curious strangers, taking off a ring from his finger, which seemed set with a dull, dark stone a little swelling out, like what we call (though untruly) a toadstone, and wetting his finger a little in his mouth, and then touching it, it emitted a luculent flame as bright and large as a small wax candle ; then, blowing it out, repeated this several times. I have much regretted that I did not purchase the receipt of him for making that composition at what price soever ; for though there is a process in Jo. Baptista Porta and others how to do it, yet on several trials they none of them have succeeded.

Amongst other observations I made in Rome are these ; as to coins and medals, ten *asses* make the Roman *denarius*, five the *quinarius*, ten *denarii* an *aureus* ; which accompt runs almost exactly with what is now in use of

*quatrini*, *baiocs*, *julios*, and *scudi*, each exceeding the other in the proportion of ten. The *sestertius* was a small silver coin, marked H. S. or rather LL<sup>s</sup>, valued two pounds and a half of silver, viz. 250 *denarii*, about twenty-five golden *ducati*. The stamp of the Roman *denarius* varied, having sometimes a Janus bifrons, the head of Roma armed, or with a chariot and two horses, which were called *bigi*; if with four, *quadrigi*: if with a Victoria, so named. The mark of the *denarius* was distinguished > | < thus, or X; the *quinarius* of half value, had, on one side, the head of Rome and V; the reverse, Castor and Pollux on horseback, inscribed *Roma*, &c.

I observed that in the Greek Church they made the sign of the cross from the right hand to the left; contrary to the Latins and the schismatic Greeks; gave the benediction with the first, second, and little finger stretched out, retaining the third bent down, expressing a distance of the third Person of the Holy Trinity from the first two.

For sculptors and architects, we found Bernini and Algardi were in the greatest esteem; Fiamingo, as a statuary; who made the Andrea in St. Peter's, and is said to have died mad because it was placed in an ill light. Amongst the painters, Antonio de la Cornea, who has such an address of counterfeiting the hands of the ancient masters so well as to make his copies pass for originals; Pietro de Cortone, Monsieur Poussin, a Frenchman, and innumerable more. Fioravanti, for armour, plate, dead life, tapestry, &c. The chief masters of music, after Marc Antonio, the best treble, is Cavalier Lauro, an eunuch; the next Cardinal Bichi's eunuch, Bianchi, tenor, and Nicholai, base. The Jews in Rome wore red hats, till the Cardinal of Lyons, being short-sighted, lately saluted one of them, thinking him to be a Cardinal as he passed by his coach; on which an order was made, that they should use only the yellow colour. There was now at Rome one Mrs. Ward, an English devotée, who much solicited for an order of Jesuitesses.

At executions I saw one, a gentleman, hanged in his cloak and hat for murder. They struck the malefactor with a club that first stunned him, and then cut his throat. At Naples they use a frame, like ours at Halifax<sup>a</sup>.

It is reported that Rome has been once no less than fifty miles in compass, now not thirteen, containing in it 3000 churches and chapels, monasteries, &c. It is divided into fourteen regions or wards; has seven mountains, and as many campi or valleys; in these are fair parks, or gardens, called villas, being only places of recess and pleasure, at some distance from the streets, yet within the walls.

The bills of exchange I took up from my first entering Italy till I went from Rome, amounting but to 616 *ducati di banco*, though I purchased many books, pictures, and curiosities.

18th May. I intended to have seen Loretto, but, being disappointed of monies long expected, I was forced to return by the same way I came, desiring, if possible, to be at Venice by the Ascension, and therefore I diverted to take Leghorn in the way, as well to furnish me with credit by a merchant there, as to take order for transporting such collections as I had made at Rome. When on my way, turning about to behold this once and yet glorious city, from an eminence, I did not, without some regret, give it my last farewell.

<sup>a</sup> A guillotine, see *post*, p. 136.



Having taken leave of our friends at Rome, where I had sojourned now about seven months, autumn, winter, and spring, I took coach, in company with two courteous Italian gentlemen. In the afternoon, we arrived at a house, or rather castle, belonging to the Duke of Parma, called Caprarolaa, situate on the brow of a hill, that overlooks a little town, or rather a natural and stupendous rock; witness those vast caves serving now for cellarage, where we were entertained with most generous wine of several sorts, being just under the foundation. The Palace was built by the famous architect, Vignola, at the cost of Cardinal Alex. Farnese, in form of an octagon, the court in the middle being exactly round, so as rather to resemble a fort, or castle; yet the chambers within are all of them square, which makes the walls exceedingly thick. One of these rooms is so artificially contrived, that from the two opposite angles may be heard the least whisper; they say any perfect square does it. Most of the paintings are by Zuccari. It has a stately entry, on which spouts an artificial fountain within the porch. The hall, chapel, and a great number of lodging chambers are remarkable; but most of all the pictures and witty inventions of Hannibal Caracci; the Dead Christ is incomparable. Behind are the gardens full of statues and noble fountains, especially that of the Shepherds. After dinner, we took horse, and lay that night at Monte Rossi, twenty miles from Rome.

19th May. We dined at Viterbo, and lay at St. Lorenzo. Next day, at Radicofani, and slept at Turnera.

21st. We dined at Sienna, where we could not pass admiring the great church<sup>b</sup> built entirely both within and without with white and black marble in polished squares, by Macarino, showing so beautiful after a shower has fallen. The floor within is of various coloured marbles, representing the story of both Testaments, admirably wrought. Here lies Pius the Second. The bibliotéca is painted by P. Perrugino and Raphael. The life of Æneas Sylvius is in *fresco*; in the middle are the Three Graces, in antique marble, very curious, and the front of this building, though Gothic, is yet very fine. Amongst other things, they show St. Catharine's disciplining cell, the door whereof is half cut out into chips by the pilgrims and devotees, being of deal wood.

Setting out hence for Pisa, we went again to see the Duomo in which the Emperor Henry VII lies buried, poisoned by a monk in the Eucharist. The bending tower was built by Bosqueto Delichio, a Grecian architect, and is a stupendous piece of art. In the gallery of curiosities is a fair mummy: the tail of a sea-horse; coral growing on a man's skull; a chariot automaton; two pieces of rock crystal, in one of which is a drop of water, in the other three or four small worms; two embalmed children; divers petrifications, &c. The garden of simples is well furnished, and has in it the deadly yew, or *taxus*, of the ancients; which Dr. Belluccio, the superintendent, affirms that his workmen cannot endure to clip for above the space of half an hour at a time, from the pain of the head which surprises them.

We went hence from Leghorn, by coach, where I took up ninety crowns for the rest of my journey, with letters of credit for Venice, after I had sufficiently complained of my defeat of correspondence at Rome.

<sup>a</sup> There is a large descriptive account published of this Palace, with magnificent plates of the buildings, pictures, and statues.

<sup>b</sup> *ante*, p. 66.

The next day, I came to Lucca, a small but pretty territory and state of itself. The city is neat and well fortified, with noble and pleasant walks of trees on the works, where the gentry and ladies used to take the air. It is situate on the ample plain by the river Serchio, yet the country about it is hilly. The Senate-house is magnificent. The church of St. Michael is a noble piece, as is also St. Fredian, more remarkable to us for the corpse of St. Richard, an English king<sup>a</sup>, who died here on his pilgrimage towards Rome. This epitaph is on his tomb :

Hic rex Richardus requiescit, sceptifer, almus :  
 Rex fuit Anglorum ; regnum tenet iste Polorum.  
 Regnum demisit ; pro Christo cuncta reliquit.  
 Ergo, Richardum nobis dedit Anglia sanctum.  
 Hic genitor Sanctæ Wulburgæ Virginis almæ  
 Est Vrillebaldi sancti simul et Vinebaldi,  
 Suffragium quorum nobis det regna Polorum.

Next this, we visited St. Croce, an excellent structure all of marble both without and within, and so adorned as may vie with many of the fairest even in Rome : witness the huge cross, valued at £15,000, above all venerable for that sacred *volto* which (as tradition goes) was miraculously put on the image of Christ, and made by Nicodemus, whilst the artist, finishing the rest of the body, was meditating what face to set on it. The inhabitants are exceedingly civil to strangers, above all places in Italy, and they speak the purest Italian. It is also cheap living, which causes travellers to set up their rest here more than in Florence, though a more celebrated city ; besides, the ladies here are very conversable, and the religious women not at all reserved ; of these we bought gloves and embroidered stomachers, generally worn by gentlemen in these countries. The circuit of this state is but two easy days' journey, and lies mixed with the Duke of Tuscany's, but having Spain for a protector (though the least bigoted of all Roman Catholics), and being one of the fortified cities in Italy, it remains in peace. The whole country abounds in excellent olives, &c.

Going hence for Florence, we dined at Pistoia, where, besides one church, there was little observable : only in the highway we crossed a rivulet of salt water, though many miles from the sea. The country is extremely pleasant, full of gardens, and the roads straight as a line for the best part of that whole day, the hedges planted with trees at equal distances, watered with clear and plentiful streams.

Rising early the next morning, we arrived at Poggio Imperiale, being a Palace of the Great Duke, not far from the city, having omitted it in my passage to Rome. The ascent to the house is by a stately gallery as it were of tall and overgrown cypress trees for near half a mile. At the entrance of these ranges, are placed statues of the Tyber and Arno, of marble ; those also of Virgil, Ovid, Petrarch, and Dante. The building is sumptuous, and curiously furnished within with cabinets of pietra-commessa in tables, pavements, &c., which is a magnificence, or work, particularly affected at Florence. The pictures are, Adam and Eve by Albert Dürer, very excellent ; as is that piece of carving in wood by the same hand standing in a cupboard. Here is painted the whole Austrian line ; the Duke's mother,

<sup>a</sup> What particular Richard King of England this was, it is impossible to say the tomb still exists, and has long been a *crux* to antiquaries and travellers.



sister to the Emperor, the foundress of this palace, than which there is none in Italy that I had seen more magnificently adorned, or furnished.

We could not omit in our passage to re-visit the same, and other curiosities which we had neglected on our first being at Florence. We went, therefore, to see the famous piece of Andrea del Sarto, in the Annunciata. The story is, that the painter in a time of dearth borrowed a sack of corn of the religious of that convent, and re-payment being demanded, he wrought it out in this picture, which represents Joseph sitting on a sack of corn, and reading to the Blessed Virgin ; a piece infinitely valued. There fell down in the cloister an old man's face painted on the wall in *fresco*, greatly esteemed, and brake into crumbs ; the Duke sent his best painters to make another instead of it, but none of them would presume to touch a pencil where Andrea had wrought, like another Apelles ; but one of them was so industrious and patient, that, picking up the fragments, he laid and fastened them so artificially together, that the injury it had received was hardly discernible. Andrea del Sarto lies buried in the same place. Here is also that picture of Bartolomeo, who having spent his utmost skill in the face of the angel Gabriel, and being troubled that he could not exceed it in the Virgin, he began the body and to finish the clothes, and so left it, minding in the morning to work on the face ; but, when he came, no sooner had he drawn away the cloth that was hung before it to preserve it from the dust, than an admirable and ravishing face was found ready painted ; at which miracle all the city came in to worship. It is now kept in the chapel of the Salutation, a place so enriched by the devotees, that none in Italy, save Loretto, is said to exceed it. This picture is always covered with three shutters, one of which is of massy silver ; methinks it is very brown, the forehead and cheeks whiter, as if it had been scraped. They report that those who have the honour of seeing it never lose their sight—happy then we ! Belonging to this church is a world of plate, some whole statues of it, and lamps innumerable, besides the costly vows hung up, some of gold, and a cabinet of precious stones.

Visiting the Duke's repository again, we told at least forty ranks of porphyry and other statues, and twenty-eight whole figures, many rare paintings and relievos, two square columns with trophies. In one of the galleries, twenty-four figures, and fifty antique heads ; a Bacchus of M. Angelo, and one of Bandinelli ; a head of Bernini, and a most lovely Cupid, of Parian marble ; at the further end, two admirable women sitting, and a man fighting with a centaur ; three figures in little of Andrea ; a huge candlestick of amber ; a table of Titian's painting, and another representing God the Father sitting in the air on the Four Evangelists ; animals ; divers smaller pieces of Raphael ; a piece of pure virgin gold, as big as an egg. In the third chamber of rarities is the square cabinet, valued at 80,000 crowns, showing, on every front, a variety of curious work ; one of birds and flowers, of *pietra-commessa* ; one, a descent from the cross, of M. Angelo ; on the third, our Blessed Saviour and the Apostles, of amber ; and, on the fourth, a crucifix of the same. Betwixt the pictures, two naked Venuses, by Titian ; Adam and Eve, by Dürer ; and several pieces of Portdenone, and del Frate. There is a globe of six feet diameter. In the Armoury, were an entire elk, a crocodile, and amongst the harness, several targets and antique horse-arms, as that of Charles V ; two set with turquoises, and other precious stones ; a horse's tail, of a wonderful

length. Then, passing the Old Palace, which has a very great hall for feasts and comedies, the roof rarely painted, and the side-walls with six very large pictures representing battles, the work of Gio. Vassari. Here is a magazine full of plate; a harness of emeralds; the furnitures of an altar four feet high, and six in length, of massy gold; in the middle is placed the statue of Cosmo II; the bass-relievo is of precious stones, his breeches covered with diamonds; the mouldings of this statue, and other ornaments, festoons, &c., are garnished with jewels and great pearls, dedicated to St. Charles, with this inscription, in rubies:

Cosimus Secundus Dei gratia Magnus Dux Etruriæ ex voto.

There is also a King on horseback, of massy gold, two feet high, and an infinity of such like rarities. Looking at the Justice, in copper, set up on a column by Cosmo, in 1555, after the victory over Sienna, we were told that the Duke, asking a gentleman how he liked the piece, he answered, that he liked it very well, but that it stood too high for poor men to come at it.

Prince Leopold has, in this city, a very excellent collection of paintings, especially a St. Catherine of P. Veronese; a Venus of marble, veiled from the middle to the feet, esteemed to be of that Greek workman who made the Venus at the Medicis' Palace in Rome, altogether as good, and better preserved, an inestimable statue, not long since found about Bologna.

Signor Gaddi is a lettered person, and has divers rarities, statues, and pictures of the best masters, and one bust of marble as much esteemed as the most antique in Italy, and many curious manuscripts; his best paintings are, a Virgin of del Sarto, mentioned by Vassari, a St. John by Raphael, and an Ecce Homo by Titian.

The hall of the Academy de la Crusca is hung about with impresses and devices painted, all of them relating to corn sifted from the bran; the seats are made like bread-baskets and other rustic instruments used about wheat, and the cushions of satin, like sacks.

We took our farewell of St. Laurence, more particularly noticing that piece of the Resurrection, which consists of a prodigious number of naked figures, the work of Pontormo. On the left hand, is the Martyrdom of St. Laurence, by Bronzino, rarely painted indeed. In a chapel is the tomb of Pietro di Medici, and his brother John, of copper, excellently designed, standing on two lions' feet, which end in foliage, the work of M. Angelo. Over against this, are sepulchres of all the ducal family. The altar has a statue of the Virgin giving suck, and two Apostles. Paulus Jovius has the honour to be buried in the cloister. Behind the choir is the superb chapel of Ferdinand I, consisting of eight faces, four plain, four a little hollowed; in the other are to be the sepulchres, and a niche of paragon, for the statue of the prince now living, all of copper gilt; above, is a large table of porphyry, for an inscription for the Duke, in letters of jasper. The whole chapel, walls, pavement, and roof, are full of precious stones united with the mouldings, which are also of gilded copper, and so are the bases and capitals of the columns. The tabernacle, with the whole altar, is inlaid with cornelians, lazuli, serpentine, agates, onyxes, &c. On the other side, are six very large columns of rock crystal, eight figures of precious stones of several colours, inlaid in natural figures, not inferior to the best paintings, amongst which are many pearls, diamonds, amethysts, topazes, sumptuous



and sparkling beyond description. The windows without side are of white marble. The library is the architecture of Raphael; before the port is a square vestibule of excellent art, of all the orders, without confusion; the ascent to it from the library is excellent. We numbered eighty-eight shelves, all MSS. and bound in red, chained; in all about 3500 volumes, as they told us.

The Arsenal has sufficient to arm 70,000 men, accurately preserved and kept, with divers lusty pieces of ordnance, whereof one is for a ball of 300 pounds weight, and another for 160, which weighs 72,500 pounds.

When I was at Florence, the celebrated masters were: for *pietra-commessa* (a kind of mosaic, or inlaying, of various coloured marble, and other more precious stones), Dominico Benetti and Mazotti; the best statuary, Vincentio Brochi. This statuary makes those small figures in plaster and pasteboard, which so resemble copper that, till one handles them, they cannot be distinguished, he has so rare an art of bronzing them; I bought four of him. The best painter, Pietro Beretino di Cortona.

This Duke has a daily tribute for every courtesan, or prostitute, allowed to practise that infamous trade in his dominions, and so has his Holiness the Pope, but not so much in value.

Taking leave of our two jolly companions, Signor Giovanni and his fellow, we took horses for Bologna; and, by the way, alighted at a villa of the Grand Duke's called Pratolino. The house is a square of four pavilions, with a fair platform about it, balustred with stone, situate in a large meadow, ascending like an amphitheatre, having at the bottom a huge rock, with water running in a small channel, like a cascade; on the other side, are the gardens. The whole place seems consecrated to pleasure and summer retirement. The inside of the Palace may compare with any in Italy for furniture of tapestry, beds, &c., and the gardens are delicious, and full of fountains. In the grove sits Pan feeding his flock, the water making a melodious sound through his pipe; and a Hercules, whose club yields a shower of water, which, falling into a great shell, has a naked woman riding on the backs of dolphins. In another grotto is Vulcan and his family, the walls richly composed of corals, shells, copper, and marble figures, with the hunting of several beasts, moving by the force of water. Here, having been well washed for our curiosity, we went down a large walk, at the sides whereof several slender streams of water gush out of pipes concealed underneath, that interchangeably fall into each other's channels, making a lofty and perfect arch, so that a man on horseback may ride under it, and not receive one drop of wet. This canopy, or arch of water, I thought one of the most surprising magnificences I had ever seen, and very refreshing in the heat of the summer. At the end of this very long walk, stands a woman in white marble, in posture of a laundress wringing water out of a piece of linen, very naturally formed, into a vast laver, the work and invention of M. Angelo Buonarrotti. Hence, we ascended Mount Parnassus, where the Muses played to us on hydraulic organs. Near this is a great aviary. All these waters came from the rock in the garden, on which is the statue of a giant representing the Apennines, at the foot of which stands this villa. Last of all, we came to the labyrinth, in which a huge colosse of Jupiter throws out a stream over the garden. This is fifty feet in height, having in his body a square chamber, his eyes and mouth serving for windows and door.

We took horse and supped that night at Il Ponte, passing a dreadful ridge of the Apennines, in many places capped with snow, which covers them the whole summer. We then descended into a luxurious and rich plain. The next day we passed through Scarperia, mounting the hills again, where the passage is so straight and precipitous towards the right hand, that we climbed them with much care and danger; lodging at Firenzuolo, which is a fort built amongst the rocks, and defending the confines of the Great Duke's territories.

The next day, we passed by the Pietramala, a burning mountain. At the summit of this prodigious mass of hills, we had an unpleasant way to Pianura, where we slept that night and were entertained with excellent wine. Hence to Scargalasino, and to bed at Loiano. This plain begins about six miles from Bologna.

Bologna belongs to the Pope, and is a famous University, situate in one of the richest spots of Europe for all sorts of provisions. It is built like a ship, whereof the Torre d'Asinelli may go for the mainmast. The city is of no great strength, having a trifling wall about it, in circuit near five miles, and two in length. This Torre d'Asinelli, ascended by 447 steps of a foot rise, seems exceedingly high, is very narrow, and the more conspicuous from another tower called Garisendi, so artificially built of brick (which increases the wonder), that it seems ready to fall. It is not now so high as the other; but they say the upper part was formerly taken down, for fear it should really fall, and do mischief.

Next, we went to see an imperfect church, called St. Petronius, showing the intent of the founder, had he gone on. From this, our guide led us to the schools, which indeed are very magnificent. Thence to St. Dominic's, where that saint's body lies richly enshrined. The stalls, or seats, of this goodly church have the history of the Bible inlaid with several woods, very curiously done, the work of one Fr. Damiano di Bergamo, and a friar of that order. Amongst other relics, they show the two books of Esdras, written with his own hand. Here lie buried Jac. Andreas, and divers other learned persons. To the church joins the convent, in the quadrangle whereof are old cypresses, said to have been planted by their saint.

Then we went to the Palace of the Legate; a fair brick building, as are most of the houses and buildings, full of excellent carving and mouldings, so as nothing in stone seems to be better finished or more ornamental; witness those excellent columns to be seen in many of their churches, convents, and public buildings; for the whole town is so cloistered, that one may pass from house to house through the streets without being exposed either to rain, or sun.

Before the stately hall of this Palace stands the statue of Paul IV and divers others; also the monument of the coronation of Charles V. The piazza before it is the most stately in Italy, St. Mark's at Venice only excepted. In the centre of it is a fountain of Neptune, a noble figure in copper. Here I saw a Persian walking about in a rich vest of cloth of tissue, and several other ornaments, according to the fashion of his country, which much pleased me; he was a young handsome person, of the most stately mien.

I would fain have seen the library of St. Saviour, famous for the number of rare manuscripts; but could not, so we went to St. Francis, a glorious pile, and exceedingly adorned within.

After dinner, I enquired out a priest and Dr. Montalbano, to whom I



brought recommendations from Rome ; this learned person invented, or found out, the composition of the *lapis illuminabilis*, or phosphorus. He showed me their property (for he had several), being to retain the light of the sun for some competent time, by a kind of imbibition, by a particular way of calcination. Some of these presented a blue colour, like the flame of brimstone, others like coals of a kitchen fire. The rest of the afternoon was taken up in St. Michael in Bosco, built on a steep hill on the edge of the city, for its fabric, pleasant shade and groves, cellars, dormitory, and prospects, one of the most delicious retirements I ever saw ; art and nature contending which shall exceed ; so as till now I never envied the life of a friar. The whole town and country to a vast extent are under command of their eyes, almost as far as Venice itself. In this convent there are many excellent paintings of Guido Reni ; above all, the little cloister of eight faces, painted by Caracci in *fresco*. The carvings in wood, in the sacristy, are admirable, as is the inlaid work about the chapel, which even emulates the best paintings ; the work is so delicate and tender. The paintings of the Saviour are of Caracci and Leonardo, and there are excellent things of Raphael which we could not see.

In the Church of St. John is a fine piece of St. Cecilia, by Raphael. As to other paintings, there is in the Church of St. Gregory an excellent picture of a Bishop giving the habit of St. Bernard to an armed soldier, with several other figures in the piece, the work of Guerchino. Indeed, this city is full of rare pieces, especially of Guido Domenico, and a virgin named Isabella Sirania, now living, who has painted many excellent pieces, and imitates Guido so well, that many skilful artists have been deceived.

At the Mendicants are the Miracles of St. Eloy, by Reni, after the manner of Caravaggio, but better ; and here they showed us that famous piece of Christ calling St. Matthew, by Annibal Caracci. The Marquis Magniani has the whole frieze of his hall painted in *fresco* by the same hand.

Many of the religious men nourish those lap-dogs which the ladies are so fond of, and which they here sell. They are a pigmy sort of spaniels, whose noses they break when puppies ; which, in my opinion, deforms them.

At the end of the turning in one of the wings of the dormitory of St. Michael, I found a paper pasted near the window, containing the dimensions of most of the famous churches in Italy compared with their towers here, and the length of this gallery, a copy whereof I took.

	Braccia <sup>a</sup>	Piedi di Bologna	Canna di Roma
St. Pietro di Roma, lungo .. ..	284	473	84
Cupalo del muro, alta .. ..	210	350	60
Torre d' Asinello, alto .. ..	208 $\frac{4}{5}$	348	59 pr. <sup>mi</sup> 6
Dormitorio de St. Mich. a Bologn. lungo .. ..	254	423	72 $\frac{1}{2}$

<sup>a</sup> Giovanni Andrea Sirani, a Bolognese artist, had three daughters. The most celebrated, Elizabetta, born 1638, and died August, 1657, is the lady alluded to by Evelyn as having been so famous a copyist of Guido, of whom her father was a pupil and imitator. Her sisters, Anna and Barbara, were also artists, but never reached the excellence of Elizabetta.

<sup>b</sup> A measure of half an ell.

From hence, being brought to a subterranean territory of cellars, the courteous friars made us taste a variety of excellent wines; and so we departed to our inn.

The city is famous also for sausages; and here is sold great quantities of Parmegiano cheese, with Botargo, Caviare, &c., which makes some of their shops perfume the streets with no agreeable smell. We furnished ourselves with wash-balls, the best being made here, and being a considerable commodity. This place has also been celebrated for lutes made by the old masters, Mollen, Hans Frey, and Nicholas Sconvelt, which were of extraordinary price; the workmen were chiefly Germans. The cattle used for draught in this country (which is very rich and fertile, especially in pasturage) are covered with housings of linen fringed at the bottom, that dangle about them, preserving them from flies, which in summer are very troublesome.

From this pleasant city, we proceeded towards Ferrara, carrying with us a bulletino, or bill of health (customary in all these parts of Italy, especially in the State of Venice) and so put ourselves into a boat that was towed with horses, often interrupted by the sluices (inventions there to raise the water for the use of mills, and to fill the artificial canals) at every of which we stayed till passage was made. We went by the Castle Bentivoglio, and, about night, arrived at an ugly inn called *Mal Albergo*, agreeable to its name, whence, after we had supped, we embarked and passed that night through the Fens, where we were so pestered with those flying glow-worms, called *Luccioli*, that one who had never heard of them, would think the country full of sparks of fire. Beating some of them down, and applying them to a book, I could read in the dark by the light they afforded.

Quitting our boat, we took coach, and by morning got to Ferrara, where, before we could gain entrance, our guns and arms were taken from us of custom, the lock being taken off before, as we were advised. The city is in a low marshy country, and therefore well fortified. The houses and streets have nothing of beauty, except the palace and church of St. Benedict, where Ariosto lies buried, and there are some good statues, the palazzo del Diamante, citadel, church of St. Dominico. The market-place is very spacious, having in its centre the figure of Nicholao Olão, once Duke of Ferrara, on horseback, in copper. It is, in a word, a dirty town, and, though the streets be large, they remain ill paved; yet it is a University, and now belongs to the Pope. Though there are not many fine houses in the city, the inn where we lodged was a very noble palace, having an Angel for its sign.

We parted from hence about three in the afternoon, and went some of our way on the canal, and then embarked on the Po, or Padus, by the poets called Eridanus, where they feign Phæton to have fallen after his rash attempt, and where Io was metamorphosed into a cow. There was in our company, amongst others, a Polonian Bishop, who was exceeding civil to me in this passage, and afterwards did me many kindnesses at Venice. We supped this night at a place called Corbua, near the ruins of the ancient city, Adria, which gives name to the Gulf, or Sea. After three miles, having passed thirty on the Po, we embarked in a stout vessel, and through an artificial canal, very straight, we entered the Adige, which carried us by break of day into the Adriatic, and so sailing prosperously by Chioza (a town upon an island in this sea), and Palestina, we came over against



Malamocco (the chief port and anchorage where our English merchantmen lie that trade to Venice) about seven at night, after we had stayed at least two hours for permission to land, our bill of health being delivered, according to custom. So soon as we came on shore, we were conducted to the Dogana, where our portmanteaus were visited, and then we got to our lodging, which was at honest Signor Paulo Rhodomante's at the Black Eagle, near the Rialto, one of the best quarters of the town. This journey from Rome to Venice cost me seven pistoles, and thirteen julios.

*June.* The next morning, finding myself extremely weary and beaten with my journey, I went to one of their bagnios, where you are treated after the eastern manner, washing with hot and cold water, with oils, and being rubbed with a kind of strigil of seal's-skin, put on the operator's hand like a glove. This bath did so open my pores, that it cost me one of the greatest colds I ever had in my life, for want of necessary caution in keeping myself warm for some time after ; for, coming out, I immediately began to visit the famous places of the city ; and travellers who come into Italy do nothing but run up and down to see sights, and this city well deserved our admiration, being the most wonderfully placed of any in the world, built on so many hundred islands, in the very sea, and at good distance from the continent. It has no fresh water, except what is reserved in cisterns from rain, and such as is daily brought from *terra firma* in boats, yet there was no want of it, and all sorts of excellent provisions were very cheap.

It is said that when the Huns over-ran Italy, some mean fishermen and others left the main land, and fled for shelter to these despicable and muddy islands, which, in process of time, by industry, are grown to the greatness of one of the most considerable States, considered as a Republic, and having now subsisted longer than any of the four ancient Monarchies, flourishing in great state, wealth, and glory, by the conquest of great territories in Italy, Dacia, Greece, Candia, Rhodes, and Sclavonia, and at present challenging the empire of all the Adriatic Sea, which they yearly espouse by casting a gold ring into it with great pomp and ceremony, on Ascension-day ; the desire of seeing this was one of the reasons that hastened us from Rome.

The Doge, having heard mass in his robes of state (which are very particular, after the eastern fashion), together with the Senate in their gowns, embarked in their gloriously painted, carved, and gilded Bucentora, environed and followed by innumerable galleys, gondolas, and boats, filled with spectators, some dressed in masquerade, trumpets, music, and cannons. Having rowed about a league into the Gulf, the Duke, at the prow, casts a gold ring and cup into the sea, at which a loud acclamation is echoed from the great guns of the Arsenal, and at the Liddo. We then returned.

Two days after, taking a gondola, which is their water-coach (for land ones, there are many old men in this city who never saw one, or rarely a horse), we rode up and down the channels, which answer to our streets. These vessels are built very long and narrow, having necks and tails of steel, somewhat spreading at the beak like a fish's tail, and kept so exceedingly polished as to give a great lustre ; some are adorned with carving, others lined with velvet, (commonly black), with curtains and tassels, and the seats like couches, to lie stretched on, while he who rows, stands upright on

the very edge of the boat, and, with one oar bending forward as if he would fall into the sea, rows and turns with incredible dexterity; thus passing from channel to channel, landing his fare, or patron, at what house he pleases. The beaks of these vessels are not unlike the ancient Roman rostrums.

The first public building I went to see was the Rialto, a bridge of one arch over the grand canal, so large as to admit a galley to row under it, built of good marble, and having on it, besides many pretty shops, three ample and stately passages for people without any inconvenience, the two outmost nobly balustraded with the same stone; a piece of architecture much to be admired. It was evening, and the canal where the Noblesse go to take the air, as in our Hyde-park, was full of ladies and gentlemen. There are many times dangerous stops, by reason of the multitude of gondolas ready to sink one another; and indeed they affect to lean them on one side, that one who is not accustomed to it, would be afraid of over-setting. Here they were singing, playing on harpsichords, and other music, and serenading their mistresses; in another place, racing, and other pastimes on the water, it being now exceeding hot.

Next day, I went to their Exchange, a place like ours, frequented by merchants, but nothing so magnificent: from thence, my guide led me to the Fondigo di Todeschi, which is their magazine, and here many of the merchants, especially Germans, have their lodging and diet, as in a college. The outside of this stately fabric is painted by Giorgione da Castelfranco, and Titian himself.

Hence, I passed through the Mercera, one of the most delicious streets in the world for the sweetness of it, and is all the way on both sides tapestried as it were with cloth of gold, rich damasks, and other silks, which the shops expose and hang before their houses from the first floor, and with that variety that for near half the year spent chiefly in this city, I hardly remember to have seen the same piece twice exposed; to this add the perfumes, apothecaries' shops, and the innumerable cages of nightingales which they keep, that entertain you with their melody from shop to shop, so that shutting your eyes, you would imagine yourself in the country, when indeed you are in the middle of the sea. It is almost as silent as the middle of a field, there being neither rattling of coaches nor trampling of horses. This street, paved with brick, and exceedingly clean, brought us through an arch into the famous piazza of St. Mark.

Over this porch stands that admirable clock, celebrated next to that of Strasburg for its many movements; amongst which, about twelve and six, which are their hours of Ave Maria, when all the town are on their knees, come forth the three Kings led by a star, and passing by the image of Christ in his Mother's arms, do their reverence, and enter into the clock by another door. At the top of this turret, another automaton strikes the quarters. An honest merchant told me that one day walking in the piazza, he saw the fellow who kept the clock struck with this hammer so forcibly, as he was stooping his head near the bell, to mend something amiss at the instant of striking, that being stunned, he reeled over the battlements, and broke his neck. The buildings in this piazza are all arched, in pillars, paved within with black and white polished marble, even to the shops, the rest of the fabric as stately as any in Europe, being not only marble, but the architecture is of the famous Sansovini, who lies buried



in St. Jacomo, at the end of the piazza. The battlements of this noble range of building are railed with stone, and thick-set with excellent statues, which add a great ornament. One of the sides is yet much more Roman-like than the other which regards the sea, and where the church is placed. The other range is plainly Gothic : and so we entered into St. Mark's Church, before which stand two brass pedestals exquisitely cast and figured, which bear as many tall masts painted red, on which, upon great festivals, they hang flags and streamers. The church is also Gothic ; yet for the preciousness of the materials, being of several rich marbles, abundance of porphyry, serpentine, &c., far exceeding any in Rome, St. Peter's hardly excepted. I much admired the splendid history of our blessed Saviour, composed all of mosaic over the *facciata*, below which and over the chief gates are cast four horses in copper as big as the life, the same that formerly were transported from Rome by Constantine to Byzantium, and thence by the Venetians hither<sup>a</sup>. They are supported by eight porphyry columns, of very great size and value. Being come into the Church, you see nothing, and tread on nothing, but what is precious. The floor is all inlaid with agates, lazulis, chalcedons, jaspers, porphyries, and other rich marbles, admirable also for the work ; the walls sumptuously incrustated, and presenting to the imagination the shapes of men, birds, houses, flowers, and a thousand varieties. The roof is of most excellent mosaic ; but what most persons admire is the new work of the emblematic tree at the other passage out of the church. In the midst of this rich *volto* rise five cupolas, the middle very large and sustained by thirty-six marble columns, eight of which are of precious marbles : under these cupolas is the high altar, on which is a reliquary of several sorts of jewels, engraven with figures, after the Greek manner, and set together with plates of pure gold. The altar is covered with a canopy of ophite, on which is sculptured the story of the Bible, and so on the pillars, which are of Parian marble, that support it. Behind these, are four other columns of transparent and true oriental alabaster, brought hither out of the mines of Solomon's Temple, as they report. There are many chapels and notable monuments of illustrious persons, dukes, cardinals, &c., as Zeno, J. Soranzi, and others : there is likewise a vast baptistery, of copper. Among other venerable relics is a stone, on which they say our blessed Lord stood preaching to those of Tyre and Sidon, and near the door is an image of Christ, much adorned, esteeming it very sacred, for that a rude fellow striking it, they say, there gushed out a torrent of blood. In one of the corners lies the body of St. Isidore, brought hither 500 years since from the island of Chios. A little farther, they show the picture of St. Dominic and Francis, affirmed to have been made by the Abbot Joachim (many years before any of them were born). Going out of the Church, they showed us the stone where Alexander III trod on the neck of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, pronouncing that verse of the psalm, '*super basiliscum*,' &c. The doors of the church are of massy copper. There are near 500 pillars in this building, most of them porphyry and serpentine, and brought chiefly from Athens, and other parts of Greece, formerly in their power. At the corner of the Church, are inserted into the main wall four figures, as big as life, cut in porphyry ; which they say are the images of four brothers who

<sup>a</sup> They were taken away by Buonaparte to Paris ; but in 1815, were sent back to Venice.

poisoned one another, by which means were escheated to the Republic that vast treasury of relics now belonging to the Church. At the other entrance that looks towards the sea, stands in a small chapel that statue of our Lady, made (as they affirm) of the same stone, or rock, out of which Moses brought water to the murmuring Israelites at Horeb, or Meriba.

After all that is said, this church is, in my opinion, much too dark and dismal, and of heavy work; the fabric—as is much of Venice, both for buildings and other fashions and circumstances—after the Greeks, their next neighbours.

The next day, by favour of the French ambassador, I had admittance with him to view the Reliquary, called here *Tesoro di San Marco*, which very few, even of travellers, are admitted to see. It is a large chamber full of presses. There are twelve breast-plates or pieces of pure golden armour, studded with precious stones, and as many crowns dedicated to St. Mark, by so many noble Venetians, who had recovered their wives taken at sea by the Saracens; many curious vases of agates; the cap, or coronet, of the Dukes of Venice, one of which had a ruby set on it, esteemed worth 200,000 crowns; two unicorns' horns; numerous vases and dishes of agate, set thick with precious stones and vast pearls; divers heads of Saints, enchased in gold; a small ampulla, or glass, with our Saviour's blood; a great morsel of the real cross; one of the nails; a thorn; a fragment of the column to which our Lord was bound, when scourged; the standard, or ensign, of Constantine; a piece of St. Luke's arm; a rib of St. Stephen; a finger of Mary Magdalen; numerous other things, which I could not remember. But a priest, first vesting himself in his sacerdotal, with the stole about his neck, showed us the gospel of St. Mark (their tutelary patron) written by his own hand, and whose body they show buried in the church, brought hither from Alexandria many years ago.

The Religious *de li Servi* have fine paintings of Paolo Veronese, especially the Magdalen.

A French gentleman and myself went to the Courts of Justice, the Senate-house, and Ducal Palace. The first court near this church is almost wholly built of several coloured sorts of marble, like chequer-work, on the outside; this is sustained by vast pillars, not very shapely, but observable for their capitals, and that out of thirty-three no two are alike. Under this fabric is the cloister where merchants meet morning and evening, as also the grave senators and gentlemen, to confer of state-affairs, in their gowns and caps, like so many philosophers; it is a very noble and solemn spectacle. In another quadrangle, stood two square columns of white marble, carved, which they said had been erected to hang one of their Dukes on, who designed to make himself Sovereign. Going through a stately arch, there were standing in niches divers statues of great value, amongst which is the so celebrated Eve, esteemed worth its weight in gold; it is just opposite to the stairs where are two Colossuses of Mars and Neptune, by Sansovino. We went up into a Corridor built with several Tribunals and Courts of Justice; and by a well-contrived staircase were landed in the Senate-hall, which appears to be one of the most noble and spacious rooms in Europe, being seventy-six paces long, and thirty-two in breadth. At the upper end, are the Tribunals of the Doge, Council of Ten, and Assistants: in the body of the hall, are lower ranks of seats, capable of containing 1500 Senators; for they consist of no fewer on grand debates.



Over the Duke's throne are the paintings of the 'Final Judgment,' by Tintoret, esteemed among the best pieces in Europe. On the roof are the famous Acts of the Republic, painted by several excellent masters, especially Bassano; next them, are the effigies of the several Dukes, with their Elogies. Then, we turned into a great Court painted with the Battle of Lepanto, an excellent piece; afterwards, into the Chamber of the Council of Ten, painted by the most celebrated masters. From hence, by the special favour of an Illustrissimo, we were carried to see the private Armoury of the Palace, and so to the same court we first entered, nobly built of polished white marble, part of which is the Duke's Court, *pro tempore*; there are two wells adorned with excellent work, in copper. This led us to the sea-side, where stand those columns of ophite-stone in the entire piece, of a great height, one bearing St. Mark's Lion, the other St. Theodorus: these pillars were brought from Greece, and set up by Nicholas Baraterius, the architect; between them public executions are performed.

Having fed our eyes with the noble prospect of the Island of St. George, the galleys, gondolas, and other vessels passing to and fro, we walked under the cloister on the other side of this goodly piazza, being a most magnificent building, the design of Sansovino. Here we went into the *Zecca*, or Mint; at the entrance, stand two prodigious giants, or Hercules, of white marble: we saw them melt, beat, and coin silver, gold, and copper. We then went up into the Procuratory, and a library of excellent MSS. and books belonging to it and the public. After this, we climbed up the tower of St. Mark, which we might have done on horseback, as it is said one of the French Kings did; there being no stairs, or steps, but returns that take up an entire square on the arches forty feet, broad enough for a coach. This steeple stands by itself, without any church near it, and is rather a watch tower in the corner of the great piazza, 230 feet in height, the foundation exceeding deep; on the top, is an angel, that turns with the wind; and from hence is a prospect down the Adriatic, as far as Istria and the Dalmatian side, with the surprising sight of this miraculous city, lying in the bosom of the sea, in the shape of a lute, the numberless Islands tacked together by no fewer than 450 bridges. At the foot of this tower, is a public tribunal of excellent work, in white marble polished, adorned with several brass statues and figures of stone and mezzo-relievo, the performance of some rare artist.

It was now Ascension-week, and the great mart, or fair, of the whole year was kept, every body at liberty and jolly; the noblemen stalking with their ladies on *choppines*. These are high-heeled shoes, particularly affected by these proud dames, or, as some say, invented to keep them at home, it being very difficult to walk with them; whence, one being asked how he liked the Venetian dames, replied, they were *mezzo carne, mezzo legno*, half flesh, half wood, and he would have none of them. The truth is, their garb is very odd, as seeming always in masquerade; their other habits also totally different from all nations. They wear very long crisp hair, of several streaks and colours, which they make so by a wash, dishevelling it on the brims of a broad hat that has no crown, but a hole to put out their heads by; they dry them in the sun, as one may see them at their windows. In their tire, they set silk flowers and sparkling stones, their petticoats coming from their very arm-pits, so that they are near

three quarters and a half apron ; their sleeves are made exceeding wide, under which their shift-sleeves as wide, and commonly tucked up to the shoulder, showing their naked arms, through false sleeves of tiffany, girt with a bracelet or two, with knots of point richly tagged about their shoulders and other places of their body, which they usually cover with a kind of yellow veil, of lawn, very transparent. Thus attired, they set their hands on the heads of two matron-like servants, or old women, to support them, who are mumbling their beads. It is ridiculous to see how these ladies crawl in and out of their gondolas, by reason of their *choppines* ; and what dwarfs they appear, when taken down from their wooden scaffolds ; of these I saw near thirty together, stalking half as high again as the rest of the world. For courtezans, or the citizens, may not wear *choppines*, but cover their bodies and faces with a veil of a certain glittering taffeta, or lustrée, out of which they now and then dart a glance of their eye, the whole face being otherwise entirely hid with it : nor may the common misses take this habit ; but go abroad barefaced. To the corner of these virgin-veils hang broad but flat tassels of curious Point de Venice. The married women go in black veils. The nobility wear the same colour, but a fine cloth lined with taffeta, in summer, with fur of the bellies of squirrels, in the winter, which all put on at a certain day, girt with a girdle embossed with silver ; the vest not much different from what our Bachelors of Arts wear in Oxford, and a hood of cloth, made like a sack, cast over their left shoulder, and a round cloth black cap fringed with wool, which is not so comely ; they also wear their collar open, to shew the diamond button of the stock of their shirt. I have never seen pearl for colour and bigness comparable to what the ladies wear, most of the noble families being very rich in jewels, especially pearls, which are always left to the son, or brother who is destined to marry ; which the eldest seldom do. The Doge's vest is of crimson velvet, the Procurator's, &c., of damask, very stately. Nor was I less surprised with the strange variety of the several nations seen every day in the streets and piazzas ; Jews, Turks, Armenians, Persians, Moors, Greeks, Sclavonians, some with their targets and bucklers, and all in their native fashions, negotiating in this famous Emporium, which is always crowded with strangers.

This night, having with my Lord Bruce<sup>a</sup> taken our places before, we went to the Opera, where comedies and other plays are represented in recitative music, by the most excellent musicians, vocal and instrumental, with variety of scenes painted and contrived with no less art of perspective, and machines for flying in the air, and other wonderful notions ; taken together, it is one of the most magnificent and expensive diversions the wit of man can invent. The history was, Hercules in Lydia ; the scenes changed thirteen times. The famous voices, Anna Rencia, a Roman, and reputed the best treble of women ; but there was an eunuch who, in my opinion, surpassed her ; also a Genoese that sung an incomparable bass. This held us by the eyes and ears till two in the morning, when we went to the Chetto de San Felice, to see the noblemen and their ladies at basset, a game at cards which is much used ; but they play not in public, and all that have inclination to it are in masquerade, without speaking one word,

<sup>a</sup> Thomas Bruce, first Earl of Elgin, in Scotland ; created by Charles I on the 13th July, 1640, Baron Bruce, of Whorlton, Yorkshire, in the English peerage. He died in 1663.



and so they come in, play, lose or gain, and go away as they please. This time of licence is only in Carnival and this Ascension-week ; neither are their theatres open for that other magnificence, or for ordinary comedians, save on these solemnities, they being a frugal and wise people, and exact observers of all sumptuary laws.

There being at this time a ship bound for the Holy Land, I had resolved to embark, intending to see Jerusalem, and other parts of Syria, Egypt, and Turkey ; but after I had provided all necessities, laid in snow to cool our drink, bought some sheep, poultry, biscuit, spirits, and a little cabinet of drugs, in case of sickness, our vessel (whereof Captain Powell was master) happened to be pressed for the service of the State, to carry provisions to Candia, now newly attacked by the Turks ; which altogether frustrated my design, to my great mortification.

On the . . . June, we went to Padua, to the fair of their St. Anthony, in company of divers passengers. The first *terra firma* we landed at was Fusina, being only an inn where we changed our barge, and were then drawn up by horses through the river Brenta, a straight channel as even as a line for twenty miles, the country on both sides deliciously adorned with country villas and gentlemen's retirements, gardens planted with oranges, figs, and other fruit, belonging to the Venetians. At one of these villas we went ashore to see a pretty contrived palace. Observable in this passage was buying their water of those who farm the sluices ; for this artificial river is in some places so shallow, that reserves of water are kept with sluices, which they open and shut with a most ingenious invention, or engine, governed even by a child. Thus they keep up the water, or let it go, till the next channel be either filled by the stop, or abated to the level of the other ; for which every boat pays a certain duty. Thus, we stayed near half an hour and more, at three several places, so as it was evening before we got to Padua. This is a very ancient city, if the tradition of Antenor's being the founder be not a fiction ; but thus speaks the inscription over a stately gate :

Hanc antiquissimam urbem literarum omnium asyllum, cujus agrum fertilitatis Lumen Natura esse voluit, Antenor condidit, anno ante Christum natum M.Cxviii ; Senatus autem Venetus his belli propugnaculis ornavit.

The town stands on the river Padus, whence its name, and is generally built like Bologna, on arches and on brick, so that one may walk all round it, dry, and in the shade ; which is very convenient in these hot countries, and I think I was never sensible of so burning a heat as I was this season, especially the next day, which was that of the fair, filled with noble Venetians, by reason of a great and solemn procession to their famous cathedral. Passing by St. Lorenzo, I met with this subscription :

Inclutus Antenor patriam vox nisa quietema  
Transtulit huc Henetum Dardanidumq ; fuga,  
Expulit Euganeos, Patavinam condidit urbem,  
Quem tegit hic humili marmore cæsa domus.

Under the tomb, was a cobbler at his work. Being now come to St. Antony's (the street most of the way straight, well-built, and outside

<sup>a</sup> Keyser very justly observes (iii, 220), that the first line of this inscription conveys no meaning.

excellently painted in *fresco*) we surveyed the spacious piazza, in which is erected a noble statue of copper of a man on horseback, in memory of one Catta Malata<sup>a</sup>, a renowned captain. The church, *à la Greca*, consists of five handsome cupolas, leaded. At the left hand within is the tomb of St. Antony and his altar, about which a mezzo-relievo of the miracles ascribed to him is exquisitely wrought in white marble by the three famous sculptors, Tullius Lombardus, Jacobus Sansovinus, and Hieronymus Compagno. A little higher is the choir, walled parapet-fashion, with sundry coloured stone, half relievo, the work of Andrea Reccij. The altar within is of the same metal, which, with the candlestick and bases, is, in my opinion, as magnificent as any in Italy. The wainscot of the choir is rarely inlaid and carved. Here are the sepulchres of many famous persons, as of Rodolphus Fulgosi, &c.; and, among the rest, one for an exploit at sea, has a galley exquisitely carved thereon. The procession bore the banners with all the treasure of the cloister, which was a very fine sight.

Hence, walking over the Prato delle Valle, I went to see the convent of St. Justina, than which I never beheld one more magnificent. The church is an excellent piece of architecture, of Andrea Palladio, richly paved, with a stately cupola that covers the high altar enshrining the ashes of that saint. It is of *pietra-commessa*, consisting of flowers very naturally done. The choir is inlaid with several sorts of wood representing the holy history, finished with exceeding industry. At the far end, is that rare painting of St. Justina's Martyrdom, by Paolo Veronese; and a stone on which they told us divers primitive Christians had been decapitated. In another place (to which leads a small cloister well-painted) is a dry well, covered with a brass-work grate, wherein are the bones of divers martyrs. They show also the bones of St. Luke, in an old alabaster coffin; three of the Holy Innocents; and the bodies of St. Maximus and Prosdocius<sup>b</sup>. The dormitory above is exceedingly commodious and stately; but what most pleased me, was the old cloister so well painted with the legendary saints, mingled with many ancient inscriptions, and pieces of urns dug up, it seems, at the foundation of the church. Thus, having spent the day in rambles, I returned the next day to Venice.

The arsenal is thought to be one of the best-furnished in the world. We entered by a strong port, always guarded, and, ascending a spacious gallery, saw arms of back, breast, and head, for many thousands; in another were saddles; over them, ensigns taken from the Turks. Another hall is for the meeting of the Senate; passing a graff, are the smiths' forges, where they are continually employed on anchors and iron work. Near it is a well of fresh water, which they impute to two rhinoceroses horns which they say lie in it, and will preserve it from ever being empoisoned. Then we came to where the carpenters were building their magazines of oars, masts, &c., for an hundred galleys and ships, which have all their apparel and furniture near them. Then the foundry, where they cast ordnance; the forge is 450 paces long, and one of them has thirteen furnaces. There is one cannon, weighing 16,573 lbs., cast whilst Henry the Third dined, and put into a galley built, rigged, and fitted for

<sup>a</sup> Lassells (p. 429) calls him Gatta Mela, the Venetian General, nicknamed Gata, because of his watchfulness.

<sup>b</sup> St. Peter's disciple, first Bishop of Padua. Lassells, p. 430.



launching within that time. They have also arms for twelve galleasses, which are vessels to row, of almost 150 feet long, and thirty wide, not counting prow or poop, and contain twenty-eight banks of oars, each seven men, and to carry 1300 men, with three masts. In another, a magazine for fifty galleys, and place for some hundreds more. Here stands the Bucentaur, with a most ample deck, and so contrived that the slaves are not seen, having on the poop a throne for the Doge to sit, when he goes in triumph to espouse the Adriatic. Here is also a gallery of 200 yards long for cables, and above that a magazine of hemp. Opposite these, are the saltpetre houses, and a large row of cells, or houses, to protect their galleys from the weather. Over the gate, as we go out, is a room full of great and small guns, some of which discharge six times at once. Then, there is a court full of cannon, bullets, chains, grapples, grenadoes, &c., and over that arms for 800,000 men, and by themselves arms for 400, taken from some that were in a plot against the State; together with weapons of offence and defence for sixty-two ships; thirty-two pieces of ordnance, on carriages taken from the Turks, and one prodigious mortar-piece. In a word, it is not to be reckoned up what this large place contains of this sort. There were now twenty-three galleys, and four galley-grossi, of 100 oars of a side. The whole arsenal is walled about, and may be in compass about three miles, with twelve towers for the watch, besides that the sea environs it. The workmen, who are ordinarily 500, march out in military order, and every evening receive their pay through a small hole in the gate where the governor lives.

The next day, I saw a wretch executed, who had murdered his master, for which he had his head chopped off by an axe that slid down a frame of timber<sup>a</sup>, between the two tall columns in St. Mark's piazza, at the sea-brink; the executioner striking on the axe with a beetle; and so the head fell off the block.

Hence, by Gudala, we went to see Grimani's Palace, the portico whereof is excellent work. Indeed, the world cannot show a city of more stately buildings, considering the extent of it, all of square stone, and as chargeable in their foundations as superstructure, being all built on piles at an immense cost. We returned home by the church of St. Johanne and Paulo, before which is, in copper, the statue of Bartolomeo Colone, on horseback, double gilt, on a stately pedestal, the work of Andrea Verrochio, a Florentine! This is a very fine church, and has in it many rare altar-pieces of the best masters, especially that on the left hand, of the Two Friars slain, which is of Titian.

The day after, being Sunday, I went over to St. George's to the ceremony of the schismatic Greeks, who are permitted to have their church, though they are at defiance with Rome. They allow no carved images, but many painted, especially the story of their patron and his dragon. Their rites differ not much from the Latins, save that of communicating in both species, and distribution of the holy bread. We afterwards fell into a dispute with a Candiot, concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost. The church is a noble fabric.

The church of St. Zachary is a Greek building, by Leo IV, Emperor, and

<sup>a</sup> The maiden at Halifax in Yorkshire, and the guillotine in France, were constructed after the same manner.

has in it the bones of that prophet, with divers other saints. Near this, we visited St. Luke's, famous for the tomb of Aretina<sup>a</sup>.

Tuesday, we visited several other churches, as Santa Maria, newly incrusted with marble on the outside, and adorned with porphyry, ophite, and Spartan stone. Near the altar and under the organ, are sculptures, that are said to be of the famous artist, Praxiteles. To that of St. Paul I went purposely, to see the tomb of Titian. Then to St. John the Evangelist, where, amongst other heroes, lies Andrea Baldarius, the inventor of oars applied to great vessels for fighting.

We also saw St. Roche, the roof whereof is, with the school, or hall, of that rich confraternity, admirably painted by Tintoretto, especially the Crucifix in the *sacristia*. We saw also the church of St. Sebastian, and Carmelites' monastery.

Next day, taking our gondola at St. Mark's, I passed to the island of St. George Maggiore, where is a Convent of Benedictines, and a well-built church of Andrea Palladio, the great architect. The pavement, cupola, choir, and pictures, very rich and sumptuous. The cloister has a fine garden to it, which is a rare thing at Venice, though this is an island a little distant from the city; it has also an olive-orchard, all environed by the sea. The new cloister now building has a noble stair-case paved with white and black marble.

From hence, we visited St. Spirito, and St. Laurence, fair churches in several islands; but most remarkable is that of the Padri Olivetani, in St. Helen's island, for the rare paintings and carvings, with inlaid work, &c.

The next morning, we went again to Padua, where, on the following day, we visited the market, which is plentifully furnished, and exceedingly cheap. Here we saw the great hall, built in a spacious piazza, and one of the most magnificent in Europe; its ascent is by steps a good height, of a reddish marble polished, much used in these parts, and happily found not far off; it is almost 200 paces long, and forty in breadth, all covered with lead, without any support of columns. At the farther end, stands the bust, in white marble, of Titus Livius, the historian. In this town is the house wherein he was born, full of inscriptions, and pretty fair.

Near to the monument of Speron Speroni, is painted on the ceiling the celestial zodiac, and other astronomical figures; without side, there is a corridor, in manner of a balcony, of the same stone; and at the entry of each of the three gates is the head of some famous person, as Albert Eremitano, Julio Paullo (lawyers), and Peter Aponius. In the piazza is the Podesta's and Capitano Grande's Palace, well-built; but, above all, the Monte Pietà, the front whereof is of most excellent architecture. This is a foundation of which there is one in most of the cities in Italy, where there is a continual bank of money to assist the poorer sort, on any pawn, and at reasonable interest, together with magazines for deposit of goods, till redeemed.

Hence, to the Schools of this flourishing and ancient University, especially for the study of physic and anatomy. They are fairly built in quadrangle,

<sup>a</sup> On whom the epigram was written:

Here lies the man who no man spared,  
When the angry fit was on him;  
Nor God himself had better fared,  
If Aretin had known him.



with cloisters beneath, and above with columns. Over the great gate are the arms of the Venetian State, and under the lion of St. Mark.

Sic ingredere, up teipso quotidie doctior ; sic egredere ut indies Patriæ Christianæq ; Republicæ utilior evadas ; ita demùm Gymnasium à te feliciter se ornatum existimabit.

## CIC.IX.

About the court-walls, are carved in stone and painted the blazons of the Consuls of all the nations, that from time to time have had that charge and honour in the University, which at my being there was my worthy friend Dr. Rogers, who here took that degree.

The Schools for the lectures of the several sciences are above, but none of them comparable, or so much frequented, as the theatre for anatomy which is excellently contrived both for the dissector and spectators. I was this day invited to dinner, and in the afternoon, (30th July) received my *matricula*, being resolved to spend some months here at study, especially physic and anatomy, of both which there were now the most famous professors in Europe. My *matricula* contained a clause, that I, my goods, servants, and messengers, should be free from all tolls and reprises, and that we might come, pass, return, buy, or sell, without any toll, &c.

The next morning, I saw the garden of simples, rarely furnished with plants, and gave order to the gardener to make me a collection of them for an *hortus hyemalis*, by permission of the Cavalier Dr. Veslingius<sup>a</sup>, then Prefect and Botanic Professor as well as of Anatomy.

This morning, the Earl of Arundel<sup>b</sup>, now in this city, a famous collector of paintings and antiquities, invited me to go with him to see the garden of Mantua, where, as one enters, stands a huge colosse of Hercules. From hence to a place where was a room covered with a noble cupola, built purposely for music ; the fillings up, or cove, betwixt the walls, were of urns and earthen pots, for the better sounding ; it was also well painted. After dinner, we walked to the Palace of Foscari all' Arena, there remaining yet some appearances of an ancient theatre, though serving now for a court only before the house. There were now kept in it two eagles, a crane, a Mauritanian sheep, a stag, and sundry fowls, as in a vivary.

Three days after, I returned to Venice, and passed over to Murano, famous for the best glasses in the world, where having viewed their furnaces, and seen their work, I made a collection of divers curiosities and glasses, which I sent for England by long sea. It is the white flints they have from Paiva, which they pound and sift exceedingly small, and mix with ashes made of a sea-weed brought out of Syria, and a white sand, that causes this manufacture to excel. The town is a Podestaria by itself, at some miles distant on the sea from Venice, and like it built upon several

<sup>a</sup> John Vesling was born at Minden, in Germany, in 1598 ; and became Professor of Anatomy in the University of Padua. Evelyn says that at his visit he was anatomical and botanical professor, and prefect. He had the care of the botanical gardens, and published a catalogue of its plants. He wrote also *Syntagma Anatomicum*, and shortly afterwards travelled into Egypt, where he seems to have paid a good deal of attention to the artificial means of hatching poultry, then an Egyptian marvel. He wrote many other works, and died in 1649.

<sup>b</sup> The celebrated Thomas, Earl of Arundel, part of whose collection was eventually procured for the University of Oxford by Evelyn, and is distinguished by the name *Marmora Arundeliana*.

small islands. In this place, are excellent oysters, small and well-tasted like our Colchester, and they were the first, as I remember, that I ever could eat ; for I had naturally an aversion to them.

At our return to Venice, we met several gondolas full of Venetian ladies, who come thus far in fine weather to take the air, with music and other refreshments. Besides that, Murano is itself a very nobly built town, and has divers noblemen's palaces in it, and handsome gardens.

In coming back, we saw the islands of St. Christopher and St. Michael, the last of which has a church enriched and incrustated with marbles and other architectonic ornaments, which the monks very courteously showed us. It was built and founded by Margaret Emiliana of Verona, a famous courtesan, who purchased a great estate, and by this foundation hoped to commute for her sins. We then rowed by the isles of St. Nicholas, whose church, with the monuments of the Justinian family, entertained us awhile : and then got home.

The next morning, Captain Powell, in whose ship I was to embark towards Turkey, invited me on board, lying about ten miles from Venice, where we had a dinner of English powdered beef and other good meat, with store of wine and great guns, as the manner is. After dinner, the Captain presented me with a stone he had lately brought from Grand Cairo, which he took from the mummy-pits, full of hieroglyphics ; I drew it on paper with the true dimensions, and sent it in a letter to Mr. Henshaw to communicate to Father Kircher, who was then setting forth his great work *Obeliscus Pamphilius*, where it is described, but without mentioning my name. The stone was afterwards brought for me into England, and landed at Wapping, where, before I could hear of it, it was broken into several fragments, and utterly defaced, to my no small disappointment.

The boatswain of the ship also gave me a hand and foot of a mummy, the nails whereof had been overlaid with thin plates of gold, and the whole body was perfect, when he brought it out of Egypt ; but the avarice of the ship's crew broke it to pieces, and divided the body among them. He presented me also with two Egyptian idols, and some loaves of the bread which the Coptics use in the holy Sacrament, with other curiosities.

8th August. I had news from Padua of my election to be *Syndicus Artistarum*, which caused me, after two days idling in a country villa with the Consul of Venice, to hasten thither, that I might discharge myself of that honour, because it was not only chargeable, but would have hindered my progress, and they chose a Dutch gentleman in my place, which did not well please my countrymen who had laboured not a little to do me the greatest honour a stranger is capable of in that University. Being freed from this impediment, and having taken leave of Dr. Janicius, a Polonian, who was going physician in the Venetian galleys to Candia, I went again to Venice, and made a collection of several books and some toys. Three days after, I returned to Padua, where I studied hard till the arrival of Mr. Henshaw, Bramstone, and some other English gentlemen whom I had left at Rome, and who made me go back to Venice, where I spent some time in showing them what I had seen there.

26th September. My dear friend, and till now my constant fellow-traveller, Mr. Thicknesse, being obliged to return to England upon his particular concern, and who had served his Majesty in the wars, I accompanied him part of his way, and, on the 28th, returned to Venice.



29th September. Michaelmas-day, I went with my Lord Mowbray<sup>a</sup> (eldest son to the Earl of Arundel, and a most worthy person) to see the collection of a noble Venetian, Signor Rugini. He has a stately Palace, richly furnished with statues and heads of Roman Emperors, all placed in an ample room. In the next, was a cabinet of medals, both Latin and Greek, with divers curious shells and two fair pearls in two of them ; but, above all, he abounded in things petrified, walnuts, eggs in which the yolk rattled, a pear, a piece of beef with the bones in it, a whole hedgehog, a plaice on a wooden trencher turned into stone and very perfect, charcoal, a morsel of cork yet retaining its levity, sponges, and a piece of taffety part rolled up, with innumerable more. In another cabinet, supported by twelve pillars of oriental agate, and railed about with crystal, he showed us several noble intaglios of agate, especially a head of Tiberius, a woman in a bath with her dog, some rare cornelians, onyxes, crystals, &c., in one of which was a drop of water not congealed, but moving up and down, when shaken ; above all, a diamond which had a very fair ruby growing in it ; divers pieces of amber, wherein were several insects, in particular one cut like a heart that contained in it a salamander without the least defect, and many pieces of mosaic. The fabric of this cabinet was very ingenious, set thick with agates, turquoises, and other precious stones, in the midst of which was an antique of a dog in stone scratching his ear, very rarely cut, and comparable to the greatest curiosity I had ever seen of that kind for the accurateness of the work. The next chamber had a bedstead all inlaid with agates, crystals, cornelians, lazuli, &c., esteemed worth 16,000 crowns ; but, for the most part, the bedsteads in Italy are of forged iron gilded, since it is impossible to keep the wooden ones from the cimices.

From hence, I returned to Padua, when that town was so infested with soldiers, that many houses were broken open in the night, some murders committed, and the nuns next our lodging disturbed, so as we were forced to be on our guard with pistols and other fire-arms to defend our doors ; and indeed the students themselves take a barbarous liberty in the evenings when they go to their strumpets, to stop all that pass by the house where any of their companions in folly are with them. This custom they call *chi vali*, so as the streets are very dangerous, when the evenings grow dark ; nor is it easy to reform this intolerable usage, where there are so many strangers of several nations.

Using to drink my wine cooled with snow and ice, as the manner here is, I was so afflicted with an angina and sore-throat, that it had almost cost me my life. After all the remedies Cavalier Veslingius, chief professor here, could apply, old Salvatico (that famous physician) being called, made me be cupped, and scarified in the back in four places ; which began to give me breath, and consequently life ; for I was in the utmost danger ; but, God being merciful to me, I was after a fortnight abroad again ; when, changing my lodging, I went over against Pozzo Pinto,

<sup>a</sup> James, Lord Mowbray and Maltravers, the eldest son of Lord Arundel, died before his father. Evelyn's friend was Henry Frederick, the Earl's second son, who, on his father's death in Italy, succeeded to the earldom of Arundel. He married, in 1626, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Esme Stuart, Earl of March, and afterwards Duke of Lennox ; who will be found noticed occasionally by Evelyn. He died April 7, 1652.

where I bought for winter provision 3000 weight of excellent grapes, and pressed my own wine, which proved incomparable liquor.

This was on 10th October. Soon after came to visit me from Venice Mr. Henry Howard, grandchild to the Earl of Arundel<sup>a</sup>, Mr. Bramstone, son to the Lord Chief Justice, and Mr. Henshaw, with whom I went to another part of the city to lodge near St. Catherine's, over against the monastery of nuns, where we hired the whole house, and lived very nobly. Here I learned to play on the theorb, taught by Signor Dominico Bassano, who had a daughter married to a doctor of laws, that played and sung to nine several instruments, with that skill and address as few masters in Italy exceeded her; she likewise composed divers excellent pieces: I had never seen any play on the Naples viol before. She presented me afterwards with two recitativos of hers, both words and music.

31st October. Being my birth-day, the nuns of St. Catherine's sent me flowers of silk-work. We were very studious all this winter till Christmas, when, on Twelfth-day, we invited all the English and Scots in town to a feast, which sunk our excellent wine considerably.

1645-6. In January, Signor Molino was chosen Doge of Venice, but the extreme snow that fell, and the cold, hindered my going to see the solemnity, so as I stirred not from Padua till Shrovetide, when all the world repair to Venice, to see the folly and madness of the Carnival; the women, men, and persons of all conditions disguising themselves in antique dresses, with extravagant music and a thousand gambols, traversing the streets from house to house, all places being then accessible and free to enter. Abroad, they fling eggs filled with sweet water, but sometimes not over-sweet. They also have a barbarous custom of hunting bulls about the streets and piazzas, which is very dangerous, the passages being generally narrow. The youth of the several wards and parishes contend in other masteries and pastimes, so that it is impossible to recount the universal madness of this place during this time of license. The great banks are set up for those who will play at bassett; the comedians have liberty, and the operas are open; witty pasquils are thrown about, and the mountebanks have their stages at every corner. The diversions which chiefly took me up was three noble operas, where were excellent voices and music, the most celebrated of which was the famous Anna Rencia<sup>b</sup>, whom we invited to a fish-dinner after four days in Lent, when they had given over at the theatre. Accompanied with an eunuch whom she brought with her, she entertained us with rare music, both of them singing to a harpsichord. It growing late, a gentleman of Venice came for her, to show her the galleys, now ready to sail for Candia. This entertainment produced a second, given us by the English consul of the merchants, inviting us to his house, where he had the Genoese, the most celebrated base in Italy, who was one of the late opera-band. This diversion held us so late at night, that, conveying a gentlewoman who had supped with us to her gondola at the usual place of landing, we were shot at by two carbines from another gondola, in which were a noble Venetian and his courtesan unwilling to be

<sup>a</sup> Second son of the preceding. He succeeded his elder brother, Thomas, who had been restored to the dukedom of Norfolk, as sixth duke, though he had previously been created Baron Howard and Earl of Norwich. Also created Earl Marshal of England, and died January 11, 1683-4. Evelyn often mentions this family.

<sup>b</sup> *ante*, p. 137.



disturbed, which made us run in and fetch other weapons, not knowing what the matter was, till we were informed of the danger we might incur by pursuing it farther.

Three days after this, I took my leave of Venice, and went to Padua, to be present at the famous anatomy lecture, celebrated here with extraordinary apparatus, lasting almost a whole month. During this time, I saw a woman, a child, and a man dissected with all the manual operations of the chirurgeon on the human body. The one was performed by Cavalier Veslingius and Dr. Jo. Athelsteinus Leonœnas, of whom I purchased those rare tables of veins and nerves, and caused him to prepare a third of the lungs, liver, and *nervi sexti par*: with the gastric veins, which I sent into England, and afterwards presented to the Royal Society, being the first of that kind that had been seen there, and, for aught I know, in the world, though afterwards there were others. When the anatomy lectures, which were in the mornings, were ended, I went to see cures done in the hospitals; and certainly as there are the greatest helps and the most skilful physicians, so there are the most miserable and deplorable objects to exercise upon. Nor is there any, I should think, so powerful an argument against the vice reigning in this licentious country, as to be spectator of the misery these poor creatures undergo. They are indeed very carefully attended, and with extraordinary charity.

20th March. I returned to Venice, where I took leave of my friends.

22nd. I was invited to excellent English potted venison, at Mr. Hobbson's, a worthy merchant.

23rd. I took my leave of the Patriarch and the Prince of Wirtemberg, and Monsieur Grotius (son of the learned Hugo) now going as commander to Candia; and, in the afternoon, received of Vandervoort, my merchant, my bills of exchange of 300 ducats for my journey. He showed me his rare collection of Italian books, esteemed very curious, and of good value.

The next day, I was conducted to the Ghetto, where the Jews dwell together in as a tribe or ward, where I was present at a marriage. The bride was clad in white, sitting in a lofty chair, and covered with a white veil; then two old Rabbis joined them together, one of them holding a glass of wine in his hand, which, in the midst of the ceremony, pretending to deliver to the woman, he let fall, the breaking whereof was to signify the frailty of our nature, and that we must expect disasters and crosses amidst all enjoyments. This done we had a fine banquet, and were brought into the bride-chamber, where the bed was dressed up with flowers, and the counterpane strewed in works. At this ceremony, we saw divers very beautiful Portuguese Jewesses, with whom we had some conversation.

I went to the Spanish Ambassador with Bonifacio, his confessor, and obtained his pass to serve me in the Spanish dominions; without which I was not to travel, in this pompous form:

Don Gaspar de Teves y Guzman, Marques de la Fuente, Señor Le Lerena y Verazuza, Commendador de Colos, en la Orden de Sant Yago, Alcalde Mayor perpetuo y Escrivano Mayor de la Ciudad de Sevilla, Gentilhombre de la Camara de S. M. su Azimilero Mayor, de su Consejo, su Embaxador extraordinario a los Principes de Italia, y Alemania, y a esta serenissima Republica de Venetia, &c. Haviendo de partir de esta Ciudad para La Milan el Signior Cavallero Evelyn Ingles, con un Criado, mi han pedido Passa-porte para los Estados de su M. Le he mandado dar el presente, firmado de mi mano, y sellado con el sello de mis armas, por el qual encargo a todos los menestros de S. M. antes quien le presen-

tase y a los que no lo son, supplico les dare passar libramente sin permitir que se le haya vexacion alguna antes mandar le las favor para continuar su viage. Fecho en Venecia a 24 del mes de Marzo del an'o 1646.

Mar. de la Fuentes, &c.

Having packed up my purchases of books, pictures, casts, treacle, &c., (the making and extraordinary ceremony whereof I had been curious to observe, for it is extremely pompous and worth seeing) I departed from Venice, accompanied with Mr. Waller (the celebrated poet), now newly gotten out of England, after the Parliament had extremely worried him for attempting to put in execution the commission of Array, and for which the rest of his colleagues were hanged by the rebels.

The next day, I took leave of my comrades at Padua, and receiving some directions from Dr. Salvatico as to the care of my health, I prepared for my journey towards Milan.

It was Easter-Monday that I was invited to breakfast at the Earl of Arundel's<sup>a</sup>. I took my leave of him in his bed, where I left that great and excellent man in tears on some private discourse of crosses that had befallen his illustrious family, particularly the undutifulness of his grandson Philip's turning Dominican Friar (since Cardinal of Norfolk)<sup>b</sup>, and the misery of his country now embroiled in civil war. He caused his gentleman to give me directions, all written with his own hand, what curiosities I should inquire after in my journey; and, so enjoining me to write sometimes to him, I departed. There stayed for me below, Mr. Henry Howard (afterwards Duke of Norfolk), Mr. J. Digby, son of Sir Kenelm Digby, and other gentlemen, who conducted me to the coach.

The famous lapidaries of Venice for false stones and pastes, so as to emulate the best diamonds, rubies, &c., were Marco Terrasso and Gilbert.

*An accompt of what Bills of Exchange I took up at Venice since my coming from Rome, till my departure from Padua*

11th Aug., 1645	. . .	200
7th Sept.	. . .	135
1st Oct.	. . .	100
15th Jan., 1646	. . .	100
23rd April	. . .	300

835 Ducati di Banco.

In company, then, with Mr. Waller, one Captain Wray (son of Sir Christopher, whose father had been in arms against his Majesty, and therefore by no means welcome to us), with Mr. Abdy, a modest and learned man, we got that night to Vicenza, passing by the Euganean hills, celebrated for the prospects and furniture of rare simples, which we found growing about them. The ways were something deep, the whole country flat and even as a bowling-green. The common fields lie square, and are orderly planted with fruit trees, which the vines run and embrace, for many miles, with delicious streams creeping along the ranges.

<sup>a</sup> Lassells, who travelled a short time after Evelyn, says (p. 429), that the Earl died here, and that his bowels are buried under a black marble stone, inscribed 'Interiora Thomæ Howard Comitiss Arundeliæ.'

<sup>b</sup> Philip was the third son of Henry Frederick Baron Mowbray. He entered the Church of Rome, as stated by Evelyn, and afterwards rose to the dignity of Cardinal, and became Lord Almoner to Catherine, consort of Charles II. He died in 1694.



Vicenza is a city in the Marquisate of Treviso, yet appertaining to the Venetians, full of gentlemen and splendid palaces, to which the famous Palladio, born here, has exceedingly contributed, having been the architect. Most conspicuous is the Hall of Justice ; it has a tower of excellent work ; the lower pillars are of the first order ; those in the three upper corridors are Doric ; under them, are shops in a spacious piazza. The hall was built in imitation of that at Padua, but of a nobler design, *d la moderne*. The next morning, we visited the theatre, as being of that kind the most perfect now standing, and built by Palladio, in exact imitation of the ancient Romans, and capable of containing 5000 spectators. The scene, which is all of stone, represents an imperial city, the order Corinthian, decorated with statues. Over the Scenario is inscribed, ' Virtuti ac Genio Olympior : Academia Theatrum hoc à fundamentis erexit Palladio Architect : 1584.' The scene declines eleven feet, the *soffito* painted with clouds. To this there joins a spacious hall for solemn days to ballot in, and a second for the Academics. In the Piazza is also the *podesta*, or governor's house, the *facciata* being of the Corinthian order, very noble. The Piazza itself is so large as to be capable of jousts and tournaments, the nobility of this city being exceedingly addicted to this knight-errantry, and other martial diversions. In this place are two pillars in imitation of those at St. Mark's at Venice, bearing one of them a winged lion, the other the statue of St. John the Baptist.

In a word, this sweet town has more well-built palaces than any of its dimensions in all Italy, besides a number begun and not yet finished (but of stately design) by reason of the domestic dissensions betwixt them and those of Brescia, fomented by the sage Venetians, lest by combining, they might think of recovering their ancient liberty. For this reason, also, are permitted those disorders and insolences committed at Padua among the youth of these two territories. It is no dishonour in this country to be some generations in finishing their palaces, that without exhausting themselves by a vast expense at once, they may at last erect a sumptuous pile. Count Oleine's Palace is near perfected in this manner. Count Ulmarinia is more famous for his gardens, being without the walls, especially his *cedrario*, or conserve of oranges, eleven score of my paces long, set in order and ranges, making a canopy all the way by their intermixing branches for more than 200 of my single paces, and which, being full of fruit and blossoms, was a most delicious sight. In the middle of this garden, was a cupola made of wire, supported by slender pillars of brick, so closely covered with ivy, both without and within, that nothing was to be perceived but green ; betwixt the arches there dangled festoons of the same. Here is likewise a most inextricable labyrinth.

I had in this town recommendation to a very civil and ingenious apothecary, called Angelico, who had a pretty collection of paintings. I would fain have visited a Palace, called the Rotunda, which was a mile out of town, belonging to Count Martio Capra ; but one of our companions hastening to be gone, and little minding anything save drinking and folly, caused us to take coach sooner than we should have done.

A little from the town, we passed the Campo Martio, set out in imitation of ancient Rome, wherein the nobles exercised their horses, and the ladies

<sup>a</sup> Lassells (p. 435) calls him Valmerana.

make the *Corso* ; it is entered by a stately triumphal arch, the invention of Palladio.

Being now set out for Verona, about midway we dined at Ostaria Nova, and came late to our resting-place, which was the Cavaletto, just over the monument of the Scalageria, formerly princes of Verona, adorned with many devices in stone of ladders, alluding to the name.

Early next morning, we went about the city, which is built on the gentle declivity, and bottom of a hill, environed in part with some considerable mountains and downs of fine grass, like some places in the south of England, and, on the other side, having the rich plain where Caius Marius overthrew the Cimbrians. The city is divided in the midst by the river Adige, over which are divers stately bridges, and on its banks are many goodly palaces, whereof one is well painted in *chiaro-oscuro* on the outside, as are divers in this dry climate of Italy.

The first thing that engaged our attention and wonder, too, was the amphitheatre, which is the most entire of ancient remains now extant. The inhabitants call it the *Arena* : it has two porticos, one within the other, and is thirty-four rods long, twenty-two in breadth, with forty-two ranks of stone benches, or seats, which reach to the top. The vastness of the marble stones is stupendous. 'L. V. Flaminius, Consul. anno. urb. con. LIII.' This I esteem to be one of the noblest antiquities in Europe, it is so vast and entire, having escaped the ruins of so many other public buildings for above 1400 years.

There are other arches, as that of the victory of Marius ; temples, aqueducts, &c., showing still considerable remains in several places of the town, and how magnificent it has formerly been. It has three strong castles, and a large and noble wall. Indeed, the whole city is bravely built, especially the Senate-house, where we saw those celebrated statues of Cornelius Nepos, Æmilius Marcus, Plinius, and Vitruvius, all having honoured Verona by their birth ; and, of later date, Julius Cæsar Scaliger, that prodigy of learning.

In the evening we saw the garden of Count Giusti's villa, where are walks cut out of the main rock, from whence we had the pleasant prospect of Mantua and Parma, though at great distance. At the entrance of this garden, grows the goodliest cypress, I fancy, in Europe, cut in a pyramid ; it is a prodigious tree both for breadth and height, entirely covered, and thick to the base.

Dr. Cortone, a civilian, showed us, amongst other rarities, a St. Dorothea, of Raphael. We could not see the rare drawings, especially of Parmensis, belonging to Dr. Marcello, another advocate, on account of his absence.

Verona deserved all those elogies Scaliger has honoured it with ; for, in my opinion, the situation is the most delightful I ever saw, it is so sweetly mixed with rising ground and valleys, so elegantly planted with trees on which Bacchus seems riding as it were in triumph every autumn, for the vines reach from tree to tree ; here, of all places I have seen in Italy, would I fix a residence. Well has that learned man given it the name of the very eye of the world :

Oscelle mundi, Sidus Itali cœli,  
Flos Urbium, flos cornicuumq' amœnum,  
Quot sunt, eruntve, quot, fuere, Verona.

<sup>a</sup> Or della Scala.



The next morning we travelled over the downs where Marius fought, and fancied ourselves about Winchester, and the country towards Dorsetshire. We dined at an inn called *Cavalli Caschieri*, near *Peschiera*, a very strong fort of the Venetian Republic, and near the *Lago di Garda*, which disembogues into that of *Mantua*, near forty miles in length, highly spoken of by my Lord Arundel to me, as the most pleasant spot in Italy, for which reason I observed it with the more diligence, alighting out of the coach, and going up to a grove of cypresses growing about a gentleman's country-house, from whence indeed it presents a most surprising prospect. The hills and gentle risings about it produce oranges, citrons, olives, figs, and other tempting fruits, and the waters abound in excellent fish, especially trouts. In the middle of this lake, stands *Sermonea*, on an island; here Captain Wray bought a pretty nag of the master of our inn where we dined, for eight pistoles, which his wife, our hostess, was so unwilling to part with, that she did nothing but kiss and weep and hang about the horse's neck, till the captain rode away.

We came this evening to *Brescia*, which next morning we traversed, according to our custom, in search of antiquities and new sights. Here, I purchased of old *Lazarino Cominazzo* my fine carbine, which cost me nine pistoles, this city being famous for these fire-arms, and that work-man, *Jo. Bap. Franco*, the best esteemed. The city consists most in artists, every shop abounding in guns, swords, armourers, &c. Most of the workmen come out of Germany. It stands in a fertile plain, yet the castle is built on a hill. The streets abound in fair fountains. The *Torre della Pallada* is of a noble Tuscan order, and the Senate-house is inferior to few. The piazza is but indifferent; some of the houses arched as at *Padua*. The Cathedral was under repair. We would from hence have visited *Parma*, *Piacenza*, *Mantua*, &c.; but the banditti and other dangerous parties being abroad, committing many enormities, we were contented with a Pisgah sight of them.

We dined next day, at *Ursa Vecchia*, and, after dinner, passed by an exceeding strong fort of the Venetians, called *Ursa Nova*, on their frontier. Then by the river *Oglio*, and so by *Sonano*, where we enter the Spanish dominions, and that night arrived at *Crema*, which belongs to Venice, and is well-defended. The *Podesta's* Palace is finely built, and so is the *Duomo*, or Cathedral, and the tower to it, with an ample piazza.

Early next day, after four miles' riding, we entered into the State of *Milan*, and passed by *Lodia*, a great city famous for cheese, little short of the best *Parmeggiano*. We dined at *Marignano*, ten miles before coming to *Milan*, where we met half-a-dozen suspicious cavaliers, who yet did us no harm. Then, passing as through a continual garden, we went on with exceeding pleasure; for it is the *Paradise of Lombardy*, the highways as even and straight as a line, the fields to a vast extent planted with fruit about the enclosures, vines to every tree at equal distances, and watered with frequent streams. There was likewise much corn, and olives in abundance. At approach of the city, some of our company, in dread of the *Inquisition* (severer here than in all Spain), thought of throwing away some Protestant books and papers. We arrived about three in the afternoon, when the officers searched us thoroughly for prohibited goods; but,

<sup>a</sup> Celebrated in later years for the victory gained by Buonaparte over the Austrians.

finding we were only gentlemen travellers, dismissed us for a small reward, and we went quietly to our inn, *The Three Kings*, where, for that day, we refreshed ourselves, as we had need. The next morning, we delivered our letters of recommendation to the learned and courteous Ferrarius, a Doctor of the Ambrosian College<sup>a</sup>, who conducted us to all the remarkable places of the town, the first of which was the famous Cathedral. We entered by a portico, so little inferior to that of Rome that, when it is finished, it will be hard to say which is the fairest; the materials are all of white and black marble, with columns of great height, of Egyptian granite. The outside of the church is so full of sculpture, that you may number 4000 statues, all of white marble, amongst which that of St. Bartholomew is esteemed a masterpiece. The church is very spacious, almost as long as St. Peter's at Rome, but not so large. About the choir, the sacred Story is finely sculptured, in snow-white marble, nor know I where it is exceeded. About the body of the church are the miracles of St. Charles Borromeo, and in the vault beneath is his body before the high altar, grated, and enclosed, in one of the largest crystals in Europe. To this also belongs a rich treasure. The cupola is all of marble within and without, and even covered with great planks of marble in the Gothic design. The windows are most beautifully painted. Here are two very fair and excellent organs. The fabric is erected in the midst of a fair piazza, and in the centre of the city.

Hence, we went to the Palace of the Archbishop, which is a quadrangle, the architecture of Theobaldi, who designed much for Philip II. in the Escorial, and has built much in Milan. Hence, into the Governor's Palace, who was Constable of Castile. Tempted by the glorious tapestries and pictures, I adventured so far alone, that peeping into a chamber where the great man was under the barber's hands, he sent one of his negroes (a slave) to know what I was. I made the best excuse I could, and that I was only admiring the pictures, which he returning and telling his lord, I heard the Governor reply that I was a spy; on which I retired with all the speed I could, passed the guard of Swiss, got into the street, and in a moment to my company, who were gone to the Jesuits' Church, which in truth is a noble structure, the front especially, after the modern. After dinner, we were conducted to St. Celso, a church of rare architecture, built by Bramante; the carvings of the marble *facciata* are by Annibal Fontana, whom they esteem at Milan equal to the best of the ancients. In a room joining to the Church, is a marble Madonna, like a Colosse, of the same sculptor's work, which they will not expose to the air. There are two *sacristias*, in one of which is a fine Virgin, of Leonardo da Vinci; in the other is one of Raphael d'Urbino, a piece which all the world admires. The Sacristan showed us a world of rich plate, jewels, and embroidered copes, which are kept in presses.

Next, we went to see the Great Hospital, a quadrangular cloister of a vast compass, a truly royal fabric, with an annual endowment of 50,000

<sup>a</sup> Francisco Bernardino Ferrari, born in 1577, and for his extensive knowledge of books selected by Frederick Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, as a proper person to travel and collect books and manuscripts for a noble library he was desirous of founding in that city. He collected a great number of works in all classes of literature, which, with later editions, has since been known as the Ambrosian Library. He died in 1669.



crowns of gold. There is in the middle of it a cross building for the sick, and, just under it, an altar so placed as to be seen in all places of the Infirmary.

There are divers colleges built in this quarter, richly provided for by the same Borromeo and his nephew, the last Cardinal Frederico, some not yet finished, but of excellent design.

In St. Eustorgio, they tell us, formerly lay the bodies of the three Magi, since translated to Cologne in Germany; they, however, preserve the tomb, which is a square stone, on which is engraven a star, and, under it, 'Sepulchrum trium Magorum.'

Passing by St. Laurence, we saw sixteen columns of marble, and the ruins of a Temple of Hercules, with this inscription yet standing :

Imp. Cæsari L. Aurelio Vero Aug. Arminiaco Medio Parthico Max. Trib. Pot. VII. Imp. IIII. Cos. III. P. P. Divi Antonini Pij Divi Hadriani Nepoti Divi Trajani Parthici Pro-Nepoti Divi Nervæ Abnepoti Dec. Dec.

We concluded this day's wandering at the Monastery of Madonna delle Grazie, and in the refectory admired that celebrated *Cæna Domini* of Leonardo da Vinci, which takes up the entire wall at the end, and is the same that the great virtuoso, Francis the First of France, was so enamoured of, that he consulted to remove the whole wall by binding it about with ribs of iron and timber, to convey it into France. It is indeed one of the rarest paintings that was ever executed by Leonardo, who was long in the service of that Prince, and so dear to him that the King coming to visit him in his old age and sickness, he expired in his arms. But this incomparable piece is now exceedingly impaired<sup>a</sup>.

Early next morning came the learned Dr. Ferrarius to visit us, and took us in his coach to see the Ambrosian Library, where Cardinal Fred. Borromeo has expended so vast a sum on this building, and in furnishing with curiosities, especially paintings and drawings of inestimable value amongst painters. It is a school fit to make the ablest artists. There are many rare things of Hans Breugel, and amongst them the Four Elements. In this room, stands the glorious [boasting] inscription of Cavaliero Galeazzo Arconati, valuing his gift to the library of several drawings by Da Vinci; but these we could not see, the keeper of them being out of town, and he always carrying the keys with him; but my Lord Marshal, who had seen them, told me all but one book are small, that a huge folio contained 400 leaves full of scratches of Indians, &c. But whereas the inscription pretends that our King Charles had offered 1000*l.* for them—the truth is, and my Lord himself told me, that it was he who treated with Galeazzo for himself, in the name and by permission of the King, and that the Duke of Feria, who was then Governor, should make the bargain; but my Lord, having seen them since, did not think them of so much worth.

In the great room, where is a goodly library, on the right hand of the door, is a small wainscot closet, furnished with rare manuscripts. Two

<sup>a</sup> *The Painter's Voyage*, published in 1679, does not notice it; and probably it was then almost invisible from decay. It has since been frequently retouched, and it still remains in the refectory of the monastery in which Evelyn saw it; but the damage received from the dampness of the wall has left it but the most indistinct shadow of what it once was. This, however, is less to be deplored since the magnificent print of it by Raphael Morghen, justly esteemed one of the finest works of art in this kind that has ever been executed. The old previous engraving from it by Peter Soutman by no means exhibited a true delineation of the characters of the piece, as nobly designed by Leonardo.

original letters of the Grand Signor were showed us, sent to two Popes, one of which was (as I remember) to Alexander VI [Borgia], and the other mentioning the head of the lance which pierced our Blessed Saviour's side, as a present to the Pope : I would feign have gotten a copy of them, but could not ; I hear, however, that they are since translated into Italian, and that therein is a most honourable mention of Christ.

We re-visited St. Ambrose's church. The high altar is supported by four porphyry columns, and under it lie the remains of that holy man. Near it they showed us a pit, or well (an obscure place it is), where they say St. Ambrose baptized St. Augustine, and recited the *Te Deum* ; for so imports the inscription. The place is also famous for some Councils that have been held here, and for the coronation of divers Italian Kings and Emperors, receiving the iron crown from the Archbishop of this see<sup>a</sup>. They show the History by Josephus, written on the bark of trees. The high altar is wonderfully rich.

Milan is one of the most princely cities in Europe : it has no suburbs, but is circled with a stately wall for ten miles, in the centre of a country that seems to flow with milk and honey. The air is excellent ; the fields fruitful to admiration, the market abounding with all sorts of provisions. In the city are near 100 churches, 71 monasteries, and 40,000 inhabitants ; it is of a circular figure, fortified with bastions, full of sumptuous palaces and rare artists, especially for works in crystal, which is here cheap, being found among the Alps. They have curious straw-work among the nuns, even to admiration. It has a good river, and a citadel at some small distance from the city, commanding it, of great strength for its works and munition of all kinds. It was built by Galeatius the Second, and consists of four bastions, and works at the angles and fronts ; the graff is faced with brick to a very great depth ; has two strong towers as one enters, and within is another fort, and spacious lodgings for the soldiers, and for exercising them. No accommodation for strength is wanting, and all exactly uniform. They have here also all sorts of work and tradesmen, a great magazine of arms and provisions. The fosse is of spring water, with a mill for grinding corn, and the ramparts vaulted underneath. Don Juan Vasques Coronada was now Governor ; the garrison Spaniards only.

There is nothing better worth seeing than the collection of Signor Septalla<sup>b</sup>, a canon of St. Ambrose, famous over Christendom for his learning and virtues. Amongst other things, he showed us an Indian wood, that has the perfect scent of civet ; a flint, or pebble, that has a quantity of water in it, which is plainly to be seen, it being clear as agate ; divers crystals that have water moving in them, some of them having plants, leaves, and hog's bristles in them ; much amber full of insects, and divers things of woven amianthus<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Buonaparte afterwards took it, and placed it on his own head.

<sup>b</sup> *Painter's Voyage* particularises 85 pictures in this Collection, but few of them by great masters.

<sup>c</sup> There are two descriptive Catalogues of the Museum, in its day one of the most celebrated in all Italy ; both are in small quarto, the one in Latin, the later and most complete one in Italian ; to which is prefixed a large inside view of the Museum, exhibiting its curious contents of busts, statues, pictures, urns, and every kind of rarity, natural and artificial.

Keysler, in his *Travels*, laments the not being able to see it, on account of a law-suit then depending ; and, probably in consequence of that law-suit, it has now been long dispersed.



Milan is a sweet place, and though the streets are narrow, they abound in rich coaches, and are full of noblesse, who frequent the course every night. Walking a turn in the portico before the dome, a cavaliero who passed by, hearing some of us speaking English, looked a good while earnestly on us, and by and bye sending his servant, desired we would honour him the next day at dinner. We looked on this as an odd invitation, he not speaking to us himself, but we returned his civility with thanks, though not fully resolved what to do, or indeed what might be the meaning of it in this jealous place ; but on enquiry, it was told us he was a Scots Colonel, who had an honourable command in the city, so that we agreed to go. This afternoon, we were wholly taken up in seeing an opera represented by some Neapolitans, performed all in excellent music with rare scenes, in which there acted a celebrated beauty.

Next morning, we went to the Colonel's, who had sent his servant again to conduct us to his house, which we found to be a noble palace, richly furnished. There were other guests, all soldiers, one of them a Scotchman, but we could not learn one of their names. At dinner, he excused his rudeness that he had not himself spoken to us ; telling us it was his custom, when he heard of any English travellers (who but rarely would be known to pass through that city for fear of the Inquisition), to invite them to his house, where they might be free. We had a sumptuous dinner ; and the wine was so tempting, that after some healths had gone about, and we had risen from table, the Colonel led us into his hall, where there hung up divers colours, saddles, bridles, pistols, and other arms, being trophies which he had taken with his own hands from the enemy ; amongst them, he would needs bestow a pair of pistols on Captain Wray, one of our fellow-travellers, and a good drinking gentleman, and on me a Turkish bridle woven with silk and very curiously embossed, with other silk trappings, to which hung a half moon finely wrought, which he had taken from a bashaw whom he had slain. With this glorious spoil, I rid the rest of my journey as far as Paris, and brought it afterwards into England. He then showed us a stable of brave horses, with his menage and cavalerizzo. Some of the horses he caused to be brought out, which he mounted, and performed all the motions of an excellent horseman. When this was done, and he had alighted—contrary to the advice of his groom and page, who knew the nature of the beast, and that their master was a little spirited with wine, he would have a fiery horse that had not yet been managed and was very ungovernable, but was otherwise a very beautiful creature ; this he mounting, the horse, getting the reins in a full *carriere*, rose so desperately that he fell quite back, crushing the Colonel so forcibly against the wall of the menage, that though he sat on him like a Centaur, yet recovering the jade on all fours again, he desired to be taken down and so led in, where he cast himself on a pallet ; and, with infinite lamentations, after some time we took leave of him, being now speechless. The next morning, going to visit him, we found before the door the canopy which they usually carry over the host, and some with lighted tapers ; which made us suspect he was in very sad condition, and so indeed we found him, an Irish Friar standing by his bedside as confessing him, or at least disguising a confession, and other ceremonies used *in extremis* ; for we afterwards learned that the gentleman was a Protestant, and had this Friar, his confidant ; which was a dangerous thing at Milan, had it been but suspected. At our entrance,

he sighed grievously, and held up his hands, but was not able to speak. After vomiting some blood, he kindly took us all by the hand, and made signs that he should see us no more, which made us take our leave of him with extreme reluctancy and affliction for the accident. This sad disaster made us consult about our departure as soon as we could, not knowing how we might be inquired after, or engaged, the Inquisition being so cruelly formidable and inevitable, on the least suspicion. The next morning, therefore, discharging our lodgings, we agreed for a coach to carry us to the foot of the Alps, not a little concerned for the death of the Colonel, which we now heard of, and who had so courteously entertained us.

The first day we got as far as Castellanza, by which runs a considerable river into Lago Maggiore ; here, at dinner, were two or three Jesuits, who were very pragmatICAL and inquisitive, whom we declined conversation with as decently as we could : so we pursued our journey through a most fruitful plain, but the weather was wet and uncomfortable. At night, we lay at Sesto.

The next morning, leaving our coach, we embarked in a boat to carry us over the lake (being one of the largest in Europe), and whence we could see the towering Alps, and amongst them the great San Bernardo, esteemed the highest mountain in Europe, appearing to be some miles above the clouds. Through this vast water, passes the river Ticinus, which discharges itself into the Po, by which means Helvetia transports her merchandizes into Italy, which we now begin to leave behind us.

Having now sailed about two leagues, we were hauled ashore at Arona, a strong town belonging to the Duchy of Milan, where, being examined by the Governor, and paying a small duty, we were dismissed. Opposite to this fort, is Angiera, another small town, the passage very pleasant with the prospect of the Alps covered with pine and fir-trees, and above them snow. We passed the pretty Island Isabella<sup>a</sup>, about the middle of the lake, on which is a fair house built on a mount ; indeed, the whole island is a mount ascended by several terraces and walks all set above with orange and citron trees.

The next we saw was Isola<sup>a</sup>, and we left on our right hand the Isle of St. Jovannia ; and so sailing by another small town built also on an island, we arrived at night at Margazzo, an obscure village at the end of the lake, and at the very foot of the Alps, which now rise as it were suddenly after some hundreds of miles of the most even country in the world, and where there is hardly a stone to be found, as if Nature had here swept up the rubbish of the earth in the Alps, to form and clear the plains of Lombardy, which we had hitherto passed since our coming from Venice. In this wretched place, I lay on a bed stuffed with leaves, which made such a crackling, and did so prick my skin through the tick, that I could not sleep. The next morning, I was furnished with an ass, for we could not get horses ; instead of stirrups, we had ropes tied with a loop to put our feet in, which supplied the place of other trappings. Thus, with my gallant steed, bridled with my Turkish present, we passed through a reasonably pleasant but very narrow valley, till we came to Duomo, where we rested, and, having showed the Spanish pass, the Governor would press another

<sup>a</sup> These are the Boromean Islands in the Lago Maggiore, belonging to the great Milanese family of Borromeo.



on us, that his Secretary might get a crown. Here we exchanged our asses for mules, sure-footed on the hills and precipices, being accustomed to pass them. Hiring a guide, we were brought that night through very steep, craggy, and dangerous passages to a village called Vedra, being the last of the King of Spain's dominions in the Duchy of Milan. We had a very infamous wretched lodging.

The next morning, we mounted again through strange, horrid, and fearful crags and tracts, abounding in pine-trees, and only inhabited by bears, wolves, and wild goats; nor could we anywhere see above a pistol-shot before us, the horizon being terminated with rocks and mountains, whose tops, covered with snow, seemed to touch the skies, and in many places pierced the clouds. Some of these vast mountains were but one entire stone, betwixt whose clefts now and then precipitated great cataracts of melted snow, and other waters, which made a terrible roaring, echoing from the rocks and cavities; and these waters in some places breaking in the fall, wet us as if we had passed through a mist, so as we could neither see nor hear one another, but, trusting to our honest mules, we jogged on our way. The narrow bridges, in some places made only by felling huge fir-trees, and laying them athwart from mountain to mountain, over cataracts of stupendous depth, are very dangerous, and so are the passages and edges made by cutting away the main rock; others in steps; and in some places we pass between mountains that have been broken and fallen on one another; which is very terrible, and one had need of a sure foot and steady head to climb some of these precipices, besides that they are harbours for bears and wolves, who have sometimes assaulted travellers. In these straits, we frequently alighted, now freezing in the snow, and anon frying by the reverberation of the sun against the cliffs as we descend lower, when we meet now and then a few miserable cottages so built upon the declining of the rocks, as one would expect their sliding down. Amongst these, inhabit a goodly sort of people, having monstrous gullets, or wens of flesh, growing to their throats, some of which I have seen as big as an hundred pound bag of silver hanging under their chins; among the women especially, and that so ponderous, as that to ease them, many wear linen cloth bound about their head, and coming under the chin to support it; but *quis tumidum guttur miratur in Alpibus?* Their drinking so much snow-water, is thought to be the cause of it; the men, using more wine, are not so strumous as the women. The truth is, they are a peculiar race of people, and many great water-drinkers here have not these prodigious tumours; it runs, as we say, in the blood, and is a vice in the race, and renders them so ugly, shrivelled and deformed, by its drawing the skin of the face down, that nothing can be more frightful; to this add a strange puffing dress, furs, and that barbarous language, being a mixture of corrupt High German, French, and Italian. The people are of great stature, extremely fierce and rude, yet very honest and trusty.

This night, through almost inaccessible heights, we came in prospect of Mons Sempronius, now Mount Sampion, which has on its summit a few huts and a chapel. Approaching this, Captain Wray's water-spaniel (a huge filthy cur that had followed him out of England) hunted a herd of goats down the rocks into a river made by the melting of the snow. Arrived at our cold harbour (though the house had a stove in every room) and supping on cheese and milk with wretched wine, we went to bed in cup-

boards<sup>a</sup> so high from the floor, that we climbed them by a ladder ; we were covered with feathers, that is, we lay between two ticks stuffed with them, and all little enough to keep one warm. The ceilings of the rooms are strangely low for those tall people. The house was now (in September) half covered with snow, nor is there a tree, or a bush, growing within many miles.

From this uncomfortable place, we prepared to hasten away the next morning ; but, as we were getting on our mules, comes a huge young fellow demanding money for a goat which he affirmed that Captain Wray's dog had killed ; expostulating the matter, and impatient of staying in the cold, we set spurs and endeavoured to ride away, when a multitude of people being by this time gotten together about us (for it being Sunday morning and attending for the priest to say mass), they stopped our mules, beat us off our saddles, and, disarming us of our carbines, drew us into one of the rooms of our lodging, and set a guard upon us. Thus we continued prisoners till mass was ended, and then came half a score grim Swiss, who, taking on them to be magistrates, sate down on the table, and condemned us to pay a pistole for the goat, and ten more for attempting to ride away, threatening that if we did not pay it speedily, they would send us to prison, and keep us to a day of public justice, where, as they perhaps would have exaggerated the crime, for they pretended we had primed our carbines and would have shot some of them (as indeed the Captain was about to do), we might have had our heads cut off, as we were told afterwards, for that amongst these rude people a very small misdemeanour does often meet that sentence. Though the proceedings appeared highly unjust<sup>b</sup>, on consultation among ourselves we thought it safer to rid ourselves out of their hands, and the trouble we were brought into ; and therefore we patiently laid down the money, and with fierce countenances had our mules and arms delivered to us, and glad we were to escape as we did. This was cold entertainment, but our journey after was colder, the rest of the way having been (as they told us) covered with snow since the Creation ; no man remembered it to be without ; and because, by the frequent snowing, the tracts are continually filled up, we passed by several tall masts set up to guide travellers, so as for many miles they stand in ken of one another, like to our beacons. In some places, where there is a cleft between two mountains, the snow fills it up, whilst the bottom, being thawed, leaves as it were a frozen arch of snow, and that so hard as to bear the greatest weight ; for as it snows often, so it perpetually freezes, of which I was so sensible that it flawed the very skin of my face.

Beginning now to descend a little, Captain Wray's horse (that was our sumpter and carried all our baggage) plunging through a bank of loose snow, slid down a frightful precipice, which so incensed the choleric cavalier, his master, that he was sending a brace of bullets into the poor beast, lest our guide should recover him, and run away with his burden ; but, just as he was lifting up his carbine, we gave such a shout, and so pelted the horse with snow-balls, as with all his might plunging through the snow, he fell from another steep place into another bottom, near a path we were to pass. It was yet a good while ere we got to him, but at last we recovered

<sup>a</sup> They have such in Wales.

<sup>b</sup> Surely these poor people had the right upon their side, and this is not expressed with Evelyn's usual liberality.



the place, and, easing him of his charge, hauled him out of the snow, where he had been certainly frozen in, if we had not prevented it, before night. It was as we judged almost two miles that he had slid and fallen, yet without any other harm than the benumbing of his limbs for the present, but, with lusty rubbing and chafing he began to move, and, after a little walking, performed his journey well enough. All this way, affrighted with the disaster of this horse, we trudged on foot, driving our mules before us; sometimes we fell, sometimes we slid, through this ocean of snow, which after October is impassable. Towards night, we came into a larger way, through vast woods of pines, which clothe the middle parts of these rocks. Here, they were burning some to make pitch and rosin, peeling the knotty branches, as we do to make charcoal, reserving what melts from them, which hardens into pitch. We passed several cascades of dissolved snow, that had made channels of formidable depth in the crevices of the mountains, and with such a fearful roaring as we could hear it for seven long miles. It is from these sources that the Rhone and the Rhine, which pass through all France and Germany, derive their originals. Late at night, we got to a town called Briga, at the foot of the Alps, in the Valteline. Almost every door had nailed on the outside and next the street a bear's, wolf's, or fox's head, and divers of them all three; a savage kind of sight, but, as the Alps are full of the beasts, the people often kill them. The next morning, we returned to our guide, and took fresh mules, and another to conduct us to the Lake of Geneva, passing through as pleasant a country as that we had just travelled was melancholy and troublesome. A strange and sudden change it seemed; for the reverberation of the sunbeams from the mountains and rocks that like walls range it on both sides, not above two flight-shots in breadth, for a very great number of miles, renders the passage excessively hot. Through such extremes we continued our journey, that goodly river, the Rhone, gliding by us in a narrow and quiet channel almost in the middle of this Canton, fertilizing the country for grass and corn, which grow here in abundance.

We arrived this night at Sion, a pretty town and city, a bishop's seat, and the head of Valesia. There is a castle, and the bishop who resides in it, has both civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Our host, as the custom of these Cantons is, was one of the chiefest of the town, and had been a Colonel in France; he treated us with extreme civility, and was so displeased at the usage we received at Mount Sampion, that he would needs give us a letter to the Governor of the country, who resided at St. Maurice, which was in our way to Geneva, to revenge the affront. This was a true old blade, and had been a very curious virtuoso, as we found by a handsome collection of books, medals, pictures, shells, and other antiquities. He showed two heads and horns of the true capricorn, which animal he told us was frequently killed among the mountains; one branch of them was as much as I could well lift, and near as high as my head, not much unlike the greater sort of goat's, save that they bent forwards, by help whereof they climb up and hang on inaccessible rocks, from whence the inhabitants now and then shoot them. They speak prodigious things of their leaping from crag to crag, and of their sure footing, notwithstanding their being cloven-footed, unapt (one would think) to take hold and walk so steadily on those horrible ridges as they do. The Colonel would have given me one of these beams, but the want of a convenience to carry it

along with me, caused me to refuse his courtesy. He told me that in the castle there were some Roman and Christian antiquities, and he had some inscriptions in his own garden. He invited us to his country-house, where he said he had better pictures, and other rarities; but, our time being short, I could not persuade my companions to stay and visit the places he would have had us see, nor the offer he made to show us the hunting of the bear, wolf, and other wild beasts. The next morning, having presented his daughter, a pretty well-fashioned young woman, with a small ruby ring, we parted somewhat late from our generous host.

Passing through the same pleasant valley between the horrid mountains on either hand, like a gallery many miles in length, we got to Martigni, where also we were well entertained. The houses in this country are all built of fir boards, planed within, low, and seldom above one story. The people very clownish and rustically clad, after a very odd fashion, for the most part in blue cloth, very whole and warm, with little variety of distinction betwixt the gentleman and common sort, by a law of their country being exceedingly frugal. Add to this their great honesty and fidelity, though exacting enough for what they part with. I saw not one beggar. We paid the value of twenty shillings English, for a day's hire of one horse. Every man goes with a sword by his side, the whole country well-disciplined, and indeed impregnable, which made the Romans have such ill success against them; one lusty Swiss at their narrow passages is sufficient to repel a legion. It is a frequent thing here for a young tradesman, or farmer, to leave his wife and children for twelve or fifteen years, and seek his fortune in the wars in Spain, France, Italy, or Germany, and then return again to work. I look upon this country to be the safest spot of all Europe, neither envied nor envying; nor are any of them rich, nor poor; they live in great simplicity and tranquillity; and, though of the fourteen Cantons half be Roman Catholics, the rest Reformed, yet they mutually agree, and are confederate with Geneva, and are its only security against its potent neighbours, as they themselves are from being attacked by the greater potentates, by the mutual jealousy of their neighbours, as either of them would be overbalanced, should the Swiss, who are wholly mercenary and auxiliaries, be subjected to France or Spain.

We were now arrived at St. Maurice, a large handsome town and residence of the President, where justice is done. To him we presented our letter from Sion, and made known the ill-usage we had received for killing a wretched goat, which so incensed him, as he swore if we would stay he would not only help us to our money again, but most severely punish the whole rabble; but our desire of revenge had by this time subsided, and glad we were to be gotten so near France, which we reckoned as good as home. He courteously invited us to dine with him; but we excused ourselves, and, returning to our inn, whilst we were eating something before we took horse, the Governor had caused two pages to bring us a present of two great vessels of covered plate full of excellent wine, in which we drank his health, and rewarded the youths; they were two vast bowls supported by two Swisses, handsomely wrought after the German manner. This civility and that of our host at Sion, perfectly reconciled us to the highlanders; and so, proceeding on our journey, we passed this afternoon through the gate which divides the Valais from the Duchy of Savoy, into which we were



now entering, and so, through Montei, we arrived that evening at Beveretta. Being extremely weary and complaining of my head, and finding little accommodation in the house, I caused one of our hostess's daughters to be removed out of her bed, and went immediately into it whilst it was yet warm, being so heavy with pain and drowsiness that I would not stay to have the sheets changed ; but I shortly after paid dearly for my impatience, falling sick of the small-pox so soon as I came to Geneva, for by the smell of frankincense and the tale the good woman told me of her daughter having had an ague, I afterwards concluded she had been newly recovered of the small-pox. Notwithstanding this, I went with my company, the next day, hiring a bark to carry us over the lake ; and indeed sick as I was, the weather was so serene and bright, the water so calm, and air so temperate, that never had travellers a sweeter passage. Thus, we sailed the whole length of the lake, about thirty miles, the countries bordering on it (Savoy and Berne) affording one of the most delightful prospects in the world, the Alps covered with snow, though at a great distance, yet showing their aspiring tops. Through this lake, the river Rhodanus passes with that velocity as not to mingle with its exceeding deep waters, which are very clear, and breed the most celebrated trout for largeness and goodness of any in Europe. I have ordinarily seen one of three feet in length sold in the market for a small price, and such we had in the lodging where we abode, which was at the White Cross. All this while, I held up tolerably ; and the next morning having a letter for Signor John Diodati, the famous Italian minister and translator of the Holy Bible into that language, I went to his house, and had a great deal of discourse with that learned person. He told me he had been in England, driven by tempest into Deal, whilst sailing for Holland, that he had seen London, and was exceedingly taken with the civilities he received. He so much approved of our Church-government by Bishops, that he told me the French Protestants would make no scruple to submit to it and all its pomp, had they a King of the Reformed Religion as we had. He exceedingly deplored the difference now between his Majesty and the Parliament. After dinner, came one Monsieur Saladine, with his little pupil, the Earl of Caernarvon<sup>a</sup>, to visit us, offering to carry us to the principal places of the town ; but, being now no more able to hold up my head, I was constrained to keep my chamber, imagining that my very eyes would have dropped out ; and this night I felt such a stinging about me, that I could not sleep. In the morning, I was very ill, but sending for a doctor, he persuaded me to be let blood. He was a very learned old man, and, as he said, he had been physician to Gustavus the Great, King of Sweden, when he passed this way into Italy, under the name of Monsieur Gars, the initial letters of Gustavus Adolphus Rex Sueciæ, and of our famous Duke of Buckingham, on his returning out of Italy. He afterwards acknowledged that he should not have bled me, had he suspected the small-pox, which brake out a day after. He afterwards purged me, and applied leeches, and God knows what this would have produced, if the spots had not appeared, for he was thinking of bleeding me again. They now kept me warm in bed

<sup>a</sup> Charles, third Baron Dormer, succeeded, in September, 1643, as second Earl of Carnarvon ; his father having been killed at Newbury, where he was in arms for the King as a general of Horse. He died on the 29th of September, 1709.

for sixteen days, tended by a vigilant Swiss matron, whose monstrous throat, when I sometimes awaked out of unquiet slumbers, would affright me. After the pimples were come forth, which were not many, I had much ease as to pain, but infinitely afflicted with heat and noisomeness. By God's mercy, after five weeks' keeping my chamber, I went abroad. Monsieur Saladine and his lady sent me many refreshments. Monsieur Le Chat, my physician, to excuse his letting me bleed, told me it was so burnt and vicious as it would have proved the plague, or spotted fever, had he proceeded by any other method. On my recovering sufficiently to go abroad, I dined at Monsieur Saladine's, and in the afternoon went across the water on the side of the lake, and took a lodging that stood exceedingly pleasant, about half a mile from the city for the better airing ; but I stayed only one night, having no company there, save my pipe ; so, the next day, I caused them to row me about the lake as far as the great stone, which they call *Neptune's Rock*, on which they say sacrifice was anciently offered to him. Thence, I landed at certain cherry-gardens and pretty villas by the side of the lake, and exceedingly pleasant. Returning, I visited their conservatories of fish ; in which were trouts of six and seven feet long, *as they affirmed*.

The Rhone, which parts the city in the midst, dips into a cavern underground, about six miles from it, and afterwards rises again, and runs its open course, like our Mole, or Swallow, by Dorking, in Surrey. The next morning (being Thursday) I heard Dr. Diodati preach in Italian, many of that country, especially of Lucca, his native place, being inhabitants of Geneva, and of the Reformed religion.

The town lying between Germany, France, and Italy, those three tongues are familiarly spoken by the inhabitants. It is a strong, well-fortified city, part of it built on a rising ground. The houses are not despicable, but the high pent-houses (for I can hardly call them cloisters, being all of wood), through which the people pass dry and in the shade, winter and summer, exceedingly deform the fronts of the buildings. Here are abundance of booksellers ; but their books are of ill impressions ; these, with watches (of which store are made here), crystal, and excellent screwed guns, are the staple commodities. All provisions are good and cheap.

The town-house is fairly built of stone ; the portico has four black marble columns ; and, on a table of the same, under the city arms, a demi-eagle and cross, between cross-keys, is a motto, ' *Post Tenebras Lux* ', and this inscription :

Quum anno 1535 profligatâ Romanâ Anti-Christi Tyrannide, abrogatisq ; ejus superstitionibus, sacro-sancta Christi Religio hic in suam puritatem, Ecclesiâ in meliorem ordinem singulari Dei beneficio repositâ, et simul pulsus fugatisq ; hostibus, urbs ipsa in suam libertatem, non sine insigni miraculo, restituta fuerit ; Senatus Populusq ; Genevensis Monumentum hoc perpetuæ memoriæ causâ, fieri atque hoc loco erigi curavit, quod suam erga Deum gratitudinem ad posteros testatum fuerit.

The territories about the town are not so large as many ordinary gentlemen have about their country farms, for which cause they are in continual watch, especially on the Savoy side ; but, in case of any siege the Swiss are at hand, as this inscription in the same place shows, towards the street :



## D.O.M.S.

Anno a verâ Religione divinitûs cum veteri Libertate Genevæ restitutâ, et quasi novo Jubilæo ineunte, plurimis vitatis domi et foris insidiis et superatis tempestatibus, et cum Helvetiorum Primari Tigurini æquo jure in societatem perpetuam nobiscum venerint, et veteres fidissimi socii Bernenses prius vinculum novo adstrinxerint, S.P.Q.G. quod felix esse velit D.O.M. tanti beneficii monumentum consecrârunt, anno temporis ultimi' ccç.1ç. xxxiv.

In the Senate-house, were fourteen ancient urns, dug up as they were removing earth in the fortifications.

A little out of the town is a spacious field, which they call Campus Martius; and well it may be so termed, with better reason, than that at Rome at present (which is no more a field, but all built into streets), for here on every Sunday, after the evening devotions, this precise people permit their youth to exercise arms, and shoot in guns, and in the long and cross bows, in which they are exceedingly expert, reputed to be as dexterous as any people in the world. To encourage this, they yearly elect him who has won most prizes at the mark, to be their king, as the king of the long-bow gun, or cross-bow. He then wears that weapon in his hat in gold, with a crown over it, made fast to the hat like a brooch. In this field, is a long house wherein their arms and furniture are kept in several places very neatly. To this joins a hall, where, at certain times, they meet and feast; in the glass-windows are the arms and names of their kings [of arms]. At the side of the field, is a very noble Pall-Mall, but it turns with an elbow. There is also a bowling-place, a tavern, and a trey-table, and here they ride their menaged horses. It is also the usual place of public execution of those who suffer for any capital crime, though committed in another country, by which law divers fugitives have been put to death, who have fled hither to escape punishment in their own country. Amongst other severe punishments here, adultery is death. Having seen this field, and played a game at mall, I supped with Mr. Saladine.

On Sunday, I heard Dr. Diodati preach in French, and after the French mode, in a gown with a cape, and his hat on. The Church Government is severely Presbyterian, after the discipline of Calvin and Beza, who set it up, but nothing so rigid as either our Scots or English sectaries of that denomination. In the afternoon, Monsieur Morice, a most learned young person and excellent poet, chief Professor of the University, preached at St. Peter's, a spacious Gothic fabric. This was heretofore a cathedral and a reverend pile. It has four turrets, on one of which stands a continual sentinel; in another, cannons are mounted. The church is very decent within; nor have they at all defaced the painted windows, which are full of pictures of saints; nor the stalls, which are all carved with the history of our Blessed Saviour.

In the afternoon, I went to see the young townsmen exercise in Mars' Field, where the prizes were pewter-plates and dishes; 'tis said that some have gained competent estates by what they have thus won. Here I first saw huge balistæ, or cross-bows, shot in, being such as they formerly used in wars, before great guns were known; they were placed in frames, and had great screws to bend them, doing execution at an incredible distance. They were most accurate at the long-bow and musket, rarely missing the smallest mark. I was as busy with the carbine I brought from Brescia as any of them. After every shot, I found

them go into a long house, and cleanse their guns, before they charged again.

On Monday, I was invited to a little garden without the works, where were many rare tulips, anemones, and other choice flowers. The Rhone, running athwart the town out of the Lake, makes half the city a suburb, which, in imitation of Paris, they call St. Germain's Fauxbourg, and it has a church of the same name. On two wooden bridges that cross the river are several water-mills, and shops of trades, especially smiths and cutlers ; between the bridges is an island, in the midst of which is a very ancient tower, said to have been built by Julius Cæsar. At the end of the other bridge is the mint, and a fair sun-dial.

Passing again by the Town-house, I saw a large crocodile hanging in chains ; and against the wall of one of the chambers, seven judges were painted without hands, except one in the middle, who has but one hand ; I know not the story. The Arsenal is at the end of this building, well-furnished and kept.

After dinner, Mr. Morice led us to the college, a fair structure ; in the lower part are the schools, which consist of nine classes ; and a hall above, where the students assemble ; also a good library. They showed us a very ancient Bible, of about 300 years old, in the vulgar French, and a MS. in the old Monkish character : here have the Professors their lodgings. I also went to the Hospital, which is very commodious ; but the Bishop's Palace is now a prison.

This town is not much celebrated for beautiful women, for, even at this distance from the Alps, the gentlewomen have sometimes full throats ; but our Captain Wray (afterwards Sir William, eldest son of that Sir Christopher, who had both been in arms against his Majesty for the Parliament) fell so mightily in love with one of Monsieur Saladine's daughters that, with much persuasion, he could not be prevailed on to think on his journey into France, the season now coming on extremely hot.

My sickness and abode here cost me forty-five pistoles of gold to my host, and five to my honest doctor, who for six weeks' attendance and the apothecary thought it so generous a reward that, at my taking leave, he presented me with his advice for the regimen of my health, written with his own hand in Latin. This regimen I much observed, and I bless God passed the journey without inconvenience from sickness, but it was an extraordinarily hot unpleasant season and journey, by reason of the craggy ways.

*5th July.* We took, or rather purchased, a boat, for it could not be brought back against the stream of the Rhone. We were two days going to Lyons, passing many admirable prospects of rocks and cliffs, and near the town down a very steep declivity of water for a full mile. From Lyons, we proceeded the next morning, taking horse to Roanne, and lay that night at Feurs. At Roanne, we indulged ourselves with the best that all France affords, for here the provisions are choice and plentiful, so as the supper we had might have satisfied a prince. We lay in damask beds, and were treated like emperors. The town is one of the neatest built in all France, on the brink of the Loire ; and here we agreed with an old fisher to row us as far as Orleans. The first night, we came as far as Nevers, early enough to see the town, the Cathedral (St. Cyre), the Jesuits' College, and the Castle, a Palace of the Duke's, with the bridge to it nobly built.



The next day, we passed by La Charité, a pretty town, somewhat distant from the river. Here I lost my faithful spaniel Piccioli, who had followed me from Rome. It seems he had been taken up by some of the Governor's pages, or footmen, without recovery; which was a great displeasure to me, because the cur had many useful qualities.

The next day, we arrived at Orleans, taking our turns to row, of which I reckon my share came to little less than twenty leagues. Sometimes, we footed it through pleasant fields and meadows; sometimes, we shot at fowls, and other birds; nothing came amiss: sometimes, we played at cards, whilst others sung, or were composing verses; for we had the great poet, Mr. Waller, in our company, and some other ingenious persons.

At Orleans, we abode but one day; the next, leaving our mad Captain behind us, I arrived at Paris, rejoiced that, after so many disasters and accidents, in a tedious peregrination, I was gotten so near home, and here I resolved to rest myself before I went further.

It was now October, and the only time that in my whole life I spent most idly, tempted from my more profitable recesses; but I soon recovered my better resolutions and fell to my study, learning the High Dutch and Spanish tongues, and now and then refreshing my dancing, and such exercises as I had long omitted, and which are not in much reputation amongst the sober Italians.

1647: 28th January. I changed my lodging in the Place de Monsieur de Metz, near the Abbey of St. Germain; and thence, on the 12th February, to another in Rue Columbiere, where I had a very fair apartment, which cost me four pistoles per month. The 18th, I frequented a course of Chemistry, the famous Monsieur Le Febvre operating upon most of the nobler processes. March 3rd, Monsieur Mercure began to teach me on the lute, though to small perfection.

In May, I fell sick, and had very weak eyes; for which I was four times let blood.

22nd May. My valet (Herbert) robbed me of clothes and plate, to the value of three score pounds; but, through the diligence of Sir Richard Browne, his Majesty's Resident at the Court of France, and with whose lady and family I had contracted a great friendship (and particularly set my affections on a daughter), I recovered most of them, obtaining of the Judge, with no small difficulty, that the process against the thief should not concern his life, being his first offence.

10th June. We concluded about my marriage, in order to which I went to St. Germain, where his Majesty, then Prince of Wales, had his court, to desire of Dr. Earle<sup>a</sup>, then one of his chaplains (since Dean of Westminster, Clerk of the Closet, and Bishop of Salisbury), that he would accompany me to Paris, which he did; and, on Thursday, 27th June, 1647, he married us in Sir Richard Browne's chapel, betwixt the hours of eleven and twelve,

<sup>a</sup> John Earle was born at York in 1601, and finished his education at Merton College, Oxford, where he took his degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was appointed sub-tutor to Prince Charles, son of Charles I, whom he afterwards attended when abroad as chaplain. Returning to England at the Restoration, he was successively made Dean of Westminster, Clerk of the Closet, Bishop of Worcester, and Bishop of Salisbury. He was the author of a Latin translation of the *Eikon Basilike*, of *Microcosmography*, or *a Piece of the World discovered in Essays and Characters*, and of *An Elegy on Mr. Francis Beaumont*. He died at Oxford in 1665. See Reference to him (and note) in *Correspondence*.

some few select friends being present. And this being Corpus Christi feast, was solemnly observed in this country ; the streets were sumptuously hung with tapestry, and strewed with flowers.

*10th September.* Being called into England, to settle my affairs after an absence of four years, I took leave of the Prince and Queen, leaving my wife, yet very young, under the care of an excellent lady and prudent mother.

*4th October.* I sealed and declared my will, and that morning went from Paris, taking my journey through Rouen, Dieppe, Ville-dieu, and St. Vallerie, where I stayed one day with Mr. Waller, with whom I had some affairs, and for which cause I took this circle to Calais, where I arrived on the 11th, and that night embarking in the packet-boat, was by one o'clock got safe to Dover ; for which I heartily put up my thanks to God who had conducted me safe to my own country, and been merciful to me through so many aberrations. Hence, taking post, I arrived at London the next day at evening, being the second of October, new style.

*5th.* I came to Wotton, the place of my birth, to my brother, and on the 10th to Hampton Court, where I had the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand, and give him an account of several things I had in charge, he being now in the power of those execrable villains who not long after murdered him. I lay at my cousin, Serjeant Hatton's, at Thames Ditton, whence, on the 13th, I went to London.

*14th.* To Sayes Court, at Deptford, in Kent (since my house), where I found Mr. Pretymann, my wife's uncle, who had charge of it and the estate about it, during my father-in-law's residence in France. On the 15th, I again occupied my own chambers in the Middle Temple.

*9th November.* My sister opened to me her marriage with Mr. Glanville.

*1647-8 : 14th January.* From London I went to Wotton, to see my young nephew ; and thence to Baynards, [in Ewhurst] to visit my brother Richard.

*5th February.* Saw a tragi-comedy acted in the Cock-pit, after there had been none of these diversions for many years during the war.

*28th.* I went with my noble friend, Sir William Ducy<sup>a</sup>, (afterwards Lord Downe) to Thistleworth, where we dined with Sir Clepesby Crew, and afterwards to see the rare miniatures of Peter Oliver, and rounds of plaster, and then the curious flowers of Mr. Barill's garden, who has some good medals and pictures. Sir Clepesby has fine Indian hangings, and a very good chimney-piece of water-colours, by Breughel, which I bought for him.

*26th April.* There was a great uproar in London, that the rebel army quartering at Whitehall, would plunder the City, on which there was published a Proclamation for all to stand on their guard.

*4th May.* Came up the Essex petitioners for an agreement betwixt his Majesty and the rebels. The 16th, the Surrey men addressed the Parliament for the same ; of which some of them were slain and murdered by

<sup>a</sup> The son of Sir Robert Ducie, the wealthy Lord Mayor, created a baronet by Charles ; his only return for about 80,000*l.* which Charles had borrowed from him. Sir William was made one of the Knights of the Bath, and created Viscount Downe at the coronation of Charles II. Dying without issue, his estates descended to the only daughter of his younger brother, whose son was Lord Ducie in 1720, and from him descended the present Earl of Ducie.



Cromwell's guards, in the New Palace Yard. I now sold the impropriation of South Malling, near Lewes, in Sussex, to Mr. Kemp and Alcock, for 3000*l*.

30th May. There was a rising now in Kent, my Lord of Norwich being at the head of them. Their first rendezvous was in Broome-field, next my house at Sayes Court, whence they went to Maidstone, and so to Colchester, where was that memorable siege.

27th June. I purchased the manor of Hurcott, in Worcestershire, of my brother George, for 3,300*l*.

1st July. I sate for my picture, in which there is a Death's head, to Mr. Walker, that excellent painter.

10th. News was brought me of my Lord Francis Villiers being slain by the rebels near Kingston.

16th August. I went to Woodcote (in Epsom) to the wedding of my Brother, Richard, who married the daughter and co-heir of Esquire Minn, lately deceased ; by which he had a great estate both in land and money on the death of a brother. The coach in which the bride and bridegroom were, was overturned in coming home ; but no harm was done.

28th. To London from Sayes Court, and saw the celebrated follies of Bartholomew Fair.

16th September. Came my lately married Brother, Richard and his Wife, to visit me, when I showed them Greenwich, and her Majesty's Palace, now possessed by the rebels.

28th. I went to Albury, to visit the Countess of Arundel, and returned to Wotton.

31st October. I went to see my manor of Preston Beckhelvyn, and the Cliffhouse.

29th November. Myself, with Mr. Thomas Offley, and Lady Gerrard, christened my Niece Mary, eldest daughter of my Brother, George Evelyn, by my Lady Cotton, his second wife. I presented my Niece a piece of plate which cost me 18*l*., and caused this inscription to be set on it :

In memoriam facti :

Anno cD.Ix. xliix. Cal. Decem. viii. Virginum castiss : Xtianorum innocentiss : Nept : suavis : Mariæ, Johan : Evelynus Avunculus et Susceptor Vasculum hoc cum Epigraphe L. M. Q. D.

Ave Maria Gratiâ sis plena ; Dominus tecum.

2nd December. This day I sold my manor of Hurcott for 3,400*l*. to one Mr. Bridges.

13th. The Parliament now sat up the whole night, and endeavoured to have concluded the Isle of Wight Treaty ; but were surprised by the rebel army ; the Members dispersed, and great confusion every where in expectation of what would be next.

17th. I heard an Italian sermon, in Mercers' Chapel, one Dr. Middleton, an acquaintance of mine, preaching.

18th. I got privately into the council of the rebel army, at Whitehall, where I heard horrid villanies.

This was a most exceeding wet year, neither frost nor snow all the winter for more than six days in all. Cattle died every where of a murrain.

1648-9 : 1st January. I had a lodging and some books at my father-in-law's house, Sayes Court.

2nd. I went to see my old friend and fellow-traveller, Mr. Henshaw, who had two rare pieces of Stenwyck's perspective.

17th January. To London. I heard the rebel, Peters, incite the rebel powers met in the Painted Chamber, to destroy his Majesty; and saw that archtraitor, Bradshaw, who not long after condemned him.

19th. I returned home, passing an extraordinary danger of being drowned by our wherries falling foul in the night on another vessel then at anchor, shooting the bridge at three quarters' ebb, for which His mercy God Almighty be praised.

21st. Was published my translation of Liberty and Servitude, for the preface of which I was severely threatened.

22nd. I went through a course of chymistry, at Sayes Court. Now was the Thames frozen over, and horrid tempests of wind.

The villany of the rebels proceeding now so far as to try, condemn, and murder our excellent King on the 30th of this month, struck me with such horror, that I kept the day of his martyrdom a fast, and would not be present at that execrable wickedness; receiving the sad account of it from my brother George, and Mr. Owen, who came to visit me this afternoon, and recounted all the circumstances.

1st February. Now were Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Norwich, Lord Capell, &c., at their trial before the rebels' *New Court of Injustice*.

15th. I went to see the collection of one Trean, a rich merchant, who had some good pictures, especially a rare perspective of Stenwyck; from thence, to other virtuosos.

The painter, La Neve<sup>a</sup>, has an Andromeda, but I think it a copy after Vandyke from Titian, for the original is in France. Webb, at the Exchange, has some rare things in miniature, of Breughel's, also Putti<sup>b</sup>, in twelve squares, that were plundered from Sir James Palmer.

At Du Bois, we saw two tables of Putti, that were gotten, I know not how, out of the Castle of St. Angelo, by old Petit, thought to be Titian's; he had some good heads of Palma, and one of Stenwyck. Belcar showed us an excellent copy of his Majesty's Sleeping Venus and the Satyr, with other figures; for now they had plundered, sold, and dispersed a world of rare paintings of the King's, and his loyal subjects. After all, Sir William Ducy showed me some excellent things in miniature, and in oil of Holbein's; Sir Thomas More's head, and a whole-length figure of Edward VI, which were certainly his Majesty's; also a picture of Queen Elizabeth; the Lady Isabella Thynne; a rare painting of Rothenhamer, being a Susanna; and a Magdalen, of Quintin, the blacksmith; also a Henry VIII, of Holbein; and Francis the First, rare indeed, but of whose hand I know not.

16th. Paris being now strictly besieged by the Prince de Condé, my Wife being shut up with her Father and Mother, I wrote a letter of consolation to her: and, on the 22nd, having recommended Obadiah Walkerc, a learned and most ingenious person, to be tutor to, and travel with, Mr. Hillyard's two sons, returned to Sayes Court.

25th. Came to visit me Dr. Joyliffe, discoverer of the lymphatic vessels, and an excellent anatomist.

26th. Came to see me Captain George Evelyn<sup>d</sup>, my kinsman, the great

<sup>a</sup> Probably the artist mentioned by Walpole as Cornelius Neve, who drew a portrait of Ashmole.

<sup>b</sup> Putti—Boys' Heads.

<sup>c</sup> Evelyn has added in the margin against Walker's name, 'Since an apostate.' He was master of University College, Oxford.

<sup>d</sup> Son of Sir John Evelyn, of Godstone.



traveller, and one who believed himself a better architect than really he was ; witness the portico in the garden at Wotton ; yet the great room at Albury is somewhat better understood. He had a large mind, but over-built every thing.

*27th February.* Came out of France my Wife's Uncle (Paris still besieged), being robbed at sea by the Dunkirk pirates : I lost, among other goods, my Wife's picture, painted by Monsieur Bourdon.

*5th March.* Now were the Lords murdered in the Palace Yard<sup>a</sup>.

*18th.* Mr. Owen, a sequestered and learned minister, preached in my parlour, and gave us the blessed Sacrament, now wholly out of use in the parish churches, on which the Presbyterians and fanatics had usurped.

*21st.* I received letters from Paris from my Wife, and from Sir Richard [Browne], with whom I kept up a political correspondence, with no small danger of being discovered.

*25th.* I heard the Common Prayer (a rare thing in these days) in St. Peter's, at Paul's Wharf, London ; and, in the morning, the Archbishop of Armagh, that pious person and learned man, Usher, in Lincoln's Inn Chapel.

*2nd April.* To London, and inventoried my moveables that had hitherto been dispersed for fear of plundering : wrote into France, touching my sudden resolutions of coming over to them. On the 8th, again heard an excellent discourse from Archbishop Usher, on *Ephes.* 4, v. 26-27.

My Italian collection being now arrived, came Moulins, the great chirurgeon, to see and admire the Tables of Veins and Arteries, which I purchased and caused to be drawn out of several human bodies at Padua.

*11th.* Received news out of France that peace was concluded ; dined with Sir Joseph Evelyn, at Westminster ; and on the 13th, I saw a private dissection, at Moulins' house.

*17th.* I fell dangerously ill of my head ; was blistered and let blood behind the ears and forehead : on the 23rd, began to have ease by using the fumes of camomile on embers applied to my ears, after all the physicians had done their best.

*29th.* I saw in London a huge ox bred in Kent, 17 feet in length, and much higher than I could reach.

*12th May.* I purchased the Manor of Warley Magna, in Essex : in the afternoon went to see Gildron's collections of paintings, where I found Mr. Endymion Porter, of his late Majesty's Bedchamber.

*17th.* Went to Putney by water, in the barge with divers ladies, to see the Schools, or Colleges, of the young gentlewomen<sup>b</sup>.

*19th.* To see a rare cabinet of one Delabarr, who had some good paintings, especially a monk at his beads.

*30th.* Un-kingship was proclaimed, and his Majesty's statues thrown down at St. Paul's Portico, and the Exchange.

*7th June.* I visited Sir Arthur Hopton<sup>c</sup> (brother to Sir Ralph, Lord

<sup>a</sup> Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and Lord Capel.

<sup>b</sup> Kept probably by Mrs. Bathsua Makins, a learned woman of that day. She had been tutoress to the Princess Elizabeth, King Charles's second daughter. There is a rare portrait of her, by Marshall.

<sup>c</sup> Sir Arthur Hopton was uncle, not brother, to Lord Hopton (so well known for his services to Charles in the course of the Civil War) ; and would have suc-

Hopton, that noble hero), who having been Ambassador extraordinary in Spain, sojourned some time with my Father-in-law at Paris, a most excellent person. Also Signora Lucretia, a Greek Lady, whom I knew in Italy, now come over with her husband, an English gentleman. Also, the Earl and Countess of Arundel, taking leave of them and other friends now ready to depart for France. This night was a scuffle between some rebel soldiers and gentlemen about the Temple.

10th June. Preached the Archbishop of Armagh in Lincoln's-Inn, from *Romans* 5, verse 13. I received the blessed Sacrament, preparatory to my journey.

13th. I dined with my worthy friend, Sir John Owen<sup>a</sup>, newly freed from sentence of death among the Lords that suffered. With him was one Carew, who played incomparably on the Welsh harp: afterwards, I treated divers ladies of my relations, in Spring Garden.

This night was buried with great pomp, Dorislaus, slain at the Hague, the villain who managed the trial against his sacred Majesty.

17th. I got a pass from the rebel Bradshaw, then in great power.

20th. I went to Putney, and other places on the Thames, to take prospects in crayon, to carry into France, where I thought to have them engraved<sup>b</sup>.

2nd July. I went from Wotton to Godstone (the residence of Sir John Evelyn), where was also Sir John Evelyn of Wilts., when I took leave of both Sir Johns and their ladies. Mem. the prodigious memory of Sir John of Wilts' daughter, since married to Mr. W. Pierrepont, and mother of the present Earl of Kingston. I returned to Sayes Court this night.

4th. Visited Lady Hatton<sup>c</sup>, her Lord sojourning at Paris with my father-in-law.

9th. Dined with Sir Walter Pye, and my good friend, Mr. Eaton, afterwards a judge, who corresponded with me in France.

11th. Came to see me old Alexander Rosse<sup>d</sup>, the divine historian and succeeded his nephew in the title, as the latter died childless, but that Sir Arthur had himself died two years before him, without issue, in the year 1650. The title became extinct.

<sup>a</sup> A Royalist officer, whose life had been forfeited for the part he took against the Parliament, but was saved by the timely interposition of Colonel Hutchinson. The latter humanely spoke for him in the House, though Sir John was a perfect stranger to him, because he perceived, while the great nobleman, his companions, found earnest intercessors, no one seemed to know anything of the Knight, or would offer a word in favour of him. Sir John Owen afterwards proved himself ungrateful.

<sup>b</sup> One of these he etched himself. The plate is now at Wotton.

<sup>c</sup> Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Sir Charles Montagu, and niece of Henry Earl of Manchester. She married Sir Christopher Hatton—made a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles I, who, on the 20th of July, 1643, created him Baron Hatton, of Kirby, for his devotion to the Royal cause. After the Restoration, he was sworn of the Privy Council, and appointed governor of Guernsey. He died in 1670.

<sup>d</sup> Immortalized in Butler's couplet:

There was an ancient sage Philosopher,  
Who had read Alexander Ross over.

He was a Scotchman, born in 1591; and after receiving an education for the church, took orders, became master of a free school at Southampton, and preached, wrote, and taught with a diligence that ought to have obtained him other reputation than Butler's ludicrous lines have bestowed upon him. He died in 1654. See *Correspondence*.



poet ; Mr. Henshaw, Mr. Scudamore, and other friends, to take leave of me.

12th July. It was about three in the afternoon, I took oars for Gravesend, accompanied by my cousin, Stephens, and sister, Glanville, who there supped with me and returned ; whence I took post immediately to Dover, where I arrived by nine in the morning ; and, about eleven that night, went on board a barque guarded by a pinnacle of eight guns ; this being the first time the Packet-boat had obtained a convoy, having several times before been pillaged. We had a good passage, though chased for some hours by a pirate, but he durst not attack our frigate, and we then chased him till he got under the protection of the Castle at Calais. It was a small privateer belonging to the Prince of Wales. I carried over with me my servant, Richard Hoare, an incomparable writer of several hands, whom I afterwards preferred in the Prerogative Office<sup>a</sup>, at the return of his Majesty. Lady Catherine Scott, daughter of the Earl of Norwich<sup>b</sup>, followed us in a shallop, with Mr. Arthur Slingsby, who left England *incognito*. At the entrance of the town, the Lieutenant-Governor, being on his horse with the guards, let us pass courteously. I visited Sir Richard Lloyd, an English gentleman, and walked in the church, where the ornament about the high altar of black marble is very fine, and there is a good picture of the Assumption. The citadel seems to be impregnable, and the whole country about it to be laid under water by sluices for many miles.

16th. We departed from Paris, in company with that very pleasant lady (Lady Catherine Scott) and others. In all this journey we were greatly apprehensive of parties, which caused us to alight often out of our coach and walk separately on foot, with our guns on our shoulders, in all suspected places.

1st August. At three in the afternoon we came to St. Denis, saw the rarities of the church and treasury ; and so to Paris that evening.

The next day, came to welcome me at dinner the Lord High Treasurer Cottington, Sir Edward Hyde, Chancellor, Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State, Sir George Carteret, Governor of Jersey<sup>c</sup>, and Dr. Earle, having now been absent from my Wife above a year and a half.

18th. I went to St. Germain's, to kiss his Majesty's hand ; in the coach,

<sup>a</sup> Where specimens of his writing in the entry of wills about this date may now be seen.

<sup>b</sup> His youngest daughter ; married to Mr. James Scott, of Scott's Hall, Kent, supposed to have been a son of Prince Rupert.

<sup>c</sup> George was son and heir to Helier Carteret, Esq., Deputy-governor of Jersey, and grandson of Sir Philip Carteret, who in the reign of Elizabeth planted a colony in the island (in which his ancestors, from the time of Edward I, had held lands), to secure it from the French, who had frequently sought to obtain possession of it. The son of the Deputy-governor entered the navy at an early age : greatly distinguished himself in the service ; and attracting the attention of the Duke of Buckingham, received the appointment from Charles I, of Joint-governor of Jersey, and Comptroller of the Navy. Having served the King during the civil wars, at the Restoration he was returned to Parliament for Portsmouth, and filled the office of Treasurer of the Navy. He died January 13th, 1674. Several members of his family distinguished themselves in the wars of the seventeenth century, and one of his descendants became a celebrated statesman under the first and second Georges.

which was my Lord Wilmot's<sup>a</sup>, went Mrs. Barlow, the King's mistress<sup>b</sup> and mother to the Duke of Monmouth, a brown, beautiful, bold, but insipid creature.

*19th August.* I went to salute the French King and the Queen Dowager ; and, on the 21st, returned in one of the Queen's coaches with my Lord Germain, Duke of Buckingham, Lord Wentworth, and Mr. Croftes, since Lord Croftes.

*7th September.* Went with my Wife and dear Cousin to St. Germain, and kissed the Queen-Mother's hand ; dined with my Lord Keeper and Lord Hatton. Divers of the great men of France came to see the King. The next day, came the Prince of Condé. Returning to Paris, we went to see the President Maison's palace, built castle-wise, of a milk-white fine freestone, the house not vast, but well contrived, especially the staircase, and the ornaments of Putti, about it. It is environed in a dry moat, the offices under-ground, the gardens very excellent with extraordinary long walks, set with elms, and a noble prospect towards the forest, and on the Seine towards Paris. Take it altogether, the meadows, walks, river, forest, corn-ground, and vineyards, I hardly saw anything in Italy exceed it. The iron gates are very magnificent. He has pulled down a whole village to make room for his pleasure about it.

*12th.* Dr. Crichton, a Scotchman, and one of his Majesty's chaplains, a learned Grecian who set out the Council of Florence, preached.

*13th.* The King invited the Prince of Condé to supper at St. Cloud ; there I kissed the Duke of York's hand in the tennis-court, where I saw a famous match betwixt Monsieur Saumeurs, and Colonel Cooke, and so returned to Paris. It was noised about that I was knighted, a dignity I often declined.

*1st October.* Went with my cousin Tuke (afterwards Sir Samuel), to see the fountains of St. Cloud and Ruel ; and, after dinner, to talk with the poor ignorant and superstitious anchorite at Mount Calvary, and so to Paris.

*2nd.* Came Mr. William Coventry (afterwards Sir William)<sup>c</sup> and the Duke's Secretary, &c., to visit me.

<sup>a</sup> Henry, only son of Charles Viscount Wilmot, of Athlone, raised to the English Peerage by Charles I, in June 29, 1643, as Baron Wilmot, of Adderbury. He held a command in the King's Cavalry, in which he served with distinction at the battle of Roundway Doune ; subsequently assisting Charles II to escape from the field of Worcester ; though, according to the King's statement to Pepys, it was rather in the way of hiding from, than in combating with his enemies. Nevertheless he was created Earl of Rochester, December 13, 1652, at Paris, where Charles for a short time assumed the privilege of sovereignty. He died at Dunkirk in 1659, and was succeeded by his only surviving son, afterwards the notorious Rochester.

<sup>b</sup> The lady here referred to was Lucy, daughter of Richard Walters, Esq., of Haverfordwest. (See Evelyn's striking mention of her in a later passage.) She had two children by the King ; James, subsequently so celebrated as the Duke of Monmouth, and Mary, whose lot was obscure in comparison with that of her brother, but of course infinitely happier. She married a Mr. William Sarsfield, of Ireland, and after his death, William Fanshawe, Esq.

<sup>c</sup> A member of the Privy Council of Charles II, and Commissioner of the Treasury, but dismissed the Court for sending a challenge to the Duke of Buckingham. 'He was a man,' says Burnet, 'of great notions and eminent virtues ; the best speaker in the House of Commons, and capable of bearing the chief



5<sup>th</sup> October. Dined with Sir George Ratcliffe, the great favourite of the late Earl of Strafford, formerly Lord Deputy of Ireland, decapitated.

7<sup>th</sup>. To the Louvre, to visit the Countess of Moreton, Governess to Madame.

15<sup>th</sup>. Came news of Drogheda being taken by the rebels, and all put to the sword, which made us very sad, fore-running the loss of all Ireland.

21<sup>st</sup>. I went to hear Dr. D'Avinson's lecture in the physical garden, and see his laboratory, he being Prefect of that excellent garden, and Professor Botanicus.

30<sup>th</sup>. I was at the funeral of one Mr. Downes, a sober English gentleman. We accompanied his corpse to Charenton, where he was interred in a cabbage-garden, yet with the office of our church, which was said before in our chapel at Paris. Here I saw also where they buried the great soldier, Gassion, who had a tomb built over him like a fountain, the design and materials mean enough. I returned to Paris with Sir Philip Musgrave, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, since Lord Langdale.—Memorandum. This was a very sickly and mortal autumn.

5<sup>th</sup> November. I received divers letters out of England, requiring me to come over about settling some of my concerns.

7<sup>th</sup>. Dr. George Morley (since Bishop of Winchester) preached in our chapel on *Matthew* 4, verse 3.

18<sup>th</sup>. I went with my father-in-law to see his audience at the French Court, where next the Pope's Nuncio, he was introduced by the master of ceremonies, and, after delivery of his credentials, as from our King, since his Father's murder, he was most graciously received by the King of France and his mother, with whom he had a long audience. This was in the Palais Cardinal.

After this, being presented to his Majesty and the Queen Regent, I went to see the house built by the late great Cardinal de Richelieu. The most observable thing is the gallery, painted with the portraits of the most illustrious persons and signal actions in France, with innumerable emblems betwixt every table. In the middle of the gallery, is a neat chapel, rarely paved in work and devices of several sorts of marble, besides the altar-piece and two statues of white marble, one of St. John, the other of the Virgin Mary, by Bernini. The rest of the apartments are rarely gilded and carved, with some good modern paintings. In the presence hang three huge branches of crystal. In the French King's bed-chamber, is an alcove like another chamber, set as it were in a chamber like a moveable box, with a rich embroidered bed. The fabric of the palace is not magnificent, being but of two stories; but the garden is so spacious as to contain a noble basin and fountain continually playing, and there is a mall, with an elbow, or turning, to protract it. So I left his Majesty on the terrace, busy in seeing a bull-baiting, and returned home in Prince Edward's coach with Mr. Paul, the Prince Elector's agent.

19<sup>th</sup>. Visited Mr. Waller, where meeting Dr. Holden, an English Sorbonne divine, we fell into some discourse about religion.

28<sup>th</sup> December. Going to wait on Mr. Waller, I viewed St. Stephen's

ministry, as it was once thought he was very near it, and deserved it more than all the rest did.' Evelyn, in a subsequent mention in his journal, characterises him as 'a wise and witty gentleman'.

church; the building, though Gothic, is full of carving; within it is beautiful, especially the choir and winding stairs. The glass is well painted, and the tapestry hung up this day about the choir, representing the conversion of Constantine, was exceeding rich.

I went to that excellent engraver, Du Bosse, for his instruction about some difficulties in perspective which were delivered in his book.

I concluded this year in health, for which I gave solemn thanks to Almighty God<sup>a</sup>.

29<sup>th</sup> December. I christened Sir Hugh Rilie's child with Sir George Radcliffe in our chapel, the parents being so poor that they had provided no gossips, so as several of us drawing lots it fell on me, the Dean of Peterborough (Dr. Cousin) officiating: we named it Andrew, being on the eve of that Apostle's day.

1649-50: 1<sup>st</sup> January. I began this Jubilee with the public office in our chapel: dined at my Lady Herbert's, wife of Sir Edward Herbert, afterwards Lord Keeper.

18<sup>th</sup>. This night was the Prince of Condé and his brother carried prisoners to the Bois de Vincennes.

6<sup>th</sup> February. In the evening, came Signor Alessandro, one of the Cardinal Mazarine's musicians, and a person of great name for his knowledge in that art, to visit my wife, and sung before divers persons of quality in my chamber.

1<sup>st</sup> March. I went to see the masquerados, which was very fantastic; but nothing so quiet and solemn as I found it at Venice.

13<sup>th</sup>. Saw a triumph in Monsieur del Camp's Academy, where divers of the French and English noblesse, especially my Lord of Ossory, and Richard, sons to the Marquis of Ormond (afterwards Duke)<sup>b</sup>, did their

<sup>a</sup> This he does not fail to repeat at the end of every year, but it will not always be necessary here to insert it.

<sup>b</sup> James Butler, Marquis of Ormonde, and Earl of Ossory, in the Irish Peerage, first brought himself into notice when Ireland had for her Lord-Deputy the Earl of Strafford. A Parliament had been summoned to meet at Dublin Castle with strict injunctions that the members were to come unarmed, and the young Marquis not having attended to this when he presented himself at the door, the Usher of the Black Rod demanded his sword; whereupon the other fiercely replied that if he had his sword at all, he should have it 'in his guts'. The Lord-Deputy summoned the Marquis of Ormonde before him in the evening, to account for his conduct; when his Lordship produced the King's writ summoning him to Parliament '*cinctus cum gladio*'. Upon this Strafford, fancying so resolute a man would be better as a friend than as an enemy, resolved to attach him to the King's service and to his own, and appointed him a member of the Council. The Marquis was afterwards a staunch friend of Strafford, even in his adversity, and an equally earnest partisan of the King, who bestowed upon him the Order of the Garter, and appointed him Lord-Deputy of Ireland, and Lord Steward of the Household. In the Civil Wars he exerted himself zealously in the cause of his master, till obliged to seek safety with his family in exile. He returned at the Restoration, and Charles II, on the 20<sup>th</sup> of July, 1660, raised him to the English Peerage by the titles of Baron Butler and Earl of Brecknock, and advanced him in the Irish Peerage to the Dukedom of Ormonde, and again appointed him to the Lord Lieutenancy of Ireland. He died in 1688. Brshop Burnet has left a sort of negative character of the Duke, for he describes him as 'a man of great expense, but decent even in his vices, for he always kept up the forms of religion'. He seems to have made himself more acceptable to Grammont, who neither alludes to his vices nor to his religion, but discovering a resemblance in the turn



exercises on horseback in noble equipage, before a world of spectators and great persons, men and ladies. It ended in a collation.

25th April. I went out of town to see Madrid<sup>a</sup>, a palace so called, built by Francis the First. It is observable only for its open manner of architecture, being much of terraces and galleries one over another to the very roof; and for the materials, which are most of earth painted like porcelain, or China-ware, whose colours appear very fresh; but is very fragile. There are whole statues and relievos of this pottery, chimney-pieces, and columns both within and without. Under the chapel is a chimney in the midst of a room parted from the *Salle des Gardes*. The house is fortified with a deep ditch, and has an admirable vista towards the Bois de Boulogne and river.

30th. I went to see the collection of the famous sculptor, Steffano de la Bella, returning now into Italy, and bought some prints: and likewise visited Perelle, the landscape graver.

3rd May. At the hospital of La Charité, I saw the operation of cutting for the stone. A child of eight or nine years old underwent the operation with most extraordinary patience, and expressing great joy when he saw the stone was drawn. The use I made of it was, to give Almighty God hearty thanks that I had not been subject to this deplorable infirmity.

7th. I went with Sir Richard Browne's lady and my wife, together with the Earl of Chesterfield<sup>b</sup>, Lord Ossory and his brother, to Vamber, a place near the city famous for butter: when, coming homewards, being on foot, a quarrel arose between Lord Ossory and a man in a garden, who thrust Lord Ossory from the gate with uncivil language; on which our young gallants struck the fellow on the pate, and bade him ask pardon, which he did with much submission, and so we parted. But we were not gone far before we heard a noise behind us, and saw people coming with

of his wit and the nobility of his manners to his own relative, the Marshal de Grammont, thinks that he is bound to estimate the Duke at the highest possible appreciation. Of the sons mentioned by Evelyn; the first was the Duke's second son, Thomas Earl of Ossory, who proved himself an efficient commander both by sea and land, an able statesman, and an accomplished man of letters. According to Anthony Wood, his heroism in the sea fight with the Dutch, in 1673, 'was beyond the fiction of romance', and Evelyn's correspondence contains earnest tributes to his character. On the 24th of September, 1666, he was summoned to Parliament as Lord Butler, of Moor Park; and was afterwards employed as General of the Horse, as member of the Privy Council, and as deputy for his father in his Irish government. He died July 30, 1680. Richard, the younger brother of Thomas, also referred to by Evelyn, was created an Irish Peer in 1662, by the titles of Baron Butler, Viscount Tullogh, and Earl of Arran; and became an English Peer in 1673, by the title of Baron Butler of Weston. He also was deputy for his father, and distinguished himself both by sea and land, particularly in the naval engagement with the Dutch, in 1673, and against the mutinous garrison of Carrickfergus. He died in 1685. Evelyn highly esteemed his family, and makes frequent allusion to them.

<sup>a</sup> See *ante*, p. 39.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Philip Stanhope, created November 7, 1616, Baron Stanhope of Shelford; and on the 4th August, 1628, Earl of Chesterfield. At the breaking out of hostilities with the Parliament, his lordship became a determined partisan for the King, and garrisoned his house at Shelford, where his son Philip lost his life, and the place was stormed and burned to the ground. Lord Chesterfield at last found safety in flight, and retired to France. He died September 12, 1656.

guns, swords, staves, and forks, and who followed, flinging stones ; on which, we turned, and were forced to engage, and with our swords, stones, and the help of our servants (one of whom had a pistol) made our retreat for near a quarter of a mile, when we took shelter in a house, where we were besieged, and at length forced to submit to be prisoners. Lord Hatton, with some others, were taken prisoners in the flight, and his lordship was confined under three locks and as many doors in this rude fellow's master's house, who pretended to be Steward to Monsieur St. Germain, one of the presidents of the Grand Chambre du Parlement, and a Canon of Nôtre Dame. Several of us were much hurt. One of our lackeys escaping to Paris, caused the bailiff of St. Germain to come with his guard and rescue us. Immediately afterwards, came Monsieur St. Germain himself, in great wrath, on hearing that his housekeeper was assaulted ; but when he saw the King's officers, the gentlemen and noblemen, with his Majesty's Resident, and understood the occasion, he was ashamed of the accident, requesting the fellow's pardon, and desiring the ladies to accept their submission and a supper at his house. It was ten o'clock at night ere we got to Paris, guarded by Prince Griffith, (a Welsh hero going under that name, and well known in England for his extravagancies), together with the scholars of two academies, who came forth to assist and meet us on horseback, and would fain have alarmed the town we received the affront from : which, with much ado, we prevented.

12th May. Complaint being come to the Queen and Court of France of the affront we had received, the President was ordered to ask pardon of Sir R. Browne, his Majesty's Resident, and the fellow to make submission, and be dismissed. There came along with him the President de Thou, son of the great Thuanus [the historian], and so all was composed. But I have often heard that gallant gentleman, my Lord Ossory, affirm solemnly that in all the conflicts he ever was in at sea or on land (in the most desperate of both which he had often been) he believed he was never in so much danger as when these people rose against us. He used to call it the *bataile de Vambre*, and remember it with a great deal of mirth as an adventure, *en cavalier*.

24th. We were invited by the Noble Academies to a running at the ring where were many brave horses, gallants, and ladies, my lord Stanhope<sup>a</sup> entertaining us with a collation.

12th June. Being Trinity-Sunday, the Dean of Peterborough<sup>b</sup> preached ; after which, there was an ordination of two divines, Durell and Brevent (the one was afterwards Dean of Windsor, the other of Durham, both very learned persons). The Bishop of Galloway officiated with great gravity, after a pious and learned exhortation declaring the weight and dignity of their function, especially now in a time of the poor Church of England's affliction. He magnified the sublimity of the calling, from the object, viz., the salvation of men's souls, and the glory of God ; producing many human instances of the transitoriness and vanity of all other dignities ; that of all the triumphs the Roman conquerors made, none was comparable to that of our Blessed Saviour's, when he led captivity captive, and gave

<sup>a</sup> Charles, second Baron Stanhope, of Harrington. He died in 1677. Henry, son of Philip, first Earl of Chesterfield, and his son Philip (subsequently second Earl), also in succession bore the title of Lord Stanhope.

<sup>b</sup> Doctor Cosin, afterwards Bishop of Durham.



gifts to men, namely, that of the Holy Spirit, by which his faithful and painful ministers triumphed over Satan as oft as they reduced a sinner from the error of his ways. He then proceeded to the ordination. They were presented by the Dean in their surplices before the altar, the Bishop sitting in a chair at one side ; and so were made both Deacons and Priests at the same time, in regard to the necessity of the times, there being so few Bishops left in England, and consequently danger of a failure of both functions. Lastly, they proceeded to the Communion. This was all performed in Sir Richard Browne's chapel, at Paris.

13<sup>th</sup> June. I sate to the famous sculptor, Nanteuil, who was afterwards made a knight by the French King for his art. He engraved my picture in copper. At a future time, he presented me with my own picture<sup>a</sup>, done all with his pen ; an extraordinary curiosity.

21<sup>st</sup>. I went to see the Samaritan, or Pump, at the end of the Pont Neuf, which, though to appearance promising no great matter, is, besides the machine, furnished with innumerable rarities both of art and nature ; especially the costly grotto, where are the fairest corals, growing out of the very rock, that I have seen ; also great pieces of crystals, amethysts, gold in the mine, and other metals and marcasites, with two great conchas, which the owner told us cost him 200 crowns at Amsterdam. He showed us many landscapes and prospects, very rarely painted in miniature, some with the pen and crayon ; divers antiquities and relievos of Rome ; above all, that of the inside of the Amphitheatre of Titus, incomparably drawn by Monsieur St. Clere<sup>b</sup> himself ; two boys and three skeletons, moulded by Fiamingo ; a book of statues, with the pen made for Henry IV, rarely executed, and by which one may discover many errors in the *taille-douce* of Perrier, who has added divers conceits of his own that are not in the originals. He has likewise an infinite collection of *taille-douces*, richly bound in morocco.

He led us into a stately chamber furnished to have entertained a prince, with pictures of the greatest masters, especially a Venus of Perino del Vaga ; the Putti carved in the chimney-piece by the Fleming ; the vases of porcelain, and many designed by Raphael ; some paintings of Poussin, and Fioravanti ; antiques in brass ; the looking-glass and stands rarely carved. In a word, all was great, choice and magnificent, and not to be passed by as I had often done, without the least suspicion that there were such rare things to be seen in that place. At a future visit, he showed a new grotto and a bathing place, hewn through the battlements of the arches of Pont Neuf, into a wide vault at the intercolumniation, so that the coaches and horses thundered over our heads.

27<sup>th</sup>. I made my will, and, taking leave of my wife and other friends, took horse for England, paying the messenger eight pistoles for me and my servant to Calais, setting out with seventeen in company well-armed, some Portuguese, Swiss, and French, whereof six were captains and officers. We came the first night to Beaumont ; next day, to Beauvais, and lay at Pois, and the next, without dining, reached Abbeville ; next, dined at Montreuil, and proceeding met a company on foot (being now

<sup>a</sup> Also those of Mrs. Evelyn and Sir R. Browne, beautifully executed, which are still at Wotton. Robert Nanteuil drew cleverly in crayons, and was an admirable engraver. Born at Rheims, in 1630, and died at Paris in 1678.

<sup>b</sup> This was the name of the owner.

within the inroads of the parties which dangerously infest this day's journey from St. Omers and the frontiers), which we drew very near to, ready and resolute to charge through, and accordingly were ordered and led by a captain of our train ; but, as we were on the speed, they called out, and proved to be Scotchmen, newly raised and landed, and few among them armed. This night, we were well treated at Boulogne. The next day, we marched in good order, the passage being now exceeding dangerous, and got to Calais by a little after two. The sun so scorched my face, that it made the skin peel off.

I dined with Mr. Booth, his Majesty's agent ; and, about three in the afternoon, embarked in the packet-boat ; hearing there was a pirate then also setting sail, we had security from molestation, and so with a fair S. W. wind in seven hours we landed at Dover. The busy watchman would have us to the Mayor to be searched, but the gentleman being in bed, we were dismissed.

Next day, being Sunday, they would not permit us to ride post, so that afternoon our trunks were visited.

The next morning, by four, we set out for Canterbury, where I met with my Lady Catherine Scott, whom that very day twelve months before I met at sea going for France ; she had been visiting Sir Thomas Peyton, not far off, and would needs carry me in her coach to Gravesend. We dined at Sittingbourne, came late to Gravesend, and so to Deptford, taking leave of my lady about four the next morning.

*5th July.* I supped in the city with my Lady Catherine Scott, at one Mr. Dubois', where was a gentlewoman called Everard, who was a very great chymist.

*Sunday, 7th.* In the afternoon, having a mind to see what was doing among the Rebels, then in full possession at Whitehall, I went thither, and found one at exercise in the chapel, after their way ; thence to St. James's, where another was preaching in the court abroad.

*17th.* I went to London to obtain a pass<sup>a</sup>, intending but a short stay in England.

*25th.* I went by Epsom to Wotton, saluting Sir Robert Cook and my sister Glanville ; the country was now much molested by soldiers, who took away gentlemen's horses for the service of the State, as then called.

*4th August.* I heard a sermon at the Rolls ; and, in the afternoon, wandered to divers churches, the pulpits full of novices and novelties.

*6th.* To Mr. Walker's, a good painter, who showed me an excellent copy of Titian.

<sup>a</sup> A copy of it is subjoined : ' These are to will and require you to permit and suffer the bearer thereof, John Evelyn, Esq., to transport himself, two servants, and other necessities, into any port of France without any your lets or molestations, of which you are not to fail, and for which this shall be your sufficient warrant. Given at the Council of State at Whitehall this 25th of June, 1650.

Signed in the Name and by Order of the Council of State,  
appointed by authority of Parliament,

JO. BRADSHAWE, President.

To all Customers, Comptrollers, and Searchers, and  
all other officers of the Ports, or Customs.'

Subjoined to the signature, Evelyn has added in his own writing : ' The hand of that villain who sentenced our Charles I of Blessed [Memory]. ' Its endorsement, also in his writing, is, ' The Pass from the Council of State, 1650.'



*12th August.* Set out for Paris, taking post at Gravesend, and so that night to Canterbury, where being surprised by the soldiers, and having only an antiquated pass, with some fortunate dexterity I got clear of them, though not without extraordinary hazard, having before counterfeited one with success, it being so difficult to procure one of the Rebels without entering into oaths, which I never would do. At Dover, money to the searchers and officers was as authentic as the hand and seal of Bradshawe himself, where I had not so much as my trunk opened.

*13th.* At six in the evening, set sail for Calais ; the wind not favourable, I was very sea-sick, coming to an anchor about one o'clock ; about five in the morning, we had a long boat to carry us to land, though at a good distance ; this we willingly entered, because two vessels were chasing us ; but, being now almost at the harbour's mouth, through inadvertency there brake in upon us two such heavy seas, as had almost sunk the boat, I being near the middle up in water. Our steersman, it seems, apprehensive of the danger, was preparing to leap into the sea and trust to swimming, but seeing the vessel emerge, he put her into the pier, and so, God be thanked ! we got to Calais, though wet.

Here I waited for company, the passage towards Paris being still infested with volunteers from the Spanish frontiers.

*16th.* The Regiment of Picardy, consisting of about 1400 horse and foot (amongst them was a captain whom I knew), being come to town, I took horses for myself and servant, and marched under their protection to Boulogne. It was a miserable spectacle to see how these tattered soldiers pillaged the poor people of their sheep, poultry, corn, cattle, and whatever came in their way ; but they had such ill pay, that they were ready themselves to starve.

As we passed St. Denis, the people were in uproar, the guards doubled, and everybody running with their moveables to Paris, on an alarm that the enemy was within five leagues of them ; so miserably exposed was even this part of France at this time.

The 30th, I got to Paris, after an absence of two months only.

*1st September.* My Lady Herbert invited me to dinner ; Paris, and indeed all France, being full of loyal fugitives.

Came Mr. Waller to see me, about a child of his which the Popish midwife had baptised.

*15th October.* Sir Thomas Osborne (afterwards Lord Treasurer)<sup>a</sup> and Lord Stanhope shot for a wager of five louis, to be spent on a treat ; they shot so exact, that it was a drawn match.

*1st November.* Took leave of my Lord Stanhope, going on his journey towards Italy ; also visited my Lord Hatton, Comptroller of his Majesty's

<sup>a</sup> The only son of Sir Edward Osborne, Vice-President of the Council for the north of England, and Lieutenant-General of the Northern Forces. Sir Edward had devoted himself to the cause of Charles I, and his son followed his example. He shared the same fortune as other exiles during the Protectorate, but at the Restoration was amply rewarded, dignities and titles being showered upon him with excessive liberality. Lord High Treasurer, and Knight of the Garter, he was successively created Baron Osborne, of Kiveton, and Viscount Latimer, of Danby ; Earl of Danby, Marquis of Carmarthen, and Duke of Leeds, in the English Peerage ; and Viscount Dumblane, in the Peerage of Scotland. He died July 26, 1712. The vicissitudes of his official career are well known.

Household, the Countess of Morton, Governess to the Lady Henrietta, and Mrs. Gardner, one of the Queen's Maids of Honour.

*6th November.* Sir Thomas Osborne supping with us, his groom were set upon in the street before our house, and received two wounds, but gave the assassin nine, who was carried off to the Charité Hospital. Sir Thomas went for England on the 8th, and carried divers letters for me to my friends.

*16th.* I went to Monsieur Visse's, the French King's Secretary, to a concert of French music and voices, consisting of twenty-four, two theorbos, and but one bass viol, being a rehearsal of what was to be sung at vespers at St. Cecilia's, on her feast, she being patroness of Musicians. News arrived of the death of the Princess of Orange of the small pox.

*14th December.* I went to visit Mr. Ratcliffe, in whose lodging was an impostor that had like to have imposed upon us a pretended secret of multiplying gold; it is certain he had lived sometime in Paris in extraordinary splendour, but I found him to be an egregious cheat.

*22nd.* Came the learned Dr. Boet to visit me.

*31st.* I gave God thanks for his mercy and protection the past year, and made up my accounts, which came this year to 7015 livres, near £600 sterling.

*1650-1: 1st January.* I wrote to my brother at Wotton, about his garden and fountains. After evening prayer, Mr. Wainsford called on me: he had long been Consul at Aleppo, and told me many strange things of those countries, the Arabs especially.

*27th.* I had letters of the death of Mrs. Newton, my grand-mother-in-law; she had a most tender care of me during my childhood, and was a woman of extraordinary charity and piety.

*29th.* Dr. Duncan preached on 8 *Matt.* v. 34, showing the mischief of covetousness. My Lord Marquis of Ormonde and Inchiquin, come newly out of Ireland, were this day at chapel.

*9th February.* Cardinal Mazarine was proscribed by Arrêt du Parlement, and great commotions began in Paris.

*23rd.* I went to see the Bonnes Hommes, a convent that has a fair cloister painted with the lives of Hermits; a glorious altar now erecting in the chapel; the garden on the rock with divers descents, with a fine vineyard and a delicate prospect toward the city.

*24th.* I went to see a dromedary, a very monstrous beast, much like the camel, but larger. There was also dancing on the rope; but, above all, surprising to those who were ignorant of the address, was the water-spouter<sup>a</sup>, who, drinking only fountain-water, rendered out of his mouth in several glasses all sorts of wine and sweet waters. For a piece of money, he discovered the secret to me. I waited on Friar Nicholas at the convent at Chaillot, who, being an excellent chymist, showed me his laboratory, and rare collection of spagyric remedies. He was both physician and apothecary of the convent, and, instead of the names of his drugs, he painted his boxes and pots with the figure of the drug, or simple, contained in them. He showed me as a rarity some ☿ of antimony<sup>b</sup>: he had cured Monsieur Senatin of a desperate sickness, for which there was building a monumental altar that was to cost £1500.

<sup>a</sup> Floriand Marchand. He afterwards exhibited himself in England. Prefixed to an Account of his exploits is a woodcut of him.

<sup>b</sup> A supposed preparation of this is alleged to have been that which was afterwards perfected by Dr. James, whose name it still bears.



11th March. I went to the Châtelet, or prison, where a malefactor was to have the question, or torture, given to him, he refusing to confess the robbery with which he was charged, which was thus : they first bound his wrist with a strong rope, or small cable, and one end of it to an iron ring made fast to the wall, about four feet from the floor, and then his feet with another cable, fastened about five feet farther than his utmost length to another ring on the floor of the room. Thus suspended, and yet lying but aslant, they slid a horse of wood under the rope which bound his feet, which so exceedingly stiffened it, as severed the fellow's joints in miserable sort, drawing him out at length in an extraordinary manner, he having only a pair of linen drawers on his naked body. Then, they questioned him of a robbery (the Lieutenant being present, and a clerk that wrote), which not confessing, they put a higher horse under the rope, to increase the torture and extension. In this agony, confessing nothing, the executioner with a horn (just such as they drench horses with) stuck the end of it into his mouth, and poured the quantity of two buckets of water down his throat and over him, which so prodigiously swelled him, as would have pitied and affrighted any one to see it ; for all this, he denied all that was charged to him. They then let him down, and carried him before a warm fire to bring him to himself, being now to all appearance dead with pain. What became of him, I know not ; but the gentleman whom he robbed constantly averred him to be the man, and the fellow's suspicious pale looks, before he knew he should be racked, betrayed some guilt ; the Lieutenant was also of that opinion, and told us at first sight (for he was a lean, dry, black young man) he would conquer the torture ; and so it seems they could not hang him, but did use in such cases, where the evidence is very presumptive, to send them to the galleys, which is as bad as death.

There was another malefactor to succeed, but the spectacle was so uncomfortable, that I was not able to stay the sight of another. It represented yet to me the intolerable sufferings which our Blessed Saviour must needs undergo, when his body was hanging with all its weight upon the nails on the cross.

20th. I went this night with my wife to a ball at the Marquis de Crevecœur's, where were divers Princes, Dukes, and great persons ; but what appeared to me very mean was, that it began with a puppet-play.

6th May. I attended the Ambassador to a masque at Court, where the French King in person danced five entries ; but being engaged in discourse, and better entertained with one of the Queen-Regent's Secretaries, I soon left the entertainment.

11th. To the Palace Cardinal, where the Master of the Ceremonies placed me to see the royal masque, or opera. The first scene represented a chariot of singers composed of the rarest voices that could be procured, representing Cornaro<sup>a</sup> and Temperance ; this was overthrown by Bacchus and his revellers ; the rest consisted of several entries and pageants of excess, by all the elements. A masque representing fire was admirable ; then came a Venus out of the clouds. The conclusion was a heaven, whither all ascended. But the glory of the masque was the great persons performing in it, the French King, his brother the Duke of Anjou, with all the Grandees of the Court, the King performing to the admiration of all.

<sup>a</sup> The famous Venetian writer on Temperance.

The music was twenty-nine violins, vested *à l'antique*, but the habits of the masquers were stupendously rich and glorious.

23<sup>rd</sup> May. I went to take leave of the ambassadors for Spain, which were my Lord Treasurer Cottington and Sir Edward Hyde; and, as I returned, I visited Mr. Morine's<sup>a</sup> garden, and his other rarities, especially corals, minerals, stones, and natural curiosities; crabs of the Red Sea, the body no bigger than a small bird's egg, but flatter, and the two legs, or claws, a foot in length. He had abundance of shells, at least 1000 sorts, which furnished a cabinet of great price; and had a very curious collection of scarabees, and insects, of which he was compiling a natural history. He had also the pictures of his choice flowers and plants in miniature. He told me there were 10,000 sorts of tulips only. He had *taille-douces* out of number; the head of the Rhinoceros bird, which was very extravagant, and one butterfly resembling a perfect bird.

25<sup>th</sup>. I went to visit Mr. Thomas White, a learned priest and famous philosopher<sup>b</sup>, author of the book *De Mundo*, with whose worthy brother I was well acquainted at Rome. I was showed a cabinet of Maroquin, or Turkey leather, so curiously inlaid with other leather, and gilding, that the workman demanded for it 800 livres.

The Dean (of Peterborough) preached on the feast of Pentecost, perstringing those of Geneva for their irreverence of the Blessed Virgin.

4<sup>th</sup> June. Trinity-Sunday, I was absent from church in the afternoon on a charitable affair for the Abbess of Boucharvant, who but for me had been abused by that chymist, Du Menie<sup>c</sup>. Returning, I stept into the Grand Jesuits, who had this high day exposed their Cibarium, made all of solid gold and imagery, a piece of infinite cost. Dr. Croydon, coming out of Italy, and from Padua, came to see me, on his return to England.

5<sup>th</sup>. I accompanied my Lord Strafford<sup>d</sup>, and some other noble persons, to hear Madam Lavarant sing, which she did both in French and Italian excellently well, but her voice was not strong.

7<sup>th</sup>. Corpus Christi Day, there was a grand procession, all the streets tapestried, several altars erected there, full of images, and other rich furniture, especially that before the Court, of a rare design and architecture. There were abundance of excellent pictures and great vases of silver.

13<sup>th</sup>. I went to see the collection of one Monsieur Poignant, which for variety of agates, crystals, onyxes, porcelain, medals, statues, relievos, paintings, *taille-douces*, and antiquities, might compare with the Italian virtuosos.

21<sup>st</sup>. I became acquainted with Sieur William Curtius, a very learned and judicious person of the Palatinate. He had been scholar to Alstedius,

<sup>a</sup> *ante*, p. 46.

<sup>b</sup> A native of Essex, who was born in 1582, educated abroad, and, his family being Catholic, became a priest of that church, and sub-rector of the college at Douay. He advocated the Cartesian philosophy, and this brought him into an extensive correspondence with Hobbes and Descartes, in the course of which he Latinised his name into Thomas Albius, or De Albis. He died in 1676.

<sup>c</sup> Is this the 'impostor' mentioned, *ante* page 179, as pretending to have found out the art of 'multiplying gold'?

<sup>d</sup> This was William, the eldest son of the Earl who was executed; but he was not restored to his father's titles till the Restoration. He died in 1695. The 'Lord Wentworth' adverted to by Evelyn in a preceding page (171), was the son of the Earl of Cleveland.



the Encyclopedist, was well advanced in years, and now Resident for his Majesty at Frankfort.

*2nd July.* Came to see me the Earl of Strafford, Lord Ossory, and his Brother, Sir John Southcott, Sir Edward Stawell, two of my Lord Spencer's sons, and Dr. Stewart, Dean of St. Paul's, a learned and pious man, where we entertained the time upon several subjects, especially the affairs of England, and the lamentable condition of our Church. The Lord Gerrard<sup>a</sup> also called to see my collection of sieges and battles.

*21st.* An extraordinary fast was celebrated in our Chapel, Dr. Stewart, Dean of St. Paul's, preaching.

*2nd August.* I went with my wife to Conflans, where were abundance of ladies and others bathing in the river ; the ladies had their tents spread on the water for privacy.

*29th.* Was kept as a solemn fast for the calamities of our poor Church, now trampled on by the rebels. Mr. Waller, being at St. Germain's, desired me to send him a coach from Paris, to bring my wife's god-daughter to Paris, to be buried by the Common Prayer.

*6th September.* I went with my wife to St. Germain's, to condole with Mr. Waller's loss. I carried with me and treated at dinner that excellent and pious person the Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Stewart, and Sir Lewis Dives (half-brother to the Earl of Bristol), who entertained us with his wonderful escape out of prison in Whitehall, the very evening before he was to have been put to death, leaping down out of a jakes two stories high into the Thames at high water, in the coldest of winter, and at night ; so as by swimming he got to a boat that attended for him, though he was guarded by six musketeers. After this, he went about in women's habit, and then in a small-coal-man's, travelling 200 miles on foot, embarked for Scotland with some men he had raised, who coming on shore were all surprised and imprisoned on the Marquis of Montrose's score ; he not knowing anything of their barbarous murder of that hero. This he told us was his fifth escape, and none less miraculous ; with this note, that the charging through 1000 men armed, or whatever danger could befall a man, he believed could not more confound and distract a man's thoughts than the execution of a premeditated escape, the passions of hope and fear being so strong. This knight was indeed a valiant gentleman ; but not a little given to romance, when he spake of himself. I returned to Paris the same evening.

*7th.* I went to visit Mr. Hobbes, the famous philosopher of Malmesbury, with whom I had long acquaintance. From his window, we saw the whole equipage and glorious cavalcade of the young French Monarch, Louis XIV, passing to Parliament, when first he took the kingly government on him, now being in his 14th year, out of his minority and the Queen Regent's pupillage. First, came the captain of the King's

<sup>a</sup> Charles, son of Sir Charles Gerard, having served for some time in the Netherlands, returned to England in time to join King Charles, when his dispute with the Parliament was referred to the sword. He was made a general officer, and eminently distinguished himself on several occasions, for which the King appointed him lieutenant-general of his horse, and created him Baron Gerard, of Brandon, on the 8th of November, 1645. By Charles II he was raised to the dignity of Viscount Brandon, and Earl of Macclesfield, on the 23d of July, 1679 ; but by James II he was sent to the Tower, in company with the Lords Stamford and Delamere, and condemned to death, though afterwards pardoned. He lived five years beyond the Revolution.

Aids, at the head of 50 richly liveried ; next, the Queen-Mother's light Horse, 100, the lieutenant being all over covered with embroidery and ribbons, having before him four trumpets habited in black velvet, full of lace, and casques of the same. Then, the King's Light Horse, 200, richly habited, with four trumpets in blue velvet embroidered with gold, before whom rid the Count d'Olonne coronet [cornet], whose belt was set with pearl. Next went the grand Prévôt's company on foot, with the Prévôt on horseback ; after them, the Swiss in black velvet toques, led by two gallant cavaliers habited in scarlet-coloured satin, after their country fashion, which is very fantastic ; he had in his cap a *pennach* of heron, with a band of diamonds, and about him twelve little Swiss boys, with halberds. Then, came the *Aide des Cérémonies* ; next, the grandees of court, governors of places, and lieutenants-general of provinces, magnificently habited and mounted ; among whom I must not forget the Chevalier Paul, famous for many sea-fights and signal exploits there, because it is said he had never been an Academist, and yet governed a very unruly horse, and besides his rich suit his Malta Cross was esteemed at 10,000 crowns. These were headed by two trumpets, and the whole troop, covered with gold, jewels, and rich caparisons, were followed by six trumpets in blue velvet also, preceding as many heralds in blue velvet *semée* with fleurs-de-lis, caduces in their hands, and velvet caps on their heads ; behind them, came one of the masters of the ceremonies ; then, divers marshals and many of the nobility, exceeding splendid ; behind them Count d'Harcourt, grand Ecuyer, alone, carrying the King's sword in a scarf, which he held up in a blue sheath studded with fleurs-de-lis ; his horse had for reins two scarfs of black taffata.

Then, came abundance of footmen and pages of the King, new-liveried with white and red feathers ; next, the *garde du corps* and other officers ; and, lastly, appeared the King himself on an Isabella barb, on which a housing *semée*, with crosses of the Order of the Holy Ghost, and fleurs-de-lis ; the King himself, like a young Apollo, was in a suit so covered with rich embroidery, that one could perceive nothing of the stuff under it ; he went almost the whole way with his hat in hand, saluting the ladies and acclamators, who had filled the windows with their beauty, and the air with *Vive le Roi*. He seemed a prince of a grave yet sweet countenance. After the King, followed divers great persons of the Court, exceeding splendid, also his esquires ; masters of horse, on foot ; then the company of *Exempts des Gardes*, and six guards of Scotch. Betwixt their files were divers princes of the blood, dukes, and lords ; after all these, the Queen's guard of Swiss, pages, and footmen ; then, the Queen-Mother herself, in a rich coach, with Monsieur the King's brother, the Duke of Orleans, and some other lords and ladies of honour. About the coach, marched her *Exempts des Gardes* ; then, the company of the King's *Gens d'armes*, well mounted, 150, with four trumpets, and as many of the Queen's ; lastly, an innumerable company of coaches full of ladies and gallants. In this equipage, passed the monarch to the Parliament, henceforth exercising his kingly government.

15th September. I accompanied Sir Richard Browne, my father-in-law, to the French Court, when he had a favourable audience of the French King, and the Queen, his mother ; congratulating the one on his coming to the exercise of his royal charge, and the other's prudent and happy



administration during her late regency, desiring both to preserve the same amity for his master, our King, as they had hitherto done, which they both promised, with many civil expressions and words of course upon such occasions. We were accompanied both going and returning by the Introducer of Ambassadors and Aid of Ceremonies. I also saw the audience of Morosini, the Ambassador of Venice, and divers other Ministers of State from German Princes, Savoy, &c. Afterwards, I took a walk in the King's gardens, where I observed that the mall goes the whole square there of next the wall, and bends with an angle so made as to glance the wall; the angle is of stone. There is a basin at the end of the garden fed by a noble fountain and high jetto. There were in it two or three boats, in which the King now and then rows about. In another part is a complete fort, made with bastions, graft, half-moons, ravelins, and furnished with great guns cast on purpose to instruct the King in fortification.

22nd September. Arrived the news of the fatal battle at Worcester, which exceedingly mortified our expectations.

28th. I was showed a collection of books and prints made for the Duke of York.

1st October. The Dean of Peterborough [Dr. Cosin] preached on *Job* xiii. verse 15, encouraging our trust in God on all events and extremities, and for establishing and comforting some ladies of great quality, who were then to be discharged from our Queen-Mother's service, unless they would go over to the Romish Mass.

The Dean, dining this day at our house, told me the occasion of publishing those Offices, which among the Puritans were wont to be called *Cosin's cozening Devotions*<sup>a</sup>, by way of derision. At the first coming of the Queen into England, she and her French ladies were often upbraiding our religion, that had neither appointed nor set forth any hours of prayer, or breviaries, by which ladies and courtiers, who have much spare time, might edify and be in devotion, as they had. Our Protestant ladies, scandalised it seems at this, moved the matter to the King; whereupon his Majesty presently called Bishop White to him, and asked his thoughts of it, and whether there might not be found some forms of prayer proper on such occasions, collected out of some already approved forms, that so the court-ladies and others (who spend much time in trifling) might at least appear as devout, and be so too, as the new-come-over French ladies, who took occasion to reproach our want of zeal and religion. On which, the Bishop told his Majesty that it might be done easily, and was very necessary; whereupon the King commanded him to employ some person of the clergy to compile such a Work, and presently the Bishop naming Dr. Cosin, the King enjoined him to charge the Doctor in his name to set about it immedi-

<sup>a</sup> So called by Prynne, in his 'brief survey' of this book. The Dean having been sequestered from all his preferments by the Parliament, went abroad to Paris, 1643; and officiated, as we see, in Sir Richard Browne's Chapel there. He is frequently mentioned both in the Diary and Letters of Evelyn, and had a very good library, for the purchase of which Evelyn was in treaty with him. On the Restoration he was made Bishop of Durham, to which preferment, as well as to Peter-House, at Cambridge, of which he had been Master, he was a munificent benefactor. He died in 1671, leaving behind him the repute, to which Evelyn makes friendly exception as above, of one of the most Popish of Anglican divines.

ately. This the Dean told me he did ; and three months after, bringing the book to the King, he commanded the Bishop of London to read it over, and make his report ; this was so well liked, that (contrary to former custom of doing it by a chaplain) he would needs give it an *imprimatur* under his own hand. Upon this, there were at first only 200 copies printed ; nor, said he, was there anything in the whole book of my own composure, nor did I set any name as author to it, but those necessary prefaces, &c., out of the Fathers, touching the times and seasons of prayer ; all the rest being entirely translated and collected out of an *Office* published by authority of Queen Elizabeth, anno 1560, and our own Liturgy. This I rather mention to justify that industrious and Pious Dean, who had exceedingly suffered by it, as if he had done it of his own head to introduce Popery, from which no man was more averse, and one who in this time of temptation and apostacy held and confirmed many to our Church<sup>a</sup>.

29th October. Came news and letters to the Queen and Sir Richard Browne (who was the first that had intelligence of it) of his Majesty's miraculous escape after the fight at Worcester ; which exceedingly rejoiced us.

7th November. I visited Sir Kenelm Digby, with whom I had much discourse on chemical matters. I showed him a particular way of extracting oil of sulphur, and he gave me a certain powder with which he affirmed that he had fixed ☿ (mercury) before the late King. He advised me to try and digest a little better, and gave me a water which he said was only rain-water of the autumnal equinox, exceedingly rectified, very volatile ; it had a taste of a strong vitriolic, and smelt like aqua-fortis. He intended it for a dissolvent of calx of gold ; but the truth is, Sir Kenelm was an arrant mountebank. Came news of the gallant Earl of Derby's execution by the rebels.

14th. Dr. Clare preached on *Genesis* xxviii. verses 20, 21, 22, upon Jacob's vow, which he appositely applied, it being the first Sunday his Majesty came to chapel after his escape. I went, in the afternoon, to visit the Earl of Norwich ; he lay at the Lord of Aubigny's.

16th. Visited Dean Stewart, who had been sick about two days ; when, going up to his lodging I found him dead ; which affected me much, as besides his particular affection and love to me, he was of incomparable parts and great learning, of exemplary life, and a very great loss to the whole church. He was buried the next day with all our church's ceremonies, many noble persons accompanying the corpse.

17th. I went to congratulate the marriage of Mrs. Gardner, maid of honour, lately married to that odd person, Sir Henry Wood : but riches do many things.

To see Monsieur Febur's course of chymistry, where I found Sir Kenelm Digby, and divers curious persons of learning and quality. It was his first opening the course and preliminaries, in order to operations.

1st December. I now resolved to return to England.

<sup>a</sup> The Clergy who attended the English Court in France at this time, and are mentioned to have officiated in Sir Richard Browne's Chapel, were : The Bishop of Galloway ; Dr. George Morley, afterwards Bishop of Winchester ; Dr. Cosin, Dean of Peterborough, afterwards Bishop of Durham ; Dr. Stewart, Dean of St. Paul's ; Dr. Earle ; Dr. Clare ; Dr. Wolley, no great preacher ; Mr. Crowder ; Dr. Lloyd ; Mr. Hamilton ; Dr. Duncan.



3rd December. Sir Lewis Dives dined with us, who relating some of his adventures, showed me divers pieces of broad gold, which, being in his pocket in a fight, preserved his life by receiving a musket-bullet on them, which deadened its violence, so that it went no further; but made such a stroke on the gold as fixed the impressions upon one another, battering and bending several of them; the bullet itself was flatted, and retained on it the colour of the gold. He assured us that of a hundred of them, which it seems he then had in his pocket, not one escaped without some blemish. He affirmed that his being protected by a Neapolitan Prince, who connived at his bringing some horses into France, contrary to the order of the Viceroy, by assistance of some banditti, was the occasion of a difference between those great men, and consequently of the late civil war in that kingdom, the Viceroy having killed the Prince standing on his defence at his own castle. He told me that the second time of the Scots coming into England, the King was six times their number, and might easily have beaten them; but was betrayed, as were all other his designs and counsels, by some, even of his bed-chamber, meaning M. Hamilton, who copied Montrose's letters from time to time when his Majesty was asleep.

11th. Came to visit me, Mr. Obadiah Walker, of University College, with his two pupils, the sons of my worthy friend, Henry Hyldiard, Esq.<sup>a</sup>, whom I had recommended to his care.

21st. Came to visit my wife, Mrs. Lane<sup>b</sup>, the lady who conveyed the king to the sea-side at his escape from Worcester. Mr. John Cosin, son of the Dean, debauched by the priests, wrote a letter to me to mediate for him with his father<sup>c</sup>. I prepared for my last journey, being now resolved to leave France altogether.

25th. The King and Duke received the Sacrament first by themselves, the Lords Byron and Wilmot holding the long towel all along the altar.

26th. Came news of the death of that rebel, Ireton.

31st. Preached Dr. Wolley, after which was celebrated the Holy Communion, which I received also, preparative of my journey, being now resolved to leave France altogether, and to return God Almighty thanks for His gracious protection of me this past year.

1651-2. 2nd January. News of my sister Glanville's death in childbed, which exceedingly affected me.

I went to one Mark Antonio, an incomparable artist in enamelling. He wrought by the lamp figures in boss, of a large size, even to the life, so that nothing could be better moulded. He told us stories of a Genoese jeweller, who had the great *arcanum*, and had made projection before him several times. He met him at Cyprus travelling into Egypt; in his return from whence, he died at sea, and the secret with him, that else he had promised to have left it to him; that all his effects were seized on, and dissipated by the Greeks in the vessel, to an immense value. He also affirmed, that being in a goldsmith's shop at Amsterdam, a person of very low stature came in, and desired the goldsmith to melt him a pound of

<sup>a</sup> Of East Horsley in Surrey.

<sup>b</sup> Sister of Colonel Lane, an English officer in the army of Charles II dispersed at the battle of Worcester. She assisted the King in effecting his escape after that battle, his Majesty travelling with her disguised as her serving-man, William Jackson.

<sup>c</sup> See *Correspondence*.

lead ; which done, he unscrewed the pommel of his sword, and taking out of a little box a small quantity of powder, casting it into the crucible, poured an ingot out, which when cold he took up, saying, ' Sir, you will be paid for your lead in the crucible,' and so went out immediately. When he was gone the goldsmith found four ounces of good gold in it ; but could never set eye again on the little man, though he sought all the city for him. Antonio asserted this with great obtestation ; nor know I what to think of it, there are so many impostors and people who love to tell strange stories, as this artist did, who had been a great rover, and spoke ten different languages.

*13th January.* I took leave of Mr. Waller, who, having been proscribed by the rebels, had obtained of them permission to return, was going to England.

*29th.* Abundance of my French and English friends and some Germans came to take leave of me, and I set out in a coach for Calais, in an exceeding hard frost which had continued some time. We got that night to Beaumont ; *30th*, to Beauvais ; *31st*, we found the ways very deep with snow, and it was exceeding cold ; dined at Pois ; lay at Pernée, a miserable cottage of miserable people in a wood, wholly unfurnished, but in a little time we had sorry beds and some provision, which they told me they hid in the wood for fear of the frontier enemy, the garrisons near them continually plundering what they had. They were often infested with wolves. I cannot remember that I ever saw more miserable creatures.

*1st February.* I dined at Abbeville ; *2nd*, dined at Montreuil, lay at Boulogne ; *3rd*, came to Calais, by eleven in the morning ; I thought to have embarked in the evening, but, for fear of pirates plying near the coast, I durst not trust our small vessel, and stayed till Monday following, when two or three lusty vessels were to depart.

I brought with me from Paris Mr. Christopher Wase, sometime before made to resign his Fellowship in King's College, Cambridge, because he would not take the Covenant. He had been a soldier in Flanders, and came miserable to Paris. From his excellent learning, and some relation he had to Sir R. Browne, I bore his charges into England, and clad and provided for him, till he should find some better condition ; and he was worthy of it<sup>a</sup>. There came with us also Captain Griffith, Mr. Tyrell, brother to Sir Timothy Tyrell, of Shotover (near Oxford).

At Calais, I dined with my Lord Wentworth, and met with Mr. Heath, Sir Richard Lloyd, Captain Paine, and divers of our banished friends, of whom understanding that the Count de la Strade, Governor of Dunkirk, was in the town, who had bought my wife's picture, taken by pirates at sea the year before (my wife having sent it for me in England,) as my Lord of Norwich had informed me at Paris, I made my address to him, who frankly told me that he had such a picture in his own bed-chamber amongst other ladies, and how he came by it ; seeming well pleased that it was his fortune to preserve it for me, and he generously promised to send it to any friend I had at Dover ; I mentioned a French merchant there, and so took my leave<sup>b</sup>.

*6th.* I embarked early in the packet-boat, but put my goods in a stouter vessel. It was calm, so that we got not to Dover till eight at night. I took horse for Canterbury, and lay at Rochester ; next day, to Gravesend,

<sup>a</sup> Evelyn afterwards obtained an employment for him.

<sup>b</sup> The picture was sent accordingly.



took a pair of oars, and landed at Sayes Court, where I stayed three days to refresh, and look after my packet and goods, sent by a stouter vessel. I went to visit my cousin, Richard Fanshawe, and divers other friends.

6th March. Saw the magnificent funeral of that arch-rebel, Ireton, carried in pomp from Somerset House to Westminster, accompanied with divers regiments of soldiers, horse and foot ; then marched the mourners, General Cromwell (his father-in-law), his mock-parliament-men, officers, and forty poor men in gowns, three led horses in housings of black cloth, two led in black velvet, and his charging-horse, all covered over with embroidery and gold, on crimson velvet ; then the guidons, ensigns, four heralds, carrying the arms of the State (as they called it), namely, the red cross and Ireland, with the casque, wreath, sword, spurs, &c. ; next, a chariot canopied of black velvet and six horses, in which was the corpse ; the pall held up by the mourners on foot ; the mace and sword, with other marks of his charge in Ireland (where he died of the plague), carried before in black scarfs. Thus, in a grave pace, drums covered with cloth, soldiers reversing their arms, they proceeded through the streets in a very solemn manner. This Ireton was a stout rebel, and had been very bloody to the King's party, witness his severity at Colchester, when in cold blood he put to death those gallant gentlemen, Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle. My cousin, R. Fanshawe, came to visit me, and inform me of many considerable affairs. Sir Henry Herbert presented me with his brother, my Lord Cherbury's book, *De Veritate*.

9th. I went to Deptford, where I made preparation for my settlement, no more intending to go out of England, but endeavour a settled life, either in this or some other place, there being now so little appearance of any change for the better, all being entirely in the rebels' hands ; and this particular habitation and the estate contiguous to it (belonging to my father-in-law, actually in his Majesty's service) very much suffering for want of some friend to rescue it out of the power of the usurpers, so as to preserve our interest, and take some care of my other concerns, by the advice and endeavour of my friends I was advised to reside in it, and compound with the soldiers. This I was besides authorised by his Majesty to do, and encouraged with a promise that what was in lease from the Crown, if ever it pleased God to restore him, he would secure to us in fee-farm. I had also addresses and cyphers, to correspond with his Majesty and Ministers abroad : upon all which inducements, I was persuaded to settle henceforth in England, having now run about the world, most part out of my own country, near ten years. I therefore now likewise meditated sending over for my wife, whom as yet I had left at Paris.

14th. I went to Lewisham, where I heard an honest sermon on 1 Cor. ii. 5—7, being the first Sunday I had been at church since my return, it being now a rare thing to find a priest of the Church of England in a parish pulpit, most of which were filled with Independents and Fanatics.

15th. I saw the Diamond and Ruby launched in the Dock at Deptford, carrying forty-eight brass cannon each ; Cromwell and his grandees present, with great acclamations.

18th. That worthy divine, Mr. Owen, of Eltham, a sequestered person, came to visit me.

19th. Invited by Lady Gerrard, I went to London, where we had a

great supper; all the vessels, which were innumerable, were of porcelain, she having the most ample and richest collection of that curiosity in England.

*22nd March.* I went with my brother Evelyn to Wotton, to give him what directions I was able about his garden, which he was now desirous to put into some form; but for which he was to remove a mountain overgrown with huge trees and thicket, with a moat within ten yards of the house. This my brother immediately attempted, and that without great cost, for more than a hundred yards south, by digging down the mountain, and flinging it into a rapid stream; it not only carried away the sand, &c., but filled up the moat, and levelled that noble area, where now the garden and fountain is'. The first occasion of my brother making this alteration was my building the little retiring place between the great wood eastward next the meadow, where, some time after my father's death, I made a triangular pond, or little stew, with an artificial rock, after my coming out of Flanders.

*29th.* I heard that excellent prelate, the primate of Ireland (Jacobus Usher) preach in Lincoln's Inn, on *Heb.* iv. 16, encouraging of penitent sinners.

*5th April.* My brother George brought to Sayes Court Cromwell's Act of Oblivion to all that would submit to the Government.

*13th.* News was brought me that Lady Cotton, my brother George's wife, was delivered of a son.

I was moved by a letter out of France to publish the letter which some time since I sent to Dean Cosin's proselyted son; but I did not conceive it convenient, for fear of displeasing her Majesty, the Queen.

*15th.* I wrote to the Dean, touching my buying his library, which was one of the choicest collections of any private person in England.

The Count de Strade most generously and handsomely sent me the picture of my wife from Dunkirk<sup>b</sup>, in a large tin case, without any charge. It is of Mr. Bourdon, and is that which has the dog in it, and is to the knees, but it has been something spoiled by washing it ignorantly with soap-suds.

*25th.* I went to visit Alderman Kendrick, a fanatic Lord Mayor, who had married a relation of ours, where I met with a Captain who had been thirteen times to the East Indies.

*29th.* Was that celebrated eclipse of the sun, so much threatened by the astrologers, and which had so exceedingly alarmed the whole nation that hardly any one would work, nor stir out of their houses. So ridiculously were they abused by knavish and ignorant star-gazers!

We went this afternoon to see the Queen's house at Greenwich, now given by the rebels to Bulstrode Whitelocke, one of their unhappy counsellors, and keeper of pretended liberties.

*10th May.* Passing by Smithfield, I saw a miserable creature burning, who had murdered her husband. I went to see some workmanship of that admirable artist, Reeves, famous for perspective, and turning curiosities in ivory.

*29th.* I went to give order about a coach to be made against my wife's coming, being my first coach, the pattern whereof I brought out of Paris.

<sup>a</sup> The fountain still remains.

<sup>b</sup> See *ante*, pp. 168,



30th May. I went to obtain of my Lord Devonshire that my nephew, George, might be brought up with my young Lord, his son, to whom I was recommending Mr. Wase. I also inspected the manner of camletting silk and programs at one Monsieur La Dorées in Moor-fields, and thence to Colonel Morley, one of their Council of State, as then called, who had been my schoolfellow, to request a pass for my wife's safe landing, and the goods she was to bring with her out of France; which he courteously granted, and did me many other kindnesses, that was a great matter in those days.

In the afternoon, at Charlton church, where I heard a Rabinical sermon. Here is a fair monument in black marble of Sir Adam Newton<sup>b</sup>, who built that fair house near it for Prince Henry, and where my noble friend, Sir Henry Newton, succeeded him.

3rd June. I received a letter from Colonel Morley to the Magistrates and Searchers at Rye, to assist my wife at her landing, and show her all civility.

4th. I set out to meet her now on her journey from Paris, after she had obtained leave to come out of that city, which had now been besieged some time by the Prince of Condé's army in the time of the rebellion, and after she had been now near twelve years from her own country, that is, since five years of age, at which time she went over. I went to Rye to meet her, where was an embargo on occasion of the late conflict with the Holland fleet, the two nations being now in war, and which made sailing very unsafe.

On Whit Sunday, I went to the church (which is a very fair one), and heard one of the canters, who dismissed the assembly rudely, and without any blessing. Here I stayed till the 10th with no small impatience, when I walked over to survey the ruins of Winchelsea, that ancient cinq-port, which by the remains and ruins of ancient streets and public structures, discovers it to have been formerly a considerable and large city. There are to be seen vast caves and vaults, walls and towers, ruins of monasteries and of a sumptuous church, in which are some handsome monuments, especially of the Templars, buried just in the manner of those in the Temple at London. This place being now all in rubbish, and a few despicable hovels and cottages only standing, hath yet a Mayor. The sea, which formerly rendered it a rich and commodious port, has now forsaken it.

11th. About four in the afternoon, being at bowls on the green, we discovered a vessel which proved to be that in which my wife was, and which got into the harbour about eight that evening, to my no small joy. They had been three days at sea, and escaped the Dutch fleet, through which they passed, taken for fishers, which was great good fortune, there

<sup>a</sup> William, third Earl. He died in 1684. 'My young Lord', with whom Evelyn desired that his nephew George might 'be brought up', was his only son, William, created on the 12th May, 1694, Marquis of Harlington, and Duke of Devonshire. He was also Knight of the Garter and Lord Steward of the Household.

<sup>b</sup> Tutor and afterwards secretary to Henry, Prince of Wales, eldest son of James I, who, in April, 1620, created him a baronet. An admirable scholar. After the death of Prince Henry, Sir Adam Newton was appointed treasurer to Prince Charles, and in 1628 succeeded Lord Brooke as secretary to the Marches of Wales. He died in 1629-30, leaving one son (Evelyn's 'noble friend') Sir Henry Newton, who, on the decease of the last surviving daughter of his uncle, Sir Thomas Pickering, succeeded to his estate and assumed his name.

being seventeen bales of furniture and other rich plunder, which I bless God came all safe to land, together with my wife, and my Lady Browne, her mother, who accompanied her. My wife being discomposed by having been so long at sea, we set not forth towards home till the 14th, when hearing the small-pox was very rife in and about London, and Lady Browne having a desire to drink Tunbridge waters, I carried them thither, and stayed in a very sweet place, private and refreshing, and took the waters myself till the 23rd, when I went to prepare for their reception, leaving them for the present in their little cottage by the Wells.

The weather being hot, and having sent my man on before, I rode negligently under favour of the shade, till, within three miles of Bromley, at a place called the Procession Oak, two cut-throats started out, and striking with long staves at the horse, and taking hold of the reins, threw me down, took my sword, and hauled me into a deep thicket, some quarter of a mile from the highway, where they might securely rob me, as they soon did. What they got of money, was not considerable, but they took two rings, the one an emerald with diamonds, the other an onyx, and a pair of buckles set with rubies and diamonds, which were of value, and after all bound my hands behind me, and my feet, having before pulled off my boots; they then set me up against an oak, with most bloody threats to cut my throat if I offered to cry out, or make any noise; for they should be within hearing, I not being the person they looked for. I told them that if they had not basely surprised me they should not have had so easy a prize, and that it would teach me never to ride near a hedge, since, had I been in the mid-way, they durst not have adventured on me; at which they cocked their pistols, and told me they had long guns, too, and were fourteen companions. I begged for my onyx, and told them it being engraved with my arms would betray them; but nothing prevailed. My horse's bridle they slipped, and searched the saddle, which they pulled off, but let the horse graze, and then turning again bridled him and tied him to a tree, yet so as he might graze, and thus left me bound. My horse was perhaps not taken, because he was marked and cropped on both ears, and well known on that road. Left in this manner, grievously was I tormented with flies, ants, and the sun, nor was my anxiety little how I should get loose in that solitary place, where I could neither hear nor see any creature but my poor horse and a few sheep straggling in the copse.

After near two hours attempting, I got my hands to turn palm to palm, having been tied back to back, and then it was long before I could slip the cord over my wrists to my thumb, which at last I did, and then soon unbound my feet, and saddling my horse and roaming a while about, I at last perceived dust to rise, and soon after heard the rattling of a cart, towards which I made, and, by the help of two countrymen, I got back into the highway. I rode to Colonel Blount's, a great justiciary of the times, who sent out hue and cry immediately. The next morning, sore as my wrists and arms were, I went to London, and got 500 tickets printed and dispersed by an officer of Goldsmiths' Hall, and within two days had tidings of all I had lost, except my sword, which had a silver hilt, and some trifles. The rogues had pawned one of my rings for a trifle to a goldsmith's servant, before the tickets came to the shop, by which means they escaped; the other ring was bought by a victualler, who brought it to a goldsmith, but he having seen the ticket seized the man. I after-



wards discharged him on his protestation of innocence. Thus did God deliver me from these villains, and not only so, but restored what they took, as twice before he had graciously done, both at sea and land; I mean when I had been robbed by pirates, and was in danger of a considerable loss at Amsterdam; for which, and many, many signal preservations, I am extremely obliged to give thanks to God my Saviour.

*25th June.* After a drought of near four months, there fell so violent a tempest of hail, rain, wind, thunder, and lightning, as no man had seen the like in his age; the hail being in some places four or five inches about, brake all glass about London, especially at Deptford, and more at Greenwich.

*29th.* I returned to Tunbridge, and again drank the water, till 10th July.

We went to see the house of my Lord Clanrickarde at Summer-hill, near Tunbridge (now given to that villain, Bradshawe, who condemned the King). 'Tis situated on an eminent hill, with a park; but has nothing else extraordinary.

*4th July.* I heard a sermon at Mr. Packer's chapel at Groomsbridge<sup>a</sup>, a pretty melancholy seat, well wooded and watered. In this house was one of the French Kings<sup>b</sup> kept prisoner. The chapel was built by Mr. Packer's father, in remembrance of King Charles the First's safe return out of Spain<sup>c</sup>.

*9th.* We went to see Penshurst, the Earl of Leicester's, famous once for its gardens and excellent fruit, and for the noble conversation which was wont to meet there, celebrated by that illustrious person, Sir Philip Sidney, who there composed divers of his pieces. It stands in a park, is finely watered, and was now full of company, on the marriage of my old fellow collegiate, Mr. Robert Smith, who married my Lady Dorothy Sidney<sup>d</sup>, widow of the Earl of Sunderland.

One of the men who robbed me was taken; I was accordingly summoned to appear against him; and, on the 12th, was in Westminster Hall, but not being bound over, nor willing to hang the fellow, I did not appear, coming only to save a friend's bail; but the bill being found, he was turned over to the Old Bailey. In the mean time, I received a petition from the prisoner, whose father I understood was an honest old farmer in Kent. He was charged with other crimes, and condemned, but reprieved. I heard afterwards that, had it not been for his companion, a younger man, he would probably have killed me. He was afterwards charged with some other crime, but, refusing to plead, was pressed to death.

*23rd.* Came my old friend, Mr. Spencer, to visit me.

*30th.* I took advice about purchasing Sir Richard's [Browne] interest of those who had bought Sayes Court.

*1st August.* Came old Jerome Lennier, of Greenwich, a man skilled in painting and music, and another rare musician, called Mell. I went

<sup>a</sup> In the parish of Speldhurst, in Kent, four miles from Tunbridge. Mr. Packer was Clerk of the Privy Seal to Charles I.

<sup>b</sup> The Duke of Orleans, taken at the battle of Agincourt, 4 Hen. V, by Richard Waller, then owner of this place. See Hasted's *Kent*, vol. i. p. 431.

<sup>c</sup> With this inscription (according to Hasted, i. p. 432) over the door, 'D. O. M. 1625, ob felicissimum Caroli Principis ex Hispaniâ reditum Sacellum hoc D. D. I. P. '; and over it the device of the Prince of Wales.

<sup>d</sup> Waller's Sacharissa, daughter of Philip, Earl of Leiceste

to see his collection of pictures, especially those of Julio Romano, which surely had been the King's, and an Egyptian figure, &c. There were also excellent things of Polydore, Guido, Raphael, and Tintoretto. Lennier had been a domestic of Queen Elizabeth, and showed me her head, an intaglio in a rare sardonyx, cut by a famous Italian, which he assured me was exceeding like her.

24th August. My first child, a son, was born precisely at one o'clock.

2nd September. Mr. Owen, the sequestered divine, of Eltham, christened my son by the name of Richard.

22nd. I went to Woodcote, where Lady Browne was taken with a scarlet fever, and died. She was carried to Deptford, and interred in the church near Sir Richard's relations with all decent ceremonies, and according to the church-office, for which I obtained permission, after it had not been used in that church for seven years. Thus ended an excellent and virtuous lady, universally lamented, having been so obliging on all occasions to those who continually frequented her house in Paris, which was not only an hospital, but an asylum to all our persecuted and afflicted countrymen, during eleven years' residence there in that honourable situation.

25th. I went to see Dr. Mason's house, so famous for the prospect (for the house is a wretched one) and description of Barclay's *Icon Animarum*<sup>a</sup>.

5th November. To London, to visit some friends, but the insolences were so great in the streets that I could not return till the next day.

Dr. Scarborough<sup>b</sup> was instant with me to give the Tables of Veins and Arteries to the College of Physicians, pretending he would not only read upon them, but celebrate my curiosity as being the first who caused them to be completed in that manner, and with that cost; but I was not so willing yet to part with them, as to lend them to the College during their anatomical lectures; which I did accordingly.

22nd. I went to London, where was proposed to me the promoting that great work (since accomplished by Dr. Walton, Bishop of Chester), *Biblia Polyglotta*, by Mr. Pierson, that most learned divine.

25th December. Christmas-day, no sermon anywhere, no church being permitted to be open, so observed it at home. The next day, we went to Lewisham, where an honest divine preached.

31st. I adjusted all accompts, and rendered thanks to Almighty God for his mercies to me the year past.

<sup>a</sup> The book here referred to is in the British Museum, entitled *Joannis Barclaii Icon Animarum*, and printed at London, 1614, small 12mo. It is written in Latin, and dedicated to Lewis XIII of France, for what reason does not appear, the author speaking of himself as a subject of this country. It mentions the necessity of forming the minds of youth, as a skilful gardener forms his trees; the different dispositions of men, in different nations; English, Scotch, and Irish, &c. Chapter second contains a florid description of the beautiful scenery about Greenwich, but does not mention Dr. Mason, or his house.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Charles Scarborough was educated at Caius College, Cambridge, where he obtained a Fellowship. He afterwards studied medicine; but making himself too conspicuous as a Royalist during the troubles, was deprived of his Fellowship, and found it necessary to retire to Oxford. Subsequently he practised in London as a physician, and at the Restoration received the honour of knighthood, and was named one of the King's physicians. He succeeded Harvey at Surgeons' Hall as lecturer. See *Correspondence*.



1st January, 1652-3. I set apart in preparation for the Blessed Sacrament, which the next day Mr. Owen administered to me and all my family in Sayes Court, preaching on *John* vi. 32, 33, showing the exceeding benefits of our Blessed Saviour taking our nature upon him. He had christened my son and churchd my wife in our own house as before noticed.

17th. I began to set out the oval garden at Sayes Court, which was before a rude orchard, and all the rest one entire field of 100 acres, without any hedge, except the hither holly-hedge joining to the bank of the mount walk. This was the beginning of all the succeeding gardens, walks, groves, enclosures, and plantations there.

21st. I went to London, and sealed some of the writings of my purchase of Sayes Court.

30th. At our own parish-church, a stranger preached. There was now and then an honest orthodox man got into the pulpit, and, though the present incumbent was somewhat of the Independent, yet he ordinarily preached sound doctrine, and was a peaceable man; which was an extraordinary felicity in this age.

1st February. Old Alexander Rosse (author of *Virgilius Evangelizans*, and many other little books) presented me with his book against Mr. Hobbes's *Leviathan*.

19th. I planted the orchard at Sayes Court; new moon, wind west.

22nd. Was perfected the sealing, livery and seisin of my purchase of Sayes Court. My brother, George Glanville, Mr. Scudamore, Mr. Offley, Co. William Glanville (son to Serjeant Glanville, sometime Speaker of the House of Commons), Co. Stephens, and several of my friends dining with me. I had bargained for 3200*l.*, but I paid 3500*l.*

25th March. Came to see me that rare graver in *taille-douce*, Monsieur Richett; he was sent by Cardinal Mazarine to make a collection of pictures.

11th April. I went to take the air in Hyde Park, where every coach was made to pay a shilling, and horse sixpence, by the sordid fellow who had purchased it of the State, as they called it.

17th May. My servant Hoare, who wrote those exquisite several hands, fell of a fit of an apoplexy, caused, as I suppose, by tampering with ☿ (mercury) about an experiment in gold.

29th. I went to London, to take my last leave of my honest friend, Mr. Barton, now dying; it was a great loss to me and to my affairs. On the sixth of June, I attended his funeral.

8th June. Came my brother George, Captain Evelyn, the great traveller, Mr. Muschamp, my cousin, Thomas Keightly, and a virtuoso, fantastical Simons<sup>a</sup>, who had the talent of embossing so to the life.

9th. I went to visit my worthy neighbour, Sir Henry Newton [at Charlton], and consider the prospect, which is doubtless for city, river, ships, meadows, hill, woods, and all other amenities, one of the most noble in the world; so as, had the house running water, it were a princely seat. Mr. Henshaw and his brother-in-law came to visit me, and he presented me with a seleniscope.

19th. This day, I paid all my debts to a farthing; oh, blessed day!

<sup>a</sup> Thomas Simons, a strange eccentric person, but a most excellent modeller after life, and engraver of medals.

21st June. My Lady Gerrard, and one Esquire Knight, a very rich gentleman, living in Northamptonshire, visited me.

23rd. Mr. Lombart, a famous graver, came to see my collections.

27th. M<sup>onsieur</sup> Roupel sent me a small phial of his *aurum potable*, with a letter, showing the way of administering it, and the stupendous cures it had done at Paris; but, ere it came to me, by what accident I know not, it was all run out.

17th August. I went to visit Mr. Hyldiard, at his house at Horsley (formerly the great Sir Walter Raleigh's<sup>a</sup>), where met me Mr. Oughtred, the famous mathematician; he showed me a box, or golden case, of divers rich and aromatic balsams, which a chymist, a scholar of his, had sent him out of Germany.

21st. I heard that good old man, Mr. Higham, the parson of the parish of Wotton, where I was born, and who had baptised me, preach after his very plain way on *Luke*, comparing this troublesome world to the sea, the ministers to the fishermen, and the saints to the fish.

22nd. We all went to Guildford, to rejoice at the famous inn, the Red Lion, and to see the Hospital, and the monument of Archbishop Abbot, the founder, who lies buried in the chapel of his endowment.

28th September. At Greenwich preached that holy martyr, Dr. Hewer, on *Psalms* xc. 11, magnifying the grace of God to penitents, and threatening the extinction of his Gospel light for the prodigious impiety of the age.

11th October. My son, John Stansfield, was born, being my second child, and christened by the name of my mother's father, that name now quite extinct, being of Cheshire. Christened by Mr. Owen, in my library at Sayes Court, where he afterwards churched my wife, I always making use of him on these occasions, because the parish minister durst not have officiated according to the form and usage of the Church of England, to which I always adhered.

25th. Mr. Owen preached in my library at Sayes Court on *Luke* xviii. 7, 8, an excellent discourse on the unjust judge, showing why Almighty God would sometimes be compared by such similitudes. He afterwards administered to us all the Holy Sacrament.

28th. Went to London, to visit my Lady Gerrard, where I saw that cursed woman called the Lady Norton, of whom it was reported that she spit in our King's face as he went to the scaffold. Indeed, her talk and discourse was like an impudent woman.

21st November. I went to London, to speak with Sir John Evelyn, my kinsman, about the purchase of an estate of Mr. Lambard's at Westeram, which afterwards Sir John himself bought for his son-in-law, Leech.

4th December. Going this day to our church, I was surprised to see a tradesman, a mechanic, step up; I was resolved yet to stay and see what he would make of it. His text was from 2 *Sam.* xxiii. 20: 'And Benaiah went down also and slew a lion in the midst of a pit in the time of snow': the purport was, that no danger was to be thought difficult when God called for shedding of blood, inferring that now the saints were called to destroy temporal governments; with such feculent stuff; so dangerous a crisis were things grown to.

<sup>a</sup> Evelyn is here in error: Mr. Hyldiard was of East Horsley, Sir Walter of West.



25th December. Christmas-day. No churches, or public assembly. I was fain to pass the devotions of that Blessed day with my family at home.

1653-4. 20th January. Come to see my old acquaintance and the most incomparable player on the Irish harp, Mr. Clark<sup>a</sup>, after his travels. He was an excellent musician, a discreet gentleman, born in Devonshire (as I remember). Such music before or since did I never hear, that instrument being neglected for its extraordinary difficulty ; but, in my judgment, far superior to the lute itself, or whatever speaks with strings.

25th. Died my son, J. Stansfield, of convulsion-fits ; buried at Deptford on the east corner of the church, near his mother's great-grandfather, and other relatives.

8th February. Ash-Wednesday. In contradiction to all custom and decency, the usurper, Cromwell, feasted at the Lord Mayor's, riding in triumph through the city.

14th. I saw a tame lion play familiarly with a lamb ; he was a huge beast, and I thrust my hand into his mouth and found his tongue rough like a cat's ; a sheep also with six legs, which made use of five of them to walk ; a goose that had four legs, two crops, and as many vents.

29th March. That excellent man, Mr. Owen, preached in my library on *Matt.* xxviii. 6, a resurrection-sermon, and after it we all received the Holy Communion.

6th April. Came my Lord Herbert, Sir Kenelm Digby, Mr. Denham, and other friends, to see me.

15th. I went to London, to hear the famous Dr. Jeremy Taylor (since Bishop of Down and Connor) at St. Gregory's (near St. Paul's) on *Matt.* vi. 48, concerning evangelical perfection.

5th May. I bound my lackey, Thomas Headly, apprentice to a carpenter, giving with him five pounds and new clothing ; he thrived very well, and became rich.

8th. I went to Hackney, to see Lady Brook's garden, which was one of the neatest and most celebrated in England, the house well furnished, but a despicable building. Returning, visited one Mr. Tomb's garden ; it has large and noble walks, some modern statues, a vineyard, planted in strawberry borders, staked at ten feet distances ; the banqueting-house of cedar, where the couch and seats were carved *à l'antique* ; some good pictures in the house, especially one of Vandyke's, being a man in his shirt ; also some of Stenwyck. I also called at Mr. Ducie's, who has indeed a rare collection of the best masters, and one of the largest stores of H. Holbein. I also saw Sir Thomas Fowler's aviary, which is a poor business.

10th. My Lady Gerrard treated us at Mulberry Garden<sup>b</sup>, now the only place of refreshment about the town for persons of the best quality to be exceedingly cheated at ; Cromwell and his partisans having shut up and

<sup>a</sup> See under the year 1688, November.

<sup>b</sup> Mulberry Garden stood on the site of what is now Buckingham Palace and Gardens, a garden of mulberry trees having been planted there by James the First. The houses which preceded Buckingham Palace on the site, were Goring House, Arlington House, and the Queen's House, the latter having been pulled down to erect the present building. Sedley made the Mulberry Garden the subject of a comedy, and it was not closed, as a place of entertainment, until the date of Charles the Second's grant of it to Bennet, Earl of Arlington, in 1673.

seized on Spring Garden, which, till now, had been the usual rendezvous for the ladies and gallants at this season.

11th May. I now observed how the women began to paint themselves, formerly a most ignominious thing, and used only by prostitutes.

14th. There being no such thing as church-anniversaries in the parochial assemblies, I was forced to provide at home for Whit Sunday.

15th. Came Sir Robert Stapylton, the translator of *Juvenal*, to visit me<sup>a</sup>.

8th June. My wife and I set out in a coach and four horses, in our way to visit relations of hers in Wiltshire, and other parts, where we resolved to spend some months. We dined at Windsor, saw the Castle and Chapel of St. George, where they have laid our blessed Martyr, King Charles, in the *vault just before the altar*. The church and workmanship in stone is admirable. The Castle itself is large in circumference; but the rooms melancholy, and of ancient magnificence. The keep, or mount, hath, besides its incomparable prospect, a very profound well; and the terrace towards Eton, with the park, meandering Thames, and sweet meadows, yield one of the most delightful prospects. That night, we lay at Reading. Saw my Lord Craven's<sup>b</sup> house at Causam [Caversham], now in ruins, his goodly woods felling by the Rebels.

9th. Dined at Marlborough, which having been lately fired, was now new built. At one end of this town, we saw my Lord Seymour's house, but nothing observable save the Mount, to which we ascended by windings for near half a mile. It seems to have been cast up by hand. We passed by Colonel Popham's, a noble seat, park, and river. Thence, to Newbury, a considerable town, and Donnington, famous for its battle, siege, and castle; this last had been in the possession of old Geoffrey Chaucer. Then to Aldermaston, a house of Sir Humphrey Forster's, built *à la moderne*. Also, that exceedingly beautiful seat of my Lord Pembroke, on the ascent of a hill, flanked with wood, and regarding the river; and so, at night, to Cadenham, the mansion of Edward Hungerford, Esq., uncle to my wife, where we made some stay. The rest of the week we did nothing but feast and make good cheer, to welcome my wife.

27th. We all went to see Bath, where I bathed in the cross bath. Among the rest of the idle diversions of the town, one musician was famous for acting a changeling, which indeed he personated strangely.

The facciata of this cathedral is remarkable for its historical carving. The King's Bath is esteemed the fairest in Europe. The town is entirely

A member of a Yorkshire Catholic family, who obtained the post of Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Prince Charles (Charles II), occasionally varying his duties by fighting against the Parliamentarians and writing books. For his services at Edgehill, Charles I conferred on him the honour of knighthood; and, at about the same period, he was made LL.D. at Oxford. At the Restoration, Sir Robert Stapylton appeared as a writer of plays, poems, and translations. He died in 1669.

<sup>b</sup> William, eldest son of Sir William Craven, Lord Mayor of London, who, after a good deal of service under Gustavus Adolphus and Henry Prince of Orange, distinguished himself against the forces of the Parliament, and was created by Charles I, in 1663, Viscount and Earl Craven. He survived all the changes of the government, and, in the latter years of his life, acquired some celebrity from an odd peculiarity of taste. He was so sure to be at any conflagration that occurred in London, that the people said his horse 'smelt a fire as soon as it happened'. He died, April 9th, 1697, at the advanced age of eighty-eight.

<sup>c</sup> Now the famous inn there.



built of stone, but the streets narrow, uneven, and unpleasant. Here, we trifled and bathed, and inter-visited with the company who frequent the place for health, till the 30th, and then went to Bristol, a city emulating London, not for its large extent, but manner of building, shops, bridge, traffic, exchange, market-place, &c. The governor showed us the castle, of no great concernment. The city wholly mercantile, as standing near the famous Severn, commodiously for Ireland, and the Western world. Here, I first saw the manner of refining sugar and casting it into loaves, where we had a collection of eggs fried in the sugar furnace<sup>a</sup>, together with excellent Spanish wine. But, what appeared most stupendous to me, was the rock of St. Vincent, a little distance from the town, the precipice whereof is equal to anything of that nature I have seen in the most confragose cataracts of the Alps, the river gliding between them at an extraordinary depth. Here, we went searching for diamonds, and to the Hot Wells, at its foot. There is also on the side of this horrid Alp a very romantic seat: and so we returned to Bath in the evening, and July 1 to Cadenham.

4th July. On a letter from my wife's uncle, Mr. Pretymen, I waited back on her to London, passing by Hungerford, a town famous for its trouts, and the next day arrived at Deptford, which was 60 miles, in the extremity of heat.

6th. I went early to London, and the following day met my wife and company at Oxford, the Eve of the Act.

8th. Was spent in hearing several exercises in the schools; and, after dinner, the Proctor opened the Act at St. Mary's (according to custom), and the Prevaricators, their drollery. Then, the Doctors disputed. We supped at Wadham College.

9th. Dr. French preached at St. Mary's, on *Matt.* xii. 42, advising the students the search after true wisdom, not to be had in the books of philosophers, but in the Scriptures alone. In the afternoon, the famous Independent, Dr. Owen, perstringeing<sup>b</sup> Episcopacy. He was now Cromwell's Vice-Chancellor. We dined with Dr. Ward, Mathematical Professor (since Bishop of Sarum)<sup>c</sup>, and at night supped in Baliol College Hall,

<sup>a</sup> A kind of entertainment like the more modern one of eating beef-steaks dressed on the stoker's shovel, and drinking porter, at the famous brewhouses in London.

<sup>b</sup> From the Latin verb *perstringo*, to graze or brush, to glance on.

<sup>c</sup> Seth Ward, the son of an attorney, was born in 1617, at Buntingford, in Hertfordshire, and finished his education at Sidney College, Cambridge, where he obtained a fellowship, but was expelled the university in 1644, for refusing the covenant. Oxford, as usual, received him; where he succeeded Greaves, the Savilian Professor of Astronomy; and in 1654, obtained the degree of Doctor of Divinity. He was intimately acquainted with the abstract sciences, and was one of that limited band of scholars at whose meetings first arose the idea of the Royal Society, in which Evelyn took so deep an interest and so active a part. He was elected Master of Trinity in 1659, which, however, he resigned, when presented with the Rectory of St. Lawrence Jewry, London. In succession he also became Precentor of Exeter, Dean, and Bishop, from which see, in 1667, he was translated to Salisbury, and was named Chancellor of the Order of the Garter. Dr. Ward wrote numerous works illustrative of mathematical science and of astronomy, and opposed Hobbes in a Latin Treatise: he also published several sermons, and a *Philosophical Essay on the Being and Attributes of God*. He died in 1689, having for some years outlived his faculties.

where I had once been student and fellow-commoner, and where they made me extraordinarily welcome.

10th July. On Monday, I went again to the schools, to hear the several faculties, and in the afternoon tarried out the whole Act in St. Mary's, the long speeches of the Proctors, the Vice-Chancellor, the several Professors, creation of Doctors, by the cap, ring, kiss, &c., those ancient ceremonies and institution being as yet not wholly abolished. Dr. Kendal, now Inceptor amongst others, performing his Act incomparably well, concluded it with an excellent oration, abating his Presbyterian animosities, which he withheld, not even against that learned and pious divine, Dr. Hammond. The Act was closed with the speech of the Vice-Chancellor, there being but four in theology, and three in medicine, which was thought a considerable matter, the times considered. I dined at one Monsieur Fiat's, a student of Exeter College, and supped at a magnificent entertainment of Wadham Hall, invited by my dear and excellent friend, Dr. Wilkins<sup>a</sup>, then Warden (after, Bishop of Chester).

<sup>a</sup> John Wilkins was the son of an Oxford goldsmith, and was born in 1614, at Paisley, near Daventry, in the house of his grandfather, John Dodd, a celebrated nonconformist divine, and author of a work on *The Commandments*, which obtained him the name of the Decalogist. Young Wilkins was educated at Oxford, for the ministry, matriculated at New Inn Hall, in 1627, and afterwards graduated at Magdalen Hall. Aubrey says he was as eager for experimental philosophy at Oxford as Lord Bacon had been at Cambridge. As a divine he was early in repute, and received the domestic chaplaincy of the Count Palatine of the Rhine; but this did not prevent him from subsequently adopting the covenant. He then took part with the republic, and by his discourses entirely gained the confidence of its leaders; through whose influence he was elected head of Wadham College, and, obtaining a privilege to dispense with the condition of celibacy attached to that particular mastership, married in 1656, Robinia, the sister of Oliver Cromwell. Even his popular sympathies, however, failed to withdraw him from the cultivation of science; for at the most troubled period preceding the execution of Charles, he established a philosophical club, held weekly at the Bull's Head Tavern, Cheapside, of which the principal rule was a prohibition of 'all discourses of divinity, of state affairs, and of news, other than what concerned our business of philosophy.' Again assisted by his wife's relations, in 1659, he was appointed to the headship of Trinity College, Cambridge; but this proved the last of their good offices, the restoration of the King ensuing in the following year. Dr. Wilkins had meanwhile propitiated the Church party by acts of care and kindness for the privileges of his university while he was in power, and he had no difficulty, when he had intimated the necessary change in his opinions, in obtaining the favour of Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and the means of Church advancement. He was first appointed preacher to the societies of Gray's Inn; then rector of St. Lawrence, Old Jewry; afterwards dean of Ripon; and finally, in 1668, Bishop of Chester. In the course of these duties he found leisure to write several works, both scientific and religious; and no one acquainted with the peculiarities of thinking in his age, will consider it any grave imputation on his love for philosophy and practical science that he should have advocated the practicability of a passage to the moon, in a work published in 1638, under the title of *The Discovery of a New World, or a Discourse on the World in the Moon*, which he followed in 1640 with a treatise striving to prove the earth a new planet. His other scientific writings were entitled *Mercury, or the Secret and Swift Messenger*, published in 1641; *Mathematical Magic, or the Wonders to be performed by Mechanical Geometry*, published in 1648; and *An Essay towards a real Character and Philosophical Language*. His religious works were *Ecclesiastes, or the gift of Preaching*, *A Discourse concerning Provi-*



11th July. Was the Latin sermon, which I could not be at, though invited, being taken up at All Souls, where we had music, voices, and theorbos, performed by some ingenious scholars. After dinner, I visited that miracle of a youth, Mr. Christopher Wren, nephew to the Bishop of Ely. Then Mr. Barlow (since Bishop of Lincoln), bibliothecarius of the Bodleian Library, my most learned friend. He showed us the rarities of that most famous place, manuscripts, medals, and other curiosities. Among the MSS. an old English Bible, wherein the Eunuch mentioned to be baptized by Philip, is called the Gelding: 'and Philip and the Gelding went down into the water', &c. The original Acts of the Council of Basil 900 years since, with the bulla, or leaden affix, which has a silken cord passing through every parchment; a MS. of Venerable Bede of 800 years antiquity; the old Ritual *secundum usum Sarum*, exceeding voluminous; then, among the nicer curiosities, the Proverbs of Solomon, written in French by a lady<sup>a</sup>, every chapter of a several character, or hand, the most exquisite imaginable; an hieroglyphical table, or carta, folded up like a map, I suppose it painted on asses' hide, extremely rare; but, what is most illustrious, there were no less than 1000 MSS., in nineteen languages, especially oriental, furnishing that new part of the library built by Archbishop Laud, from a design of Sir Kenelm Digby and the Earl of Pembroke. In the closet of the tower, they show some Indian weapons, urns, lamps, &c., but the rarest is the whole Alcoran, written on one large sheet of calico, made up in a priest's vesture, or cope, after the Turkish and Arabic character, so exquisitely written, as no printed letter comes near it: also, a roll of magical charms, divers talismans, and some medals.

Then, I led my wife into the Convocation-House, finely wainscoted; the Divinity School, and Gothic carved roof; the Physic, or Anatomy School, adorned with some rarities of natural things; but nothing extraordinary save the skin of a jackal, a rarely-coloured jackatoo, or prodigious large parrot, two humming birds, not much bigger than our humble-bee, which indeed I had not seen before, that I remember.

12th. We went to St. John's, saw the library and the two skeletons, which are finely cleansed and put together; observable is here also the store of mathematical instruments, chiefly given by the late Archbishop Laud, who built here a handsome quadrangle.

Thence, we went to New College, where the chapel was in its ancient garb, notwithstanding the scrupulosity of the times. Thence, to Christ's Church, in whose library was showed us an Office of Henry VIII, the writing, miniatures, and gilding whereof is equal, if not surpassing, any curiosity I

dence, an essay *On the Principles and Duties of Natural Religion*, and another *On the Gift of Prayer*. Bishop Wilkins also materially assisted in the establishment of the Royal Society (the first germ of which may be said to have existed in the Bull's Head Club); and devoted himself to the advancement of religion and science till his death, which took place November 19, 1672, in Chancery Lane, at the house of his daughter, who had married a still more eminent member of the church, Dr. (afterwards Archbishop) Tillotson. Evelyn was strongly attached to Wilkins, notwithstanding his early connection with the revolutionary party; and the feeling was more than justified by the many estimable qualities of this remarkable man.

<sup>a</sup> Mrs. Esther Inglish, married to Bartholomew Kello, rector of Willingham Spain, in Essex. An account of her curious penmanship is given in Massey's *Origin and Progress of Letters*.

had seen of that kind ; it was given by their founder, Cardinal Wolsey. The glass windows of the cathedral (famous in my time) I found much abused. The ample hall and column, that spreads its capital to sustain the roof as one goes up the stairs, is very remarkable.

Next, we walked to Magdalen College, where we saw the library and chapel, which was likewise in pontifical order, the altar only I think turned tablewise, and there was still the double organ, which abominations (as now esteemed) were almost universally demolished ; Mr. Gibbon, that famous musician, giving us a taste of his skill and talents on that instrument.

Hence, to the Physic Garden, where the sensitive plant was showed us for a great wonder. There grew canes, olive-trees, rhubarb, but no extraordinary curiosities, besides very good fruit, which, when the ladies had tasted, we returned in our coach to our lodgings.

*13th July.* We all dined at that most obliging and universally-curious Dr. Wilkins's, at Wadham College. He was the first who showed me the transparent apiaries, which he had built like castles and palaces, and so ordered them one upon another, as to take the honey without destroying the bees. These were adorned with a variety of dials, little statues, vanes, &c. ; and, he was so abundantly civil, finding me pleased with them, to present me with one of the hives which he had empty, and which I afterwards had in my garden at Sayes Court, where it continued many years, and which his Majesty came on purpose to see and contemplate with much satisfaction. He had also contrived a hollow statue, which gave a voice and uttered words by a long concealed pipe that went to its mouth<sup>a</sup>, whilst one speaks through it at a good distance. He had, above in his lodgings and gallery, variety of shadows, dials, perspectives, and many other artificial, mathematical, and magical curiosities, a way-wiser, a thermometer, a monstrous magnet, conic, and other sections, a balance on a demi-circle ; most of them of his own, and that prodigious young scholar Mr. Christopher Wren ; who presented me with a piece of white marble, which he had stained with a lively red, very deep, as beautiful as if it had been natural.

Thus satisfied with the civilities of Oxford, we left it, dining at Farrington, a town which had been newly fired during the wars ; and, passing near the seat of Sir Walter Pye, we came to Cadenham.

*16th.* We went to another uncle and relative of my wife's, Sir John Glanville, a famous lawyer, formerly Speaker of the House of Commons ; his seat is at Broad Hinton, where he now lived but in the Gatehouse, his very fair dwelling-house having been burnt by his own hands, to prevent the rebels making a garrison of it. Here, my cousin William Glanville's eldest son shewed me such a lock for a door, that for its filing, and rare contrivances was a masterpiece, yet made by a country blacksmith<sup>b</sup>. But, we have seen watches made by another with as much curiosity as the best of that profession can brag of ; and, not many years after, there was nothing more frequent than all sorts of iron-work more

<sup>a</sup> Such were the speaking figures long ago exhibited in Spring Gardens, and in Leicester Fields.

<sup>b</sup> A similar lock is still shown at Hampden, affixed to the door of the room (one of the few still remaining of the older building) which the patriot is said to have occupied and slept in.



exquisitely wrought and polished than in any part of Europe, so as a door-lock of a tolerable price was esteemed a curiosity even among foreign princes.

Went back to Cadenham, and, on the 19th, to Sir Edward Baynton's at Spie Park, a place capable of being made a noble seat ; but the humorous old knight has built a long single house of two low stories on the precipice of an incomparable prospect, and landing on a bowling-green in the park. The house is like a long barn, and has not a window on the prospect side. After dinner, they went to bowls, and, in the meantime, our coachmen were made so exceeding drunk, that in returning home we escaped great dangers. This, it seems, was by order of the Knight, that all gentlemen's servants be so treated ; but the custom is barbarous, and much unbecoming a Knight, still less a Christian.

20th July. We proceeded to Salisbury ; the Cathedral I take to be the completest piece of Gothic work in Europe, taken in all its uniformity. The pillars, reputed to be cast, are of stone manifestly cut out of the quarry ; most observable are those in the chapter-house. There are some remarkable monuments, particularly the ancient Bishops, founders of the Church, Knights Templars, the Marquis of Hertford's, the cloisters of the palace and garden, and the great mural dial.

In the afternoon we went to Wilton, a fine house of the Earl of Pembroke, in which the most observable are the dining-room in the modern-built part towards the garden, richly gilded and painted with story, by De Crete ; also, some other apartments, as that of hunting landscapes, by Pierce<sup>a</sup> : some magnificent chimney-pieces, after the best French manner ; a pair of artificial winding-stairs, of stone, and divers rare pictures. The garden, heretofore esteemed the noblest in England, is a large handsome plain, with a grotto and water-works, which might be made much more pleasant, were the river that passes through cleansed and raised ; for all is effected by a mere force. It has a flower garden, not inelegant. But, after all, that which renders the seat delightful is, its being so near the downs and noble plains about the country contiguous to it. The stables are well ordered and yield a graceful front, by reason of the walks of lime-trees, with the court and fountain of the stables adorned with the Cæsars' heads.

We returned this evening by the plain, and 14-mile race, where out of my lord's hare-warren we were entertained with a long course of a hare for near two miles in sight. Near this, is a *pergola*, or stand, built to view the sports : and so we came to Salisbury, and saw the most considerable parts of the city. The market-place, with most of the streets, are watered by a quick current and pure stream running through the middle of them, but are negligently kept, when with a small charge they might be purged and rendered infinitely agreeable, and this made one of the sweetest towns, but now the common buildings are despicable, and the streets dirty.

22nd. We departed and dined at a farm of my Uncle Hungerford's, called Darnford Magna, situated in a valley under the plain, most sweetly watered, abounding in trouts caught by spear in the night, when they come attracted by a light set in the stern of a boat.

After dinner, continuing our return, we passed over the goodly plain,

<sup>a</sup> Edward Pierce, a celebrated painter of history, landscape, and architecture, who worked under Vandyke. He died a few years after the Restoration. One of his sons, John, was also a painter.

or rather sea of carpet, which I think for evenness, extent, verdure, and innumerable flocks, to be one of the most delightful prospects in nature, and reminded me of the pleasant lives of shepherds we read of in romances.

Now we were arrived at Stone-henge, indeed a stupendous monument, appearing at a distance like a castle ; how so many and huge pillars of stone should have been brought together, some erect, others transverse on the tops of them, in a circular area as rudely representing a cloister or heathen and more natural temple, is wonderful. The stone is so exceeding hard, that all my strength with a hammer could not break a fragment ; which hardness I impute to their so long exposure. To number them exactly is very difficult, they lie in such variety of postures and confusion, though they seemed not to exceed 100 ; we counted only 95. As to their being brought thither, there being no navigable river near, is by some admired ; but for the stone, there seems to be the same kind about 20 miles distant, some of which appear above ground. About the same hills, are divers mounts raised, conceived to be ancient entrenchments, or places of burial, after bloody fights. We now went by the Devizes, a reasonable large town, and came late to Cadenham.

*27th July.* To the hunting of a sorel deer, and had excellent chase for four or five hours, but the venison little worth.

*29th.* I went to Langford, to see my cousin Stephens. I also saw Dryfield, the house heretofore of Sir John Prettyman, grandfather to my wife, and sold by her uncle ; both the seat and house very honourable and well-built, much after the modern fashion.

*31st.* Taking leave of Cadenham, where we had been long and nobly entertained, we went a compass into Leicestershire, where dwelt another relation of my wife's ; for I indeed made these excursions to show her the most considerable parts of her native country, who, from her childhood, had lived altogether in France, as well as for my own curiosity and information.

About two miles before coming to Gloucester, we have a prospect from woody hills into a most goodly vale and country. Gloucester is a handsome city, considerable for the church and monuments. The minster is indeed a noble fabric. The whispering gallery is rare, being through a passage of twenty-five yards, in a many-angled cloister, and was, I suppose, either to show the skill of the architect, or some invention of a cunning priest, who, standing unseen in a recess in the middle of the chapel, might hear whatever was spoken at either end. This is above the choir, in which lies buried King Stephen<sup>a</sup> under a monument of Irish oak, not ill carved considering the age. The new library is a noble though a private design. I was likewise pleased with the Severn gliding so sweetly by it. The Duke's house, the castle works, are now almost quite dismantled ; nor yet without sad thoughts did I see the town, considering how fatal the siege had been a few years before to our good King.

*1st August.* We set out towards Worcester, by a way thick planted with cider-fruit. We deviated to the Holy Wells, trickling out of a valley through a steep declivity towards the foot of the great Malvern Hills ; they are said to heal many infirmities, as king's evil, leprosy, sore eyes, &c. Ascending a great height above them to the trench dividing England from South Wales, we had the prospect of all Herefordshire, Radnor,

<sup>a</sup> King Stephen was buried at Faversham. The effigy Evelyn alludes to is that of Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy.



Brecknock, Monmouth, Worcester, Gloucester, Shropshire, Warwick, Derbyshire, and many more. We could discern Tewkesbury, King's-road, towards Bristol, &c. ; so as I esteem it one of the goodliest vistas in England.

*2nd August.* This evening we arrived at Worcester, the Judges of Assize and Sheriff just entering as we did. Viewing the town the next day, we found the Cathedral much ruined by the late wars, otherwise a noble structure. The town is neatly paved and very clean, the goodly river Severn running by it, and standing in a most fertile country.

*3rd.* We passed next through Warwick, and saw the castle, the dwelling-house of the Lord Brook, and the furniture noble. It is built on an eminent rock which gives prospect into a most goodly green, a woody and plentifully watered country ; the river running so delightfully under it, that it may pass for one of the most surprising seats one should meet with. The gardens are prettily disposed ; but might be much improved. Here they show us Sir Guy's great two-handed sword, staff, horse-arms, pot, and other relics of that famous knight-errant. Warwick is a fair old town, and hath one church full of ancient monuments.

Having viewed these, I went to visit my worthy friend, Sir H. Puckering, at the Abbey, and though a melancholy old seat, yet in a rich soil.

Hence, to Sir Guy's grot, where they say he did his penances, and died. It is a squalid den made in the rock, crowned yet with venerable oaks and looking on a goodly stream, so as, were it improved as it might be, it were capable of being made a most romantic and pleasant place. Near this, we were showed his chapel and gigantic statue hewn out of the solid rock, out of which there are likewise divers other caves cut, and some very capacious.

The next place to Coventry. The Cross is remarkable for Gothic work and rich gilding, comparable to any I had ever seen, except that of Cheap-side in London, now demolished. This city has many handsome churches, a beautiful wall, a fair free-school and library to it ; the streets full of great shops, clean and well-paved. At going forth the gate, they show us the bone, or rib, of a wild boar, said to have been killed by Sir Guy, but which I take to be the chine of a whale.

*4th.* Hence, riding through a considerable part of Leicestershire, an open, rich, but unpleasant country, we came late in the evening to Horninghold, a seat of my wife's uncle<sup>a</sup>.

*7th.* Went to Uppingham, the shire-town of Rutland, pretty and well-built of stone, which is a rarity in that part of England, where most of the rural parishes are but of mud, and the people living as wretchedly as in the most impoverished parts of France, which they much resemble, being idle and sluttish. The country (especially Leicestershire) much in common ; the gentry free drinkers.

*9th.* To the old and ragged city of Leicester, large and pleasantly seated, but despicably built, the chimney-flues like so many smiths' forges ; however, famous for the tomb of the tyrant, Richard the Third, which is now converted to a cistern, at which, (I think) cattle drink. Also, here in one of the churches lies buried the magnificent Cardinal Wolsey. John of Gaunt has here also built a large but poor Hospital, near which a wretch has made him a house out of the ruins of a stately church. Saw the ruins

<sup>a</sup> Doubtless Mr. Hungerford (*ante*, p. 197). Sir Edward Hungerford, K.B., presented to the vicarage of Horningfold, in 1676.

of an old Roman Temple, thought to be of Janus. Entertained at a very fine collection of fruits, such as I did not expect to meet with so far North, especially very good melons. We returned to my uncle's.

14th August. I took a journey into the Northern parts, riding through Oakham, a pretty town in Rutlandshire, famous for the tenure of the Barons (Ferrers), who hold it by taking off a shoe from every nobleman's horse that passes with his lord through the street, unless redeemed with a certain piece of money. In token of this, are several gilded shoes nailed up on the castle-gate<sup>a</sup>, which seems to have been large and fair. Hence, we went by Brook, a very sweet seat and park of the old Lady Camden's. Next, by Burleigh House, belonging to the Duke of Buckingham<sup>b</sup>, and worthily reckoned among the noblest seats in England, situate on the brow of a hill, built *à la moderne* near a park walled in, and a fine wood at the descent.

Now we were come to Cottsmore, a pretty seat belonging to Mr. Heath, son to the late Lord Chief Justice of that name. Here, after dinner, parting with the company that conducted us thus far, I passed that evening by Belvoir Castle, built on a round mount at the point of a long ridge of hills, which affords a stately prospect, and is famous for its strenuous resistance in the late civil war.

Went by Newark-on-Trent, a brave town and garrison. Next, by Wharton House, belonging to the Lord Chaworth, a handsome seat: then, by Home, a noble place belonging to the Marquis of Dorchester, and passed the famous river Trent, which divides the South from the North of England; and so lay that night at Nottingham.

This whole town and country seems to be but one entire rock, as it were, an exceeding pleasant shire, full of gentry. Here, I observed divers to live in the rocks and caves, much after the manner as about Tours, in France. The church is well built on an eminence; there is a fair house of the Lord Clare's, another of Pierrepont's; an ample market-place; large streets, full of crosses; the relics of an ancient castle, hollowed beneath which are many caverns, especially that of the Scots' King, and his work whilst there.

This place is remarkable for being the place where his Majesty first erected his standard at the beginning of our late unhappy differences. The prospects from this city towards the river and meadows are most delightful.

15th. We passed next through Sherwood Forest, accounted the most extensive in England. Then, Papplewick, an incomparable vista with the pretty castle near it. Thence, we saw Newstead Abbey<sup>c</sup>, belonging to the Lord Byron, situated much like Fontainebleau in France, capable of being made a noble seat, accommodated as it is with brave woods and streams; it has yet remaining the front of a glorious abbey church. Next, by Mansfield town; then Welbeck, the house of the Marquis of Newcastle,

<sup>a</sup> A shoe was paid for so late as the year 1788, by the Duke of York.

<sup>b</sup> Called Burleigh-on-the-Hill, to distinguish it from the Earl of Exeter's, near Stamford. The Duke of Buckingham sold it to the family of Finch, Earls of Winchelsea and Nottingham.

<sup>c</sup> An ancient house, which has passed from the old family it then and since belonged to, but not till it had derived, from the last Byron who dwelt in it, associations that have given it an undying interest.



seated in a bottom in a park, and environed with woods, a noble yet melancholy seat. The palace is a handsome and stately building. Next to Worksop Abbey, almost demolished; the church has a double flat tower entire, and a pretty gate. The manor belongs to the Earl of Arundel, and has to it a fair house at the foot of a hill in a park that affords a delicate prospect. Tickel, a town and castle, has a very noble prospect. All these in Nottinghamshire.

16th August. We arrived at Doncaster, where we lay this night; it is a large fair town, famous for great wax-lights, and good stockings.

17th. Passed through Pontefract; the castle, famous for many sieges both of late and ancient times, and the death of that unhappy King murdered in it (Richard II), was now demolishing by the Rebels; it stands on a mount, and makes a goodly show at a distance. The Queen has a house here, and there are many fair seats near it, especially Mr. Pierrepont's, built at the foot of a hill out of the castle ruins. We all alighted in the highway to drink at a crystal spring, which they call Robin Hood's Well; near it, is a stone chair, and an iron ladle to drink out of, chained to the seat. We rode to Tadcaster, at the side of which we have prospect of the Archbishop's Palace (which is a noble seat), and in sight of divers other gentlemen's fair houses. This tract is a goodly, fertile, well-watered and wooded country, abounding with pasture and plenty of provisions.

To York, the second city of England, fairly walled, of a circular form, watered by the brave river Ouse, bearing vessels of considerable burthen on it; over it is a stone bridge emulating that of London, and built on; the middle arch is larger than any I have seen in England, with a wharf of hewn stone, which makes the river appear very neat. But most remarkable and worthy seeing is St. Peter's Cathedral, which of all the great churches in England had been best preserved<sup>a</sup> from the fury of the sacrilegious, by composition with the Rebels when they took the city, during the many incursions of Scotch and others. It is a most entire magnificent piece of Gothic architecture. The screen before the choir is of stone carved with flowers, running work, and statues of the old kings. Many of the monuments are very ancient. Here, as a great rarity in these days and at this time, they showed me a Bible and Common Prayer-Book covered with crimson velvet, and richly embossed with silver gilt; also a service for the altar of gilt wrought plate, flagons, basin, ewer, chalices, patins, &c., with a gorgeous covering for the altar and pulpit, carefully preserved in the vestry, in the hollow wall whereof rises a plentiful spring of excellent water. I got up to the tower, whence we had a prospect towards Durham, and could see Ripon, part of Lancashire, the famous and fatal Marston Moor, the Spas of Knaresborough, and all the environs of that admirable country. Sir — Ingoldsby has here a large house, gardens, and tennis-court; also the King's house and church near the castle, which was modernly fortified with a palisade and bastions. The streets are narrow and ill-paved, the shops like London.

18th. We went to Beverley, a large town with two stately churches, St. John's and St. Mary's, not much inferior to the best of our Cathedrals. Here a very old woman showed us the monuments, and, being above 100 years of age, spake the language of Queen Mary's days, in whose

<sup>a</sup> To Fairfax belongs this praise.

time she was born; she was widow of a sexton who had belonged to the church a hundred years.

Hence, we passed through a fenny but rich country to Hull, situate like Calais, modernly and strongly fortified with three block-houses of brick and earth. It has a good market-place and harbour for ships. Famous also (or rather infamous) is this town for Hotham's refusing entrance to his Majesty. The water-house is worth seeing. And here ends the south of Yorkshire.

19th August. We pass the Humber, an arm of the sea of about two leagues breadth. The weather was bad, but we crossed it in a good barge to Barton, the first town in that part of Lincolnshire. All marsh ground till we came to Brigg, famous for the plantations of licorice, and then had brave pleasant riding to Lincoln, much resembling Salisbury Plain. Lincoln is an old confused town, very long, uneven, steep, and ragged; formerly full of good houses, especially churches and abbeys. The Minster almost comparable to that of York itself, abounding with marble pillars, and having a fair front (herein was interred Queen Eleanora, the loyal and loving wife who sucked the poison out of her husband's wound); the abbot founder, with rare carving in the stone; the great bell, or Tom, as they call it. I went up the steeple, from whence is a goodly prospect all over the country. The soldiers had lately knocked off most of the brasses from the grave-stones, so as few inscriptions were left; they told us that these men went in with axes and hammers, and shut themselves in, till they had rent and torn off some barge-loads of metal, not sparing even the monuments of the dead; so hellish an avarice possessed them: besides which, they exceedingly ruined the city.

Here, I saw a tall woman six feet two inches high, comely, middle-aged, and well-proportioned, who kept a very neat and clean ale-house, and got most by people's coming to see her on account of her height.

20th. From hence we had a most pleasant ride over a large heath open like Salisbury Plain, to Grantham, a pretty town, so well situated on the side of a bottom which is large and at a distance environed with ascending grounds, that for pleasure I consider it comparable to most inland places of England; famous is the steeple for the exceeding height of the shaft, which is of stone.

About eighteen miles South, we pass by a noble seat, and see Boston at a distance. Here, we came to a parish of which the parson hath tithe ale.

Thence through Rutland, we brought night to Horninghold, from whence I set out on this excursion.

22nd. I went a setting and hawking, where we had tolerable sport.

25th. To see Kirby, a very noble house of my Lord Hatton's, in Northamptonshire, built *à la moderne*; the garden and stables agreeable, but the avenue ungraceful, and the seat naked: returned that evening.

27th. Mr. Allington preached an excellent discourse from *Romans* vi. 19. This was he who published those bold sermons of the members warring against the mind, or the Jews crucifying Christ, applied to the wicked regicides; for which he was ruined. We had no sermon in the afternoon.

30th. Taking leave of my friends, who had now feasted me more than a month, I, with my wife, &c., set our faces towards home, and got this evening to Peterborough, passing by a stately palace (Thorpe) of



St. John's (one deep in the blood of our good king), built out of the ruins of the Bishop's palace and cloister. The church is exceeding fair, full of monuments of great antiquity. Here lies Queen Catherine, the unhappy wife of Henry VIII, and the no less unfortunate Mary, Queen of Scots. On the steeple, we viewed the fens of Lincolnshire, now much inclosed and drained with infinite expense, and by many sluices, cuts, mounds, and ingenious mills, and the like inventions; at which the city and country about it consisting of a poor and very lazy sort of people, were much displeased.

Peterborough is a handsome town, and hath another well-built church.

31st August. Through part of Huntingdonshire, we passed that town, fair and ancient, a river running by it. The country about it so abounds in wheat that, when any King of England passes through it, they have a custom to meet him with a hunderd ploughs.

This evening, to Cambridge; and went first to St. John's College, well built of brick, and library, which I think is the fairest of that University. One Mr. Benlowes<sup>a</sup> has given it all the ornaments of *pietra commessa*<sup>b</sup>, whereof a table and one piece of perspective is very fine; other trifles there also be of no great value, besides a vast old song-book, or Service, and some fair manuscripts. There hangs in the library the picture of John Williams, Archbishop of York, sometime Lord Keeper, my kinsman, and their great benefactor.

Trinity College is said by some to be the fairest quadrangle of any university in Europe; but in truth is far inferior to that of Christ Church, in Oxford; the hall is ample and of stone, the fountain in the quadrangle is graceful, the chapel and library fair. There they showed us the prophetic manuscript of the famous Grebner, but the passage and emblem which they would apply to our late King, is manifestly relating to the Swedish; in truth, it seems to be a mere fantastic rhapsody, however the title may bespeak strange revelations. There is an office in manuscript with fine miniatures, and some other antiquities, given by the Countess of Richmond, mother of Henry VIII, and the before-mentioned Archbishop Williams, when Bishop of Lincoln. The library is pretty well stored. The Greek Professor had me into another large quadrangle cloistered and well-built, and gave us a handsome collation in his own chamber.

Thence to Caius, and afterwards to King's College, where I found the chapel altogether answered expectation, especially the roof all of stone, which for the flatness of its laying and carving may, I conceive, vie with any in Christendom. The contignation of the roof (which I went upon), weight, and artificial joining of the stones is admirable. The lights are also very fair. In one aisle lies the famous Dr. Collins, so celebrated for his fluency in the Latin tongue. From this roof we could descry Ely, and the encampment of Sturbridge fair now beginning to set up their tents and booths; also Royston, Newmarket, &c., houses belonging to the King. The library is too narrow.

Clare Hall is of a new and noble design, but not finished.

Peter House, formerly under the government of my worthy friend,

<sup>a</sup> Edward Benlowes, a writer of verses esteemed in his time, born of a good family in Essex, and inheritor of a good estate, which he wasted by improvident liberality, and continual buying of curiosities, as Wood says. See the *Fasti*, 876.

<sup>b</sup> Marble, inlaid of various colours, representing flowers, birds, &c.

Dr. Joseph Cosin, Dean of Peterborough<sup>a</sup>; a pretty neat college, having a delicate chapel. Next to Sidney, a fine college.

Catherine Hall, though a mean structure, is yet famous for the learned Bishop Andrews, once Master. Emanuel College, that zealous house, where to the hall they have a parlour for the Fellows. The chapel is reformed, *ab origine*, built north and south, and meanly erected, as is the library.

Jesus College, one of the best built, but in a melancholy situation. Next to Christ College, a very noble erection, especially the modern part, built without the quadrangle towards the gardens, of exact architecture.

The Schools are very despicable, and Public Library but mean, though somewhat improved by the wainscoting and books lately added by the Bishop Bancroft's library and MSS. They showed us little of antiquity, only King James's Works, being his own gift, and kept very reverently.

The market-place is very ample, and remarkable for old Hobson the pleasant carrier's beneficence of a fountain<sup>b</sup>. But the whole town is situate in a low dirty unpleasant place, the streets ill-paved, the air thick and infected by the fens, nor are its churches, (of which St. Mary's is the best) anything considerable in compare to Oxford<sup>c</sup>.

From Cambridge, we went to Audley End, and spent some time in seeing that goodly place built by Howard, Earl of Suffolk, once Lord Treasurer. It is a mixed fabric, betwixt antique and modern, but observable for its being completely finished, and without comparison is one of the stateliest palaces in the kingdom. It consists of two courts, the first very large, winged with cloisters. The front had a double entrance; the hall is fair, but somewhat too small for so august a pile. The kitchen is very large, as are the cellars arched with stone, very neat and well disposed; these offices are joined by a wing out of the way very handsomely. The gallery is the most cheerful, and I think one of the best in England; a fair dining-room, and the rest of the lodgings answerable, with a pretty chapel. The gardens are not in order, though well inclosed. It has also a bowling-alley, a noble well-walled, wooded, and watered park, full of fine *collines* and ponds: the river glides before the palace, to which is an avenue of lime-trees, but all this is much diminished by its being placed in an obscure bottom. For the rest, it is a perfectly uniform structure, and shows without like a diadem, by the decorations of the cupolas and other ornaments on the pavilions; instead of rails and balusters, there is a border of capital letters, as was lately also on Suffolk House, near Charing Cross, built by the same Lord Treasurer<sup>d</sup>.

This house stands in the parish of Saffron Walden, famous for the abundance of saffron there cultivated, and esteemed the best of any foreign country.

3rd October. Having dined here, we passed through Bishop Stortford, a pretty watered town, and so by London, late home to Sayes Court, after

<sup>a</sup> Ejected from all his preferments, in 1640 or 1641. Afterwards Bishop of Durham. See *Correspondence*.

<sup>b</sup> A conduit it should rather be called.

<sup>c</sup> The reader must remember that an Oxford man is speaking.

<sup>d</sup> Suffolk House, afterwards Northumberland House. At the funeral of Anne of Denmark, a young man was killed by the fall of the letter S from the border of capital letters here mentioned by Evelyn.



a journey of 700 miles, but for the variety an agreeable refreshment after my turmoil and building.

10th October. To my brother at Wotton, who had been sick.

14th. I went to visit my noble friend, Mr. Hyldiard, where I met that learned gentleman, my Lord Aungier<sup>a</sup>, and Dr. Stokes, one of his Majesty's Chaplains.

15th. To Betchworth Castle, to Sir Ambrose Browne, and other gentlemen of my sweet and native country.

24th. The good old parson, Higham, preached at Wotton Church: a plain preacher, but innocent and honest man<sup>b</sup>.

23rd November. I went to London, to visit my cousin Fanshawe, and this day I saw one of the rarest collections of agates, onyxes, and intaglios, that I had ever seen either at home or abroad, collected by a conceited old hat-maker in Blackfriars, especially one agate vase, heretofore the great Earl of Leicester's.

28th. Came Lady Langham, a kinswoman of mine, to visit us; also one Captain Cooke, esteemed the best singer, after the Italian manner, of any in England; he entertained us with his voice and theorbo.

31st. My birth-day, being the 34th year of my age: blessing God for His providence, I went to London to visit my brother.

3rd December. Advent Sunday. There being no Office at the church but extemporary prayers after the Presbyterian way, for now all forms were prohibited, and most of the preachers were usurpers, I seldom went to church upon solemn feasts; but, either went to London, where some of the orthodox sequestered Divines did privately use the Common Prayer, administer sacraments, &c., or else I procured one to officiate in my house; wherefore, on the 10th, Dr. Richard Owen, the sequestered minister of Eltham, preached to my family in my library, and gave us the holy Communion.

25th. Christmas-day. No public offices in churches, but penalties on observers, so as I was constrained to celebrate it at home.

1654-5. 1st January. Having with my family performed the public offices of the day, and begged a blessing on the year I was now entering, I went to keep the rest of Christmas at my brother's, R. Evelyn, at Woodcot.

19th. My wife was brought to bed of another son, being my third, but second living. Christened<sup>c</sup> on the 26th by the name of John.

28th. A stranger preached from *Colossians* iii. 2, inciting our affections to the obtaining heavenly things. I understood afterwards that this man had been both Chaplain and Lieutenant to Admiral Penn, using both swords; whether ordained or not I cannot say; into such times were we fallen!

24th February. I was showed a table-clock whose balance was only a crystal ball, sliding on parallel wires, without being at all fixed, but rolling from stage to stage till falling on a spring concealed from sight, it was thrown up to the utmost channel again, made with an imperceptible

<sup>a</sup> Gerald, eldest son of Sir Francis Aungier, Master of the Rolls in 1609, and created Baron Aungier in the Irish Peerage in 1621. He died in 1655, and was succeeded by his nephew, Francis, afterwards created Earl of Longford. Evelyn more than once celebrates his learning.

<sup>b</sup> See *ante*, p. 195.

<sup>c</sup> At Deptford. See Lysons, iv. 376.

declivity, in this continual vicissitude of motion prettily entertaining the eye every half minute, and the next half giving progress to the hand that showed the hour, and giving notice by a small bell, so as in 120 half minutes, or periods of the bullet's falling on the ejaculatory spring, the clock-part struck. This very extraordinary piece (richly adorned) had been presented by some German Prince to our late King, and was now in possession of the Usurper; valued at 200*l*.

*2nd March.* Mr. Simpson, the King's jeweller, showed me a most rich agate cup, of an escalop-shape, and having a figure of Cleopatra at the scroll, her body, hair, mantle, and veil, of the several natural colours. It was supported by a half Mark Antony, the colours rarely natural, and the work truly antique, but I conceived they were of several pieces; had they been all of one stone, it were invaluable.

*18th.* Went to London, on purpose to hear that excellent preacher, Dr. Jeremy Taylor, on Matt. xiv. 17, showing what were the conditions of obtaining eternal life: also, concerning abatements for unavoidable infirmities, how cast on the accounts of the cross. On the 31st, I made a visit to Dr. Jeremy Taylor, to confer with him about some spiritual matters, using him thenceforward as my ghostly father. I beseech God Almighty to make me ever mindful of, and thankful for, His heavenly assistances!

*2nd April.* This was the first week, that, my uncle Pretyman being parted with his family from me, I began housekeeping, till now sojourning with him in my own house.

*9th.* I went to see the great ship newly built by the Usurper, Oliver, carrying ninety-six brass-guns, and 1000 tons burthen. In the prow was Oliver on horseback, trampling six nations under foot, a Scot, Irishman, Dutchman, Frenchman, Spaniard, and English, as was easily made out by their several habits. A Fame held a laurel over his insulting head; the word, *God with us*.

*15th.* I went to London with my family, to celebrate the feast of Easter. Dr. Wild preached at St. Gregory's; the ruling Powers conniving at the use of the Liturgy, &c., in this church alone. In the afternoon, Mr. Pierson (since Bishop of Chester) preached at Eastcheap, but was disturbed by an alarm of fire, which about this time was very frequent in the City.

*29th May.* I sold Preston to Colonel Morley.

*17th June.* There was a collection for the persecuted churches and Christians in Savoy, remnants of the ancient Albigenses.

*3rd July.* I was showed a pretty Terella, described with all the circles, and showing all the magnetic deviations.

*14th.* Came Mr. Pratt, my old acquaintance at Rome, also Sir Edward Hales, Sir Joseph Tufton, with Mr. Seymour.

*1st August.* I went to Dorking, to see Mr. Charles Howard's amphitheatre, garden, or solitary recess<sup>a</sup>, being fifteen acres environed by a hill. He showed us divers rare plants, caves, and an elaboratory.

*10th.* To Albury, to visit Mr. Howard, who had begun to build, and alter the gardens much. He showed me many rare pictures, particularly the Moor on horseback; Erasmus, as big as the life, by Holbein; a Madonna, in miniature, by Oliver; but, above all, the Skull, carved in

<sup>a</sup> Now called Deepdene.



wood, by Albert Dürer, for which his father was offered 100*l.*; also Albert's head, by himself, with divers rare agates, intaglios, and other curiosities.

21st August. I went to Ryegate, to visit Mrs. Cary, at my Lady Peterborough's, in an ancient monastery well in repair, but the park much defaced; the house is nobly furnished. The chimney-piece in the great chamber, carved in wood, was of Henry VIII, and was taken from an house of his in Bletchingley. At Ryegate, was now the Archbishop of Armagh, the learned James Usher, whom I went to visit. He received me exceedingly kindly. In discourse with him, he told me how great the loss of time was to study much the Eastern languages; that, excepting Hebrew, there was little fruit to be gathered of exceeding labour; that, besides some mathematical books, the Arabic itself had little considerable; that the best text was the Hebrew Bible; that the Septuagint was finished in seventy days, but full of errors, about which he was then writing; that St. Hierome's was to be valued next the Hebrew; also that the seventy translated the Pentateuch only, the rest was finished by others; that the Italians at present understood but little Greek, and Kircher was a mountebank; that Mr. Selden's best book was his *Titles of Honour*; that the Church would be destroyed by sectaries, who would in all likelihood bring in Popery. In conclusion, he recommended to me the study of philology, above all human studies; and so, with his blessing, I took my leave of this excellent person, and returned to Wotton.

27th. I went to Boxhill, to see those rare natural bowers, cabinets, and shady walks in the box-copses: hence we walked to Mickleham, and saw Sir F. Stidolph's seat, environed with elm-trees and walnuts innumerable, and of which last he told us they received a considerable revenue. Here are such goodly walks and hills shaded with yew and box, as render the place extremely agreeable, it seeming from these ever-greens to be summer all the winter.

28th. Came that renowned mathematician, Mr. Oughtred<sup>a</sup> to see me, I sending my coach to bring him to Wotton, being now very aged. Amongst other discourse, he told me he thought water to be the philosopher's first matter, and that he was well persuaded of the possibility of their elixir; he believed the sun to be a material fire, the moon a continent, as appears by the late Selenographers; he had strong apprehensions of some extraordinary event to happen the following year, from the calculation of coincidence with the diluvian period; and added that it might possibly be to convert the Jews by our Saviour's visible appearance, or to judge the world; and therefore, his word was, *Parate in occursum*; he said original sin was not met with in the Greek Fathers, yet he believed the thing; this was from some discourse on Dr. Taylor's late book, which I had lent him.

16th September. Preached at St. Gregory's one Darnel, on *Psalms* iv. 4, concerning the benefit of self-examination; more learning in *so short a time as an hour* I have seldom heard.

17th. Received 2600*l.* of Mr. Hurt, for the Manor of Warley Magna, in Essex, purchased by me some time since. The taxes were so intolerable that they eat up the rents, &c., surcharged as that county had been above all others during our unnatural war.

<sup>a</sup> Rector of Albury. Some capital prints of him exist, by Hollar.

19th September. Came to see me Sir Edward Hales, Mr. Ashmole, Mr. Harlakenton, and Mr. Thornhill : and, the next day, I visited Sir Henry Newton, at Charlton, where I met the Earl of Winchelsea and Lady Beauchamp, daughter to the Lord Capel.

On Sunday afternoon, I frequently staid at home to catechise and instruct my family, those exercises universally ceasing in the parish churches, so as people had no principles, and grew very ignorant of even the common points of Christianity ; all devotion being now placed in hearing sermons and discourses of speculative and national things.

26th. I went to see Colonel Blount's subterranean warren, and drank of the wine of his vineyard, which was good for little.

31st. Sir Nicholas Crisp came to treat with me about his vast design of a mole<sup>a</sup> to be made for ships in my part of my grounds at Sayes Court.

3rd November. I had accidentally discourse with a Persian and a Greek concerning the devastation of Poland by the late incursion of the Swedes.

27th. To London, about Sir Nicholas Crisp's designs.

I went to see York House and gardens, belonging to the former great Buckingham, but now much ruined through neglect<sup>b</sup>.

Thence, to visit honest and learned Mr. Hartlib<sup>c</sup>, a public spirited and ingenious person, who had propagated many useful things and arts. He told me of the castles which they set for ornament on their stoves in Germany (he himself being a Lithuanian, as I remember), which are furnished with small ordnance of silver on the battlements, out of which they discharge excellent perfumes about the rooms, charging them with a little powder to set them on fire, and disperse the smoke : and, in truth, no more than need, for their stoves are sufficiently nasty. He told me of an ink that would give a dozen copies, moist sheets of paper being pressed on it, and remain perfect ; and a receipt how to take off any print without the least injury to the original. This gentleman was master of innumerable curiosities, and very communicative. I returned home that evening by water, and was afflicted for it with a cold that had almost killed me.

This day, came forth the Protector's Edict, or Proclamation, prohibiting all ministers of the Church of England from preaching or teaching any

<sup>a</sup> See *post*, under January 16, 1662.

<sup>b</sup> The Duke's names and titles are still preserved in the buildings erected on the site ; as in George Street, Villiers Street, Duke Street, Of Alley, and Buckingham Street.

<sup>c</sup> Samuel Hartlib. Mr. Todd, in his *Life of Milton*, prefixed to the last Edition of his Poetical Works, observes that ' a Life of Hartlib is a desideratum in English Biography ' : there are ample materials for it in the publications of the time.

Samuel Hartlib is believed to have been born in Poland. He arrived in England about the year 1630, and attained some celebrity in 1641 by the publication of a work describing some recent attempts to create a general union of Protestants of all denominations. Cromwell, gratified with his labours for the advancement of civilization, presented him with an annual pension of 100*l.*, subsequently augmented to 300*l.* With this assistance he founded a school for the education of gentlemen's sons ; and published several works on agriculture. But he had thus exhausted his resources ; and at the Restoration, when his pension was stopped, he fell into great distress. Many of his contemporaries regarded Hartlib with the same admiration as Evelyn, and Milton addressed to him his *Tractate on Education*. Subsequent mention is made of him in the notes to Evelyn's *Correspondence*.



schools, in which he imitated the apostate, Julian ; with the decimation of all the royal party's revenues throughout England.

14th December. I visited Mr. Hobbes, the famous philosopher of Malmesbury, with whom I had been long acquainted in France.

Now were the Jews admitted.

25th. There was no more notice taken of Christmas-day in churches.

I went to London, where Dr. Wild preached the funeral sermon of Preaching, this being the last day ; after which, Cromwell's proclamation was to take place, that none of the Church of England should dare either to preach, or administer Sacraments, teach schools, &c., on pain of imprisonment, or exile. So this was the mournfullest day that in my life I had seen, or the Church of England herself, since the Reformation ; to the great rejoicing of both Papist and Presbyter<sup>a</sup>. So pathetic was his discourse, that it drew many tears from the auditory. Myself, wife, and some of our family, received the Communion ; God make me thankful, who hath hitherto provided for us the food of our souls as well as bodies ! The Lord Jesus pity our distressed Church, and bring back the captivity of Zion !

1655-6. 5th January. Came to visit me my Lord Lisle, son to the Earl of Leicester, with Sir Charles Ouseley, two of the Usurper's council ; Mr. John Hervey, and John Denham, the poet.

18th. Went to Eltham on foot, being a great frost, but a mist falling as I returned, gave me such a rheum as kept me within doors near a whole month after.

5th February. Was showed me a pretty perspective and well represented in a triangular box, the great Church of Haarlem in Holland, to be seen through a small hole at one of the corners, and contrived into a handsome cabinet. It was so rarely done, that a'l the artists and painters in town flocked to see and admire it.

10th. I heard Dr. Wilkins<sup>b</sup> preach before the Lord Mayor in St. Paul's, showing how obedience was preferable to sacrifice. He was a most obliging person, who had married the Protector's sister, and took great pains to preserve the Universities from the ignorant sacrilegious commanders and soldiers, who would fain have demolished all places and persons that pretended to learning.

11th. I ventured to go to Whitehall, where of many years I had not been, and found it very glorious and well furnished, as far as I could safely go, and was glad to find they had not much defaced that rare piece of Henry VII, &c., done on the walls of the King's privy chamber.

14th. I dined with Mr. Berkeley, son of Lord Berkeley, of Berkeley Castle, where I renewed my acquaintance with my Lord Bruce, my fellow-traveller in Italy.

19th. Went with Dr. Wilkins to see Barlow, the famous painter of fowls, beasts, and birds<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> The text was 2 Cor. xiii. 9. That, however persecution dealt with the Ministers of God's Word, they were still to pray for the flock, and wish their perfection, as it was the flock to pray for and assist their pastors, by the example of St. Paul. *Evelyn's Note.*

<sup>b</sup> Afterwards Bishop of Chester.

<sup>c</sup> Francis Barlow. He occasionally painted portraits. He died in 1702.

*4th March.* This night I was invited by Mr. Roger L'Estrange<sup>a</sup> to hear the incomparable Lubicer on the violin, His variety on a few notes and plain ground, with that wonderful dexterity, was admirable. Though a young man, yet so perfect and skilful, that there was nothing, however cross and perplexed, brought to him by our artists, which he did not play off at sight with ravishing sweetness and improvements, to the astonishment of our best masters. In sum, he played on the single instrument a full concert, so as the rest flung down their instruments, acknowledging the victory. As to my own particular, I stand to this hour amazed that God should give so great perfection to so young a person. There were at that time as excellent in their profession as any were thought to be in Europe, Paul Wheeler, Mr. Mell, and others, till this prodigy appeared. I can no longer question the effects we read of in David's harp to charm evil spirits, or what is said some particular notes produced in the passions of Alexander, and that King of Denmark.

*12th April.* Mr. Berkeley and Mr. Robert Boyle (that excellent person and great virtuoso)<sup>b</sup>, Dr. Taylor, and Dr. Wilkins, dined with me at Sayes Court, when I presented Dr. Wilkins with my rare burning-glass. In the afternoon, we all went to Colonel Blount's, to see his new-invented ploughs.

*22nd.* Came to see Mr. Henshaw and Sir William Paston's son, since Earl of Yarmouth<sup>c</sup>. Afterwards, I went to see his Majesty's house at

<sup>a</sup> Afterwards knighted; an licenser of the press to Charles II, and James II, in whose Parliament he was returned for Winchester. He was the author of several works, chiefly translations; was a fierce and reckless advocate of high Church principles; and established a newspaper called *The Public Intelligencer*, which he afterwards changed to *London Gazette*, and ultimately to a paper called *The Observer*. In the latter he so excelled even himself in the fury of his assaults on the Whigs, that Evelyn, who hated intemperance in all parties, became obliged to confess, though he thought L'Estrange 'a person of excellent parts, abating some affectations', that his 'pretence to serve the Church of England' involved a still stronger suspicion of 'gratifying another party'. He possessed courage enough to oppose the infamous Titus Oates, when that worthy was terrifying everyone (including the King) that held opposite opinions to himself; and when James II, whom he had supported in his claim to a dispensing power, assumed the mask of toleration, L'Estrange quarrelled also with him. Pepys describes him as a man of fine conversation, most courtly, and full of compliments; but seeking his society for the purpose of obtaining news. He was known among the courtiers by the *sobriquet* of 'Oliver's fiddler', owing to a report, which he strenuously denied, that he had once performed on the violin in the presence of the Protector. Queen Mary entertained a great antipathy to him, and, by transposing the letters of his name, gave him the appellation of 'Lying Strange Roger'. He died in 1704, aged eighty-eight.

<sup>b</sup> Fifth surviving son of Richard Boyle, styled 'the great Earl of Cork', and born at Lismore, in Ireland, January 25, 1626-7. He was travelling on the continent, when the death of his father, who had bequeathed to him the Dorsetshire property and other estates, brought him back to England in 1644, and the remainder of his life was spent in the study of natural philosophy, wherein he made many important discoveries, and obtained the reputation, both at home and abroad, of being one of the greatest philosophers of his age. He died December 30, 1691. His name occurs too frequently in the *Diary*, and the letters of Evelyn (one of which contains a most elaborate and finished picture of this 'friend of forty years'), to justify any further allusion to him in this place.

<sup>c</sup> Sir Robert Paston, Bart., who obtained great reputation as a Royalist commander, and for whose services Charles II, on 15th August, 1673, created him



Eltham, both palace and chapel in miserable ruins, the noble woods and park destroyed by Rich, the rebel.

6th May. I brought Monsieur le Franc, a young French Sorbonnist, a proselyte, to converse with Dr. Taylor; they fell to dispute on original sin, in Latin, upon a book newly published by the Doctor, who was much satisfied with the young man. Thence, to see Mr. Dugdale, our learned antiquary and herald. Returning, I was showed the three vast volumes of Father Kircher's, *Obeliscus Pamphilius* and *Ægyptiacus*; in the second volume, I found the hieroglyphic I first communicated and sent to him at Rome by the hands of Mr. Henshaw, whom he mentions; I designed it from the stone itself brought me to Venice from Cairo by Captain Powell<sup>a</sup>.

7th. I visited Dr. Taylor, and prevailed on him to propose Monsieur le Franc to the Bishop that he might have Orders, I having sometime before brought him to a full consent to the Church of England, her doctrine and discipline, in which he had till of late made some difficulty; so he was this day ordained both deacon and priest by the Bishop of Meath. I paid the fees to his lordship, who was very poor and in great want; to that necessity were our clergy reduced! In the afternoon, I met Alderman Robinson, to treat with Mr. Papillion about the marriage of my cousin, George Tuke, with Mrs. Fontaine.

8th. I went to visit Dr. Wilkins, at Whitehall, when I first met with Sir P. Neal, famous for his optic glasses. Greatorix, the mathematical instrument maker, showed me his excellent invention to quench fire.

12th. Was published my Essay on Lucretius<sup>b</sup>, with innumerable errata by the negligence of Mr. Triplet, who undertook the correction of the press in my absence. Little of the Epicurean philosophy was then known amongst us.

28th. I dined with Nieuport, the Holland Ambassador, who received me with extraordinary courtesy. I found him a judicious, crafty, and wise man. He gave me excellent cautions as to the danger of the times, and the circumstances our nation was in. I remember the observation he made upon the ill success of our former Parliaments, and their private animosities, and little care of the public.

Came to visit me the old Marquis of Argyle (since executed)<sup>c</sup>, Lord Baron Paston, and Viscount Yarmouth. And in 1674 he was made Earl of Yarmouth, and died July 30 of the same year. He was reputed a good scholar.

<sup>a</sup> See *ante*, p. 143.

<sup>b</sup> A translation into English verse of the first book only, the frontispiece to which was designed by Mrs. Evelyn. Prefixed to the copy in the library at Wotton, is this note in his own handwriting: 'Never was book so abominably misused by printer: never copy so negligently surveyed by one who undertook to look over the proof-sheets with all exactness and care; namely, Dr. Triplet, well known for his ability, and who pretended to oblige me in my absence, and so readily offered himself. This good yet I received by it, that publishing it vainly, its ill success at the printer's discouraged me with troubling the world with the rest.' And see *Correspondence*, iii. 75, 76.

<sup>c</sup> Archibald, eighth Earl, created Marquis of Argyle, November 15, 1641. In the subsequent troubles he took his place at the head of the Scotch Covenanters, and did so much damage to Charles I's cause, that the wrong was not considered to have been expiated by his subsequent proclamation of Charles II. Evelyn, who knew him well, calls him a 'turbulent' man; and at the Restoration, having been convicted of high treason, he had his head struck off by the maiden, at the market-cross of Edinburgh, on the 27th of May, 1661.

Lothian, and some other Scotch noblemen, all strangers to me. Note, the Marquis took the turtledoves in the aviary for owls.

The Earl of Southampton (since Treasurer)<sup>a</sup> and Mr. Spencer, brother to the Earl of Sunderland, came to see my garden.

*7th July.* I began my journey to see some parts of the north-east of England; but the weather was so excessive hot and dusty, I shortened my progress.

*8th.* To Colchester, a fair town, but now wretchedly demolished by the late siege, especially the suburbs, which were all burnt, but were then repairing. The town is built on a rising ground, having fair meadows on one side, and a river with a strong ancient castle, said to have been built by King Coilus, father of Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, of whom I find no memory save at the pinnacle of one of their wool-staple houses, where is a statue of Coilus, in wood, wretchedly carved. The walls are exceeding strong, deeply trenched, and filled with earth. It has six gates, and some watch-towers, and some handsome churches. But what was showed us as a kind of miracle, at the outside of the Castle, the wall where Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, those valiant and noble persons who so bravely behaved themselves in the last siege, were barbarously shot, murdered by Ireton in cold blood, after surrendering on articles; having been disappointed of relief from the Scotch army, which had been defeated with the King at Worcester. The place was bare of grass for a large space, all the rest of it abounding with herbage. For the rest, this is a ragged and factious town, now swarming with sectaries. Their trading is in cloth with the Dutch, and baize and says with Spain; it is the only place in England where these stuffs are made unsophisticated. It is also famous for oysters and eringo root, growing hereabout, and candied for sale.

Went to Dedham, a pretty country town, having a very fair church, finely situated, the valley well watered. Here, I met with Dr. Stokes, a young gentleman, but an excellent mathematician. This is a clothing town, as most are in Essex, but lies in the unwholesome hundreds.

Hence to Ipswich, doubtless one of the sweetest, most pleasant, well-built towns in England. It has twelve fair churches, many noble houses, especially the Lord Devereux's; a brave quay, and commodious harbour, being about seven miles from the main; an ample market-place. Here was born the great Cardinal Wolsey, who began a palace here, which was not finished.

I had the curiosity to visit some Quakers here in prison; a new fanatic sect, of dangerous principles, who show no respect to any man, magistrate, or other, and seem a melancholy, proud sort of people, and exceedingly ignorant. One of these was said to have fasted twenty days; but another,

<sup>a</sup> Thomas Wriothesley, fourth Earl, a distinguished Royalist, who at the Restoration was created a Knight of the Garter, and appointed Lord Treasurer. His second daughter, Rachel, was the wife of the patriot, Lord William Russell. He married three times. By his second wife, Frances, daughter of Francis, Earl of Chichester, who died in 1644, he succeeded to that title; but dying without male issue, May 16, 1667, all his honours became extinct. Evelyn enjoyed much of his hospitality, and characterises him as a person of extraordinary parts, but a valetudinarian.



endeavouring to do the like, perished on the 10th, when he would have eaten, but could not.

10th *July*. I returned homeward, passing again through Colchester; and, by the way, near the ancient town of Chelmsford, saw New Hall, built in a park by Henry VII and VIII, and given by Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Sussex, who sold it to the late great Duke of Buckingham, and since seized on by Oliver Cromwell (pretended Protector). It is a fair old house, built with brick, low, being only of two stories, as the manner then was; the gate-house better; the court, large and pretty; the staircase, of extraordinary wideness, with a piece representing Sir Francis Drake's action in the year 1580, an excellent sea-piece; the galleries are trifling; the hall is noble; the garden a fair plot, and the whole Seat well accommodated with water; but, above all, I admired the fair avenue planted with stately lime trees, in four rows, for near a mile in length. It has three descents, which is the only fault, and may be reformed. There is another fair walk of the same at the mall and wilderness, with a tennis-court, and pleasant terrace towards the park, which was well stored with deer and ponds.

11th. Came home by Greenwich ferry, where I saw Sir J. Winter's project of charring sea-coal, to burn out the sulphur, and render it sweet. He did it by burning the coals in such earthen pots as the glass-men melt their metal, so firing them without consuming them, using a bar of iron in each crucible, or pot, which bar has a hook at one end, that so the coals being melted in a furnace with other crude sea-coals under them, may be drawn out of the pots sticking to the iron, whence they are beaten off in great half-exhausted cinders, which being re-kindled, make a clear pleasant chamber-fire, deprived of their sulphur and arsenic malignity. What success it may have, time will discover<sup>a</sup>.

3rd *August*. I went to London, to receive the Blessed Sacrament, the first time the Church of England was reduced to a chamber and conventicle; so sharp was the persecution. The parish-churches were filled with sectaries of all sorts, blasphemous and ignorant mechanics usurping the pulpits everywhere. Dr. Wild<sup>b</sup> preached in a private house in Fleet-street, where we had a great meeting of zealous Christians, who were generally much more devout and religious than in our greatest prosperity. In the afternoon, I went to the French Church in the Savoy, where I heard Monsieur d'Espagne catechise, and so returned to my house.

20th. Was a confused election of Parliament called by the Usurper.

7th *September*. I went to take leave of my excellent neighbour and friend, Sir H. Newton and lady, now going to dwell at Warwick; and Mr. Needham, my dear and learned friend, came to visit me<sup>c</sup>.

14th. Now was old Sir Henry Vane<sup>d</sup> sent to Carisbrook Castle, in Wight,

<sup>a</sup> Many years ago Lord Dundonald revived the project, with the proposed improvement of extracting and saving the tar. Unfortunately, he did not profit by it. The coal thus charred is sold as *coke*, a very useful fuel for many purposes.

<sup>b</sup> See Note, p. 231.

<sup>c</sup> Jasper Needham, a physician of great repute, and one of Evelyn's oldest friends.

<sup>d</sup> Evelyn means the younger Vane. This was 'Vane, young in years, but in sage counsel old', the nobleness and independence of whose character, as well

for a foolish book he published ; the pretended Protector fortifying himself exceedingly, and sending many to prison.

*2nd October.* Came to visit me my cousin, Stephens, and Mr. Pierce (since Head of Magdalen College, Oxford), a learned minister of Brington, in Northamptonshire, and Captain Cooke, both excellent musicians.

*2nd November.* There was now nothing practical preached, or that pressed reformation of life, but high and speculative points and strains that few understood, which left people very ignorant, and of no steady principles, the source of all our sects and divisions, for there was much envy and uncharity in the world ; God of his mercy amend it ! Now, indeed, that I went at all to church, whilst these usurpers possessed the pulpits, was that I might not be suspected for a Papist, and that, though the minister was Presbyterianly affected, he yet was as I understood duly ordained, and preached sound doctrine after their way, and besides was an humble, harmless, and peaceable man.

*25th December.* I went to London, to receive the Blessed Communion this holy festival at Dr. Wild's lodgings, where I rejoiced to find so full an assembly of devout and sober Christians.

*26th.* I invited some of my neighbours and tenants, according to custom, and to preserve hospitality and charity.

*28th.* A stranger preached on *Luke* xviii. 7, 8, on which he made a confused discourse, with a great deal of Greek and ostentation of learning, to but little purpose.

*30th.* Dined with me Sir William Paston's son, Mr. Henshaw, and Mr. Clayton.

*31st.* I begged God's blessing and mercies for his goodness to me the past year, and set my domestic affairs in order.

1656-7, *1st January.* Having prayed with my family, and celebrated the anniversary, I spent some time in imploring God's blessing the year I was entered into.

*7th.* Came Mr. Matthew Wren (since secretary to the Duke), slain in the Dutch war, eldest son to the Bishop of Ely, now a prisoner in the Tower ; a most worthy and honoured gentleman.

*10th.* Came Dr. Joyliffe, that famous physician and anatomist, first detector of the lymphatic veins ; also the old Marquis of Argyle, and another Scotch Earl.

*5th February.* Dined at the Holland Ambassador's ; he told me the East India Company of Holland had constantly a stock of 400,000*l.* in India, and forty-eight men-of-war there : he spoke of their exact and just keeping their books and correspondence, so as no adventurer's stock could possibly be lost, or defeated ; that it was a vulgar error that the Hollanders furnished their enemies with powder and ammunition for their money, though engaged in a cruel war, but that they used to merchandise indifferently, and were permitted to sell to the friends of their enemies. He laughed at our Committee of Trade, as composed of men wholly ignorant of it, and how they were the ruin of commerce, by gratifying some for private ends.

as his claims to the affection of posterity, are not ill expressed in the two facts recorded by Evelyn—his imprisonment by Cromwell, and his judicial murder by Charles the Second. The foolish book to which Evelyn refers was an able and fearless attack on Cromwell's government.



10th February. I went to visit the governor of Havannah, a brave, sober, valiant Spanish gentleman, taken by Captain Young of Deptford, when, after twenty years being in the Indies, and amassing great wealth, his lady and whole family, except two sons, were burnt, destroyed, and taken within sight of Spain, his eldest son, daughter, and wife, perishing with immense treasure<sup>a</sup>. One son, of about seventeen years old, with his brother of one year old, were the only ones saved. The young gentleman, about seventeen, was a well-complexioned youth, not olive-coloured; he spake Latin handsomely, was extremely well-bred, and born in the Caraccas, 1000 miles south of the equinoctial, near the mountains of Potosi; he had never been in Europe before. The Governor was an ancient gentleman of great courage, of the order of St. Jago, sore wounded in his arm, and his ribs broken; he lost for his own share 100,000*l.* sterling, which he seemed to bear with exceeding indifference, and nothing dejected. After some discourse, I went with them to Arundel House, where they dined. They were now going back into Spain, having obtained their liberty from Cromwell. An example of human vicissitude!

14th. To London, where I found Mrs. Cary; next day came Mr. Mordaunt<sup>b</sup> (since Viscount Mordaunt), younger son to the Countess of Peterborough, to see his mistress, bringing with him two of my Lord of Dover's daughters<sup>c</sup>: so, after dinner, they all departed.

5th March. Dr. Rand, a learned physician, dedicated to me his version of Gassendi's *Vita Peiriskii*.

25th. Dr. Taylor showed me his MS. of *Cases of Conscience*, or *Ductor Dubitantium*, now fitted for the Press.

The Protector Oliver, now affecting kingship, is petitioned to take the title on him by all his new-made sycophant lords, &c.; but dares not, for fear of the fanatics, not thoroughly purged out of his rebel army.

21st April. Came Sir Thomas Hanmer, of Hanmer, in Wales, to see me. I then waited on my Lord Hatton, with whom I dined: at my return, I stepped into Bedlam, where I saw several poor miserable creatures in chains; one of them was mad with making verses. I also visited the Charter-house, formerly belonging to the Carthusians, now an old neat fresh solitary college for decayed gentlemen. It has a grove, bowling-green, garden, chapel, and a hall where they eat in common. I likewise saw Christ-church and Hospital, a very goodly Gothic building; the hall, school, and lodgings in great order for bringing up many hundreds of poor

<sup>a</sup> Particularly noticed in Waller's poem on a War with Spain.

<sup>b</sup> John, second son of John, fifth Baron Mordaunt, and first Earl of Peterborough. He was a zealous Royalist; an offence for which he was tried, and, as Evelyn relates in a subsequent page, acquitted by one vote under the Commonwealth. Nevertheless, he still exerted himself to bring back Charles II, who, on the 10th of July, 1659, created him Baron Mordaunt of Reigate, and Viscount Mordaunt of Avalon, and appointed him Constable of Windsor Castle, and *Custos Rotulorum* of the County of Surrey. Many foul charges were afterwards brought against him in connection with his command at Windsor. With his mother and his wife, Evelyn was extremely intimate, frequently mentioning both with enthusiasm; and taking an active part, as many passages of the *Diary* will show, in the business affairs of the family.

<sup>c</sup> Henry Carey, fourth Baron Hunsdon, created Viscount Rochford and Earl of Dover, and who died in 1668, had three daughters—Mary, married to Sir Thomas Wharton; Judith; and Philadelphia.

children of both sexes; it is an exemplary charity. There is a large picture at one end of the hall, representing the governors, founders, and the institution.

*25th April.* I had a dangerous fall out of the coach in Covent Garden, going to my brother's, but without harm; the Lord be praised!

*1st May.* Divers soldiers were quartered at my house; but I thank God went away the next day towards Flanders.

*5th.* I went with my cousin, George Tuke, to see Baynard, in Surrey, a house of my brother Richard's, which he would have hired. This is a very fair noble residence, built in a park, and having one of the goodliest avenues of oaks up to it that ever I saw: there is a pond<sup>a</sup> of 60 acres near it; the windows of the chief rooms are of very fine painted glass. The situation is excessively dirty and melancholy<sup>b</sup>.

*15th.* Lawrence, President of Oliver's Council, and some other of his Court-Lords, came in the afternoon to see my garden and plantations.

*7th June.* My fourth son was born, christened George (after my grandfather); Dr. Jeremy Taylor officiated in the drawing-room.

*18th.* At Greenwich I saw a sort of cat<sup>c</sup> brought from the East Indies, shaped and snouted much like the Egyptian racoon, in the body like a monkey, and so footed; the ears and tail like a cat, only the tail much longer, and the skin variously ringed with black and white; with the tail it wound up its body like a serpent, and so got up into trees, and with it would wrap its whole body round. Its hair was woolly like a lamb; it was exceedingly nimble, gentle, and purred as does the cat.

*16th July.* On Dr. Jeremy Taylor's recommendation, I went to Eltham, to help one Moody, a young man, to that living, by my interest with the patron.

*6th August.* I went to see Colonel Blount, who showed me the application of the way-wiser<sup>d</sup> to a coach, exactly measuring the miles, and showing them by an index as we went on. It had three circles, one pointing to the number of rods, another to the miles, by 10 to 1000, with all the subdivisions of quarters; very pretty and useful.

*10th.* Our vicar, from *John* xviii. 36, declaimed against the folly of a sort of enthusiasts and desperate zealots, called the *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*, pretending to set up the kingdom of Christ with the sword. To this pass was this age arrived when we had no King in Israel.

*21st.* Fell a most prodigious rain in London, and the year was very sickly in the country.

*1st September.* I visited Sir Edmund Bowyer, at his melancholy seat at Camberwell. He has a very pretty grove of oaks, and hedges of yew in his garden, and a handsome row of tall elms before his court.

<sup>a</sup> This pond belongs to Vachery in Cranley.

<sup>b</sup> It is in the lower part of the parish of Ewhurst in Surrey, adjoining to Rudgwick in Sussex, in a deep clay soil. The residence belonged formerly to Sir Edward Bray, and afterwards to the Earl of Onslow, who carried the painted glass to his seat at Clandon.

<sup>c</sup> This was probably the animal called a Mcock (maucauco), since well known.

<sup>d</sup> Beckmann, in his *History of Inventions*, has written an account of the different instruments applied to carriages to measure the distance they pass over. He places the first introduction of the *adometer* in England at about the end of the seventeenth century, instead of about the middle, and states it to have been the invention of an ingenious artist named Butterfield.



15th September. Going to London with some company, we stept in to see a famous rope-dancer, called *the Turk*<sup>a</sup>. I saw even to astonishment the agility with which he performed. He walked barefooted, taking hold by his toes only of a rope almost perpendicular, and without so much as touching it with his hands; he danced blindfold on the high rope, and with a boy of twelve years old tied to one of his feet about twenty feet beneath him, dangling as he danced, yet he moved as nimbly as if it had been but a feather. Lastly, he stood on his head, on the top of a very high mast, danced on a small rope that was very slack, and finally flew down the perpendicular, on his breast, his head foremost, his legs and arms extended, with divers other activities.—I saw the hairy woman<sup>b</sup>, twenty years old, whom I had before seen when a child. She was born at Augsburg, in Germany. Her very eye-brows were combed upwards, and all her forehead as thick and even as grows on any woman's head, neatly dressed; a very long lock of hair out of each ear; she had also a most prolix beard, and moustachios, with long locks growing on the middle of her nose, like an Iceland dog exactly, the colour of a bright brown, fine as well-dressed flax. She was now married, and told me she had one child that was not hairy, nor were any of her parents or relations. She was very well shaped, and played well on the harpischord.

17th. To see Sir Robert Needham, at Lambeth, a relation of mine; and thence to John Tradescant's museum<sup>c</sup>, in which the chiefest rarities were, in my opinion, the ancient Roman, Indian, and other nations' armour, shields, and weapons; some habits of curiously-coloured and wrought feathers, one from the phenix wing, as tradition goes. Other innumerable things there were, printed in his catalogue by Mr. Ashmole, to whom after the death of the widow they are bequeathed, and by him designed as a gift to Oxford<sup>d</sup>.

19th October. I went to see divers gardens about London: returning, I saw at Dr. Joyliffe's two Virginian rattle-snakes alive, exceeding a yard in length, small heads, slender tails, but in the middle nearly the size of my leg; when vexed, swiftly vibrating and shaking their tails, as loud as a child's rattle; this, by the collision of certain gristly skins curiously jointed, yet loose, and transparent as parchment, by which they give warning; a providential caution for other creatures to avoid them. The Doctor tried their biting on rats and mice, which they immediately killed: but their vigour must needs be much exhausted here, in another climate, and kept only in a barrel of bran.

<sup>a</sup> Evelyn again mentions this tumbler in his *Numismata*, under the name of the *Funamble Turk*.

<sup>b</sup> Barbara Vanbeck. Two portraits of her, one a line engraving, the other in mezzotinto, are described in Grainger's *Biographical Dictionary*.

<sup>c</sup> The tombstone of the family in Lambeth church-yard declares, that 'Beneath this stone lie John Tradescant, grandsire, father, and son.' They were all eminent gardeners, travellers, and collectors of curiosities. The first two came into this country in the reign of James I, and the second and third were employed in the Royal Gardens by Charles I. They had a house at Lambeth, which, being filled with rarities of every description, passed by the name of Tradescant's Ark, and was much resorted to by the lovers of the curious. It formed the foundation of the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and a catalogue of its contents was printed by the youngest John Tradescant, in 1656, with the title of *Museum Tradescantianum*. The elder died in 1652. See *post*.

<sup>d</sup> Where they now are: in the Ashmolean Museum.

22nd October. To town, to visit the Holland Ambassador, with whom I had now contracted much friendly correspondence, useful to the intelligence I constantly gave his Majesty abroad.

26th November. I went to London, to a court of the East India Company on its new union, in Merchant-Taylors' Hall, where was much disorder by reason of the Anabaptists, who would have the adventurers obliged only by an engagement, without swearing, that they still might pursue their private trade ; but it was carried against them. Wednesday was fixed on for a General Court for election of officers, after a sermon and prayers for good success. The Stock resolved on was 800,000*l*.

27th. I took the oath at the East India House, subscribing 500*l*.

2nd December. Dr. Raynolds (since Bishop of Norwich) preached before the company at St. Andrew Under-shaft, on *Nehemiah* xiii. 31, showing, by the example of Nehemiah, all the perfections of a trusty person in public affairs, with many good precepts apposite to the occasion, ending with a prayer for God's blessing on the company and the undertaking.

3rd. Mr. Gunning preached on *John* iii. 3, against the Anabaptists, showing the effect and necessity of the sacrament of baptism. This sect was now wonderfully spread.

25th. I went to London with my wife, to celebrate Christmas-day, Mr. Gunning preaching in Exeter chapel, on *Michah* vii. 2. Sermon ended, as he was giving us the Holy Sacrament, the chapel was surrounded with soldiers, and all the communicants and assembly surprised and kept prisoners by them, some in the house, others carried away. It fell to my share to be confined to a room in the house, where yet I was permitted to dine with the master of it, the Countess of Dorset, Lady Hatton, and some others of quality who invited me. In the afternoon, came Colonel Whalley, Goffe, and others, from Whitehall, to examine us one by one ; some they committed to the *Marshal*, some to prison. When I came before them, they took my name and abode, examined me why, contrary to the ordinance made, that none should any longer observe the superstitious time of the Nativity (so esteemed by them), I durst offend, and particularly be at Common Prayers, which they told me was but the mass in English, and particularly pray for Charles Stuart ; for which we had no Scripture. I told them we did not pray for Charles Stuart, but for all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors. They replied, in so doing we prayed for the King of Spain, too, who was their enemy and a Papist, with other frivolous and ensnaring questions, and much threatening ; and, finding no colour to detain me, they dismissed me with much pity of my ignorance. These were men of high flight and above ordinances, and spake spiteful things of our Lord's Nativity. As we went up to receive the Sacrament, the miscreants held their muskets against us, as if they would have shot us at the altar ; but yet suffering us to finish the office of Communion, as perhaps not having instructions what to do, in case they found us in that action. So I got home late the next day ; blessed be God !

1657-8 : 27th January. After six fits of a quartan ague, with which it pleased God to visit him, died my dear son, Richard, to our inexpressible grief and affliction, five years and three days old only, but at that tender age a prodigy for wit and understanding ; for beauty of body, a very angel ; for endowment of mind, of incredible and rare hopes. To give only a little taste of them, and thereby glory to God, who ' out of the



mouths of babes and infants does sometimes perfect his praises', he had learned all his catechism; at two years and a half old, he could perfectly read any of the English, Latin, French, or Gothic letters, pronouncing the three first languages exactly. He had, before the fifth year, or in that year, not only skill to read most written hands, but to decline all the nouns, conjugate the verbs regular, and most of the irregular; learned out 'Puerilis', got by heart almost the entire vocabulary of Latin and French primitives and words, could make congruous syntax, turn English into Latin, and *vice versâ*, construe and prove what he read, and did the government and use of relatives, verbs, substantives, ellipses, and many figures and tropes, and made a considerable progress in Comenius's *Janua*; began himself to write legibly, and had a strong passion for Greek. The number of verses he could recite was prodigious, and what he remembered of the parts of plays, which he would also act; and, when seeing a Plautus in one's hand, he asked what book it was, and, being told it was comedy, and too difficult for him, he wept for sorrow. Strange was his apt and ingenious application of fables and morals; for he had read Æsop; he had a wonderful disposition to mathematics, having by heart divers propositions of Euclid that were read to him in play, and he would make lines and demonstrate them. As to his piety, astonishing were his applications of Scripture upon occasion, and his sense of God; he had learned all his Catechism early, and understood the historical part of the Bible and New Testament to a wonder, how Christ came to redeem mankind, and how, comprehending these necessities himself, his godfathers were discharged of their promise.

These and the like illuminations, far exceeding his age and experience, considering the prettiness of his address and behaviour, cannot but leave impressions in me at the memory of him. When one told him how many days a Quaker had fasted, he replied that was no wonder; for Christ had said that man should not live by bread alone, but by the Word of God. He would of himself select the most pathetic psalms, and chapters out of Job, to read to his maid during his sickness, telling her, when she pitied him, that all God's children must suffer affliction. He declaimed against the vanities of the world, before he had seen any. Often he would desire those who came to see him to pray by him, and a year before he fell sick, to kneel and pray with him alone in some corner. How thankfully would he receive admonition! how soon be reconciled! how indifferent, yet continually cheerful! He would give grave advice to his brother, John, bear with his impertinences, and say he was but a child. If he heard of or saw any new thing, he was unquiet till he was told how it was made; he brought to us all such difficulties as he found in books, to be expounded. He had learned by heart divers sentences in Latin and Greek, which, on occasion, he would produce even to wonder. He was all life, all prettiness, far from morose, sullen, or childish, in anything he said or did. The last time he had been at church (which was at Greenwich), I asked him, according to custom, what he remembered of the sermon; two good things, Father, said he, *bonum gratiæ* and *bonum gloriæ*, with a just account of what the preacher said.

The day before he died, he called to me: and, in a more serious manner than usual, told me that for all I loved him so dearly, I should give my house, land, and all my fine things, to his brother Jack, he should have

none of them ; and, the next morning, when he found himself ill, and that I persuaded him to keep his hands in bed, he demanded whether he might pray to God with his hands unjoined ; and a little after, whilst in great agony, whether he should not offend God by using his holy name so often calling for ease. What shall I say of his frequent pathetical ejaculations uttered of himself : ' Sweet Jesus, save me, deliver me, pardon my sins, let thine angels receive me ! ' So early knowledge, so much piety and perfection ! But thus God, having dressed up a saint fit for himself, would not longer permit him with us, unworthy of the future fruits of this incomparable hopeful blossom. Such a Child I never saw : for such a child I bless God, in whose bosom he is ! May I and mine become as this little child, who now follows the child Jesus that Lamb of God in a white robe, whithersoever he goes ; even so, Lord Jesus, *fiat voluntas tua !* Thou gavest him to us, Thou hast taken him from us, blessed be the name of the Lord ! That I had anything acceptable to Thee was from thy grace alone, seeing from me he had nothing but sin, but that Thou hast pardoned ! blessed be my God for ever, Amen.

In my opinion, he was suffocated by the women and maids that attended him, and covered him too hot with blankets as he lay in a cradle, near an excessive hot fire in a close room. I suffered him to be opened, when they found that he was what is vulgarly called liver-grown. I caused his body to be coffined in lead, and deposited on the 30th at eight o'clock that night in the church at Deptford, accompanied with divers of my relations and neighbours, among whom I distributed rings with this motto : *Dominus abstulit ;* intending, God willing, to have him transported with my own body to be interred in our dormitory in Wotton Church, in my dear native county of Surrey, and to lay my bones and mingle my dust with my fathers, if God be gracious to me, and make me as fit for Him as this blessed child was. The Lord Jesus sanctify this and all other my afflictions, Amen<sup>a</sup>.

Here ends the joy of my life, and for which I go even mourning to the grave.

15th February. The afflicting hand of God being still upon us, it pleased Him also to take away from us this morning my youngest Son, George, now seven weeks languishing at nurse, breeding teeth, and ending in a dropsy. God's holy will be done ! He was buried in Deptford church, the 17th following.

25th. Came Dr. Jeremy Taylor, and my brothers, with other friends, to visit and condole with us.

7th March. To London, to hear Dr. Taylor in a private house on Luke xiii. 23, 24. After the sermon, followed the blessed Communion, of which I participated. In the afternoon, Dr. Gunning, at Exeter House, expounding part of the Creed.

This had been the severest winter that any man alive had known in England. The crows' feet were frozen to their prey. Islands of ice inclosed both fish and fowl frozen, and some persons in their boats.

15th May, was a public fast, to avert an epidemical sickness, very mortal this spring.

<sup>a</sup> In the Preface to his Translation of the *Golden Book of St. Chrysostom, concerning the Education of Children*, is given another very interesting account of this boy, Richard Evelyn. See *post*, 227 ; and Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings*, p. 105.



20th May. I went to see a coach-race in Hyde-Park, and collationed in Spring Garden.

23rd. Dr. Manton, the famous Presbyterian, preached at Covent Garden, on *Matthew* vi. 10, showing what the kingdom of God was, how pray for it, &c.

There was now a collection for persecuted and sequestered Ministers of the Church of England, whereof divers are in prison. A sad day ! The Church now in dens and caves of the earth.

31st. I went to visit my Lady Peterborough, whose son, Mr. Mordaunt, prisoner in the Tower, was now on his trial, and acquitted but by one voice ; but that holy martyr, Dr. Hewer, was condemned to die, without law, jury, or justice, but by a mock Council of State, as they called it. A dangerous, treacherous time !

2nd June. An extraordinary storm of hail and rain, the season as cold as winter, the wind northerly near six months.

3rd. A large whale was taken betwixt my land abutting on the Thames and Greenwich, which drew an infinite concourse to see it, by water, horse, coach, and on foot, from London, and all parts. It appeared first below Greenwich at low water, for at high water it would have destroyed all the boats, but lying now in shallow water encompassed with boats, after a long conflict, it was killed with a harping iron, struck in the head, out of which spouted blood and water by two tunnels ; and, after a horrid groan, it ran quite on shore, and died. Its length was fifty-eight feet, height sixteen ; black-skinned, like coach-leather ; very small eyes, great tail, only two small fins, a peaked snout, and a mouth so wide, that divers men might have stood upright in it ; no teeth, but sucked the slime only as through a grate of that bone which we call whale-bone ; the throat yet so narrow, as would not have admitted the least of fishes. The extremes of the cetaceous bones hang downwards from the upper jaw, and are hairy towards the ends and bottom within side : all of it prodigious ; but in nothing more wonderful than that an animal of so great a bulk should be nourished only by slime through those grates.

8th. That excellent preacher and holy man, Dr. Hewer<sup>a</sup>, was martyred for having intelligence with his Majesty, through the Lord Marquis of Ormond.

9th. I went to see the Earl of Northumberland's<sup>b</sup> pictures, whereof that of the Venetian Senators<sup>c</sup> was one of the best of Titian's, and another of Andrea del Sarto, viz. a Madonna, Christ, St. John, and an Old Woman ; a St. Catherine of Da Vinci, with divers portraits of Vandyck ; a Nativity of Georgioni ; the last of our blessed Kings (Charles I), and the Duke of York, by Lely, a Rosary by the famous Jesuits of Brussels, and several more. This was in Suffolk House : the new front towards the gardens is tolerable, were it not drowned by a too massy and clumsy pair of stairs of stone, without any neat invention.

<sup>a</sup> Minister of St. Gregory's, London : he was beheaded on Tower Hill.

<sup>b</sup> Algernon, tenth Earl. He was a Knight of the Garter ; and though conspicuously opposed to Charles I during the Civil Wars, promoted the Restoration. He was one of our first collectors of pictures, and his gallery at Suffolk, since Northumberland, House, was greatly admired, not only by Evelyn, but by all connoisseurs. He died Oct. 13, 1668.

<sup>c</sup> The Cornaro family, still one of the grand ornaments of Northumberland-House. There is a print of it engraved by Baron.

10th June. I went to see the Medical Garden, at Westminster, well stored with plants, under Morgan, a very skilful botanist.

26th. To Eltham, to visit honest Mr. Owen.

3rd July. To London, and dined with Mr. Henshaw, Mr. Dorell, and Mr. Ashmole, founder of the Oxford repository of rarities, with divers doctors of physic and virtuosos.

15th. Came to see my Lord Kilmurry and Lady, Sir Robert Needham, Mr. Offley, and two daughters of my Lord Willoughby, of Parham.

3rd August. Went to Sir John Evelyn at Godstone. The place is excellent, but might be improved by turning some offices of the house, and removing the garden. The house being a noble fabric, though not comparable to what was first built by my uncle, who was master of all the powder-mills.

5th. We went to Squirries<sup>a</sup> to visit my Cousin Leech, daughter to Sir John; a pretty, finely wooded, well watered seat, the stables good, the house old, but convenient. 6th. Returned to Wotton.

10th. I dined at Mr. Carew Raleigh's, at Horsley, son to the famous Sir Walter.

14th. We went to Durdans [at Epsom] to a challenged match at bowls for 10*l.*, which we won.

18th. To Sir Ambrose Browne, at Betchworth Castle, in that tempestuous wind which threw down my greatest trees at Sayes Court, and did so much mischief all over England. It continued the whole night; and, till three in the afternoon of the next day, in the south-west, and destroyed all our winter fruit.

3rd September. Died that arch-rebel, Oliver Cromwell, called Protector.

16th. Was published my Translation of St. Chrysostom on Education of Children, which I dedicated to both my brothers, to comfort them on the loss of their children.

21st. My Lord Berkeley, of Berkeley Castle, invited me to dinner.

26th. Mr. King preached at Ashted, on *Proverbs* xv. 24; a Quaker would have disputed with him. In the afternoon, we heard Dr. Hacket (since Bishop of Litchfield) at Cheam, where the family of the Lumleys lie buried.

27th. To Beddington, that ancient seat of the Carews, a fine old hall, but a scrambling house, famous for the first orange-garden in England, being now overgrown trees, planted in the ground, and secured in winter with a wooden tabernacle and stoves. This seat is rarely watered, lying low, and environed with good pastures. The pomegranates bear here. To the house is also added a fine park. Thence, to Carshalton, excellently watered, and capable of being made a most delicious seat, being on the sweet downs, and a champain about it full planted with walnut and cherry trees, which afford a considerable rent.

Riding over these downs, and discoursing with the shepherds, I found that digging about the bottom near Sir Christopher Buckle's<sup>b</sup>, near Banstead, divers medals have been found, both copper and silver, with founda-

<sup>a</sup> At Westerham, in Kent.

<sup>b</sup> Not far from the course of the Roman Road from Chichester, through Sussex, passing through Ockley, and Dorking church-yard. Considerable remains of a Roman building have since been found on Walton-heath, south of this house.



tions of houses, urns, &c. Here, indeed, anciently stood a city of the Romans.—See Antonine's Itinerary.

29th September. I returned home, after ten weeks' absence.

2nd October. I went to London, to receive the Holy Sacrament.

On the 3rd, Dr. Wild preached in a private place on *Isaiah* i. 4, showing the parallel betwixt the sins of Israel and those of England. In the afternoon, Mr. Hall (son to Joseph, Bishop of Norwich) on *1 Cor.* vi. 2, of the dignity of the Saints; a most excellent discourse.

4th. I dined with the Holland Ambassador, at Derby House: returning, I diverted to see a very *white raven*, bred in Cumberland; also a porcupine, of that kind that shoots its quills, of which see Claudian; it was headed like a rat, the fore feet like a badger, the hind feet like a bear.

19th. I was summoned to London, by the Commissioners for new buildings; afterwards, to the Commission of Sewers; but because there was an oath to be taken of fidelity to the Government as now constituted without a King, I got to be excused, and returned home.

22nd. Saw the superb funeral of the Protector. He was carried from Somerset House in a velvet bed of state, drawn by six horses, housed with the same; the pall held by his new Lords; Oliver lying in effigy, in royal robes, and crowned with a crown, sceptre, and globe, like a king. The pendants and guidons were carried by the officers of the army; the imperial banners, achievements, &c. by the heralds in their coats; a rich caparisoned horse, embroidered all over with gold; a knight of honour, armed cap-a-pié, and, after all, his guards, soldiers, and innumerable mourners. In this equipage, they proceeded to Westminster: but it was the joyfullest funeral I ever saw; for there were none that cried but dogs, which the soldiers hooted away with a barbarous noise, drinking and taking tobacco in the streets as they went.

I returned not home till the 17th November.

I was summoned again to London by the Commissioners for new foundations to be erected within such a distance of London.

6th December. Now was published my *French Gardener*<sup>a</sup>, the first and best of the kind that introduced the use of the Olitory garden to any purpose.

23rd. I went with my wife to keep Christmas at my cousin, George Tuke's, at Cressing Temple, in Essex. Lay that night at Brentwood.

25th. Here was no public service, but what we privately used. I blessed God for His mercies the year past; and, 1st January, begged a continuance of them. Thus, for three Sundays, by reason of the incumbent's death, here was neither praying nor preaching, though there was a chapel in the house.

1658–9. 17th January. Our old vicar preached, taking leave of the parish in a pathetical speech, to go to a living in the City.

24th March. I went to London, to speak to the patron, Alderman Cuttler, about presenting a fit pastor for our destitute parish-church.

5th April. Came the Earl of Northampton and the famous painter, Mr. Wright<sup>b</sup>, to visit me.

<sup>a</sup> The *Epistle Dedicatory to the French Gardener* is reprinted in the *Miscellaneous Writings*, p. 97.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. Michael Wright, who painted the twelve Judges in Guildhall, after the great fire. A long account of him is given in Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*. See more of him, *post*, p. 257.

10th April. One Mr. Littler, being now presented to the living of our parish, preached on *John* vi. 55, a sermon preparatory to the Holy Sacrament.

25th. A wonderful and sudden change in the face of the public; the new Protector, Richard, slighted; several pretenders and parties strive for the government: all anarchy and confusion; Lord have mercy on us!

5th May. I went to visit my brother in London; and, next day, to see a new opera<sup>a</sup>, after the Italian way, in recitative music and scenes, much inferior to the Italian composure and magnificence; but it was prodigious that in a time of such public consternation such a vanity should be kept up, or permitted. I, being engaged with company, could not decently resist the going to see it, though my heart smote me for it.

7th. Came the Ambassador of Holland and his Lady to visit me, and staid the whole afternoon.

12th. I returned the visit, discoursing much of the revolutions, &c.

19th. Came to dine with me my Lord Galloway and his son, a Scotch Lord and learned: also my brother and his Lady, Lord Berkeley and his Lady, Mrs. Shirley, and the famous singer, Mrs. Knight<sup>b</sup>, and other friends.

23rd. I went to Rookwood<sup>c</sup>, and dined with Sir William Hicks, where was a great feast and much company. It is a melancholy old house, environed with trees and rooks.

26th. Came to see me my Lord George Berkeley, Sir William Ducie, and Sir George Pott's son of Norfolk.

29th. The nation was now in extreme confusion and unsettled, between the Armies and the Sectaries, the poor Church of England breathing as it were her last; so sad a face of things had overspread us.

7th June. To London, to take leave of my brother, and see the foundations now laying for a long street and buildings in Hatton-Garden, designed for a little town, lately an ample garden.

1st September. I communicated to Mr. Robert Boyle, son to the Earl of Cork, my proposal for erecting a philosophic and mathematic college.

15th. Came to see me Mr. Brereton<sup>d</sup>, a very learned gentleman, son to my Lord Brereton, with his and divers other ladies. Also, Henry Howard, of Norfolk, since Duke of Norfolk.

30th. I went to visit Sir William Lucie and Colonel Blount, where I met Sir Henry Blount, the famous traveller and water-drinker<sup>e</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Probably that by Sir William Davenant, in which the cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru was exhibited with all the adjuncts of instrumental and vocal music, and elaborate scenery.

<sup>b</sup> Afterwards one of Charles the Second's mistresses.

<sup>c</sup> A house in Layton, in Essex, better known by the name of Rockholt, or Ruckholt, built by Mr. Parvish, a former owner of the estate; but a new house was afterwards erected near the site of the former by the family of Hicks, of whom William was created a baronet in 1619. Charles II was entertained here one day when he was hunting, on which occasion he knighted William, the son of the Baronet. Morant, in his *History of Essex*, printed in 1768, speaks of the new house as then for several years pulled down. For some time previously, it had been a place of public entertainment in a morning, at which visitors were regaled with tea and music.

<sup>d</sup> William, afterwards third Lord Brereton; an accomplished and able man, who assisted Evelyn in establishing the Royal Society. He died in 1679.

<sup>e</sup> The second son of Sir Thomas Pope Blount, of Tittenhanger, in Hertfordshire, born December 15, 1602. After entering himself a member of the Society of Gray's Inn, he started in 1634 on a tour in Turkey, Syria, and Egypt, which



10th October. I came with my wife and family to London : took lodgings at the Three Feathers, in Russell Street, Covent Garden, for the winter, my son being very unwell.

11th. Came to visit me Mr. William Coventry (since Secretary to the Duke), son to the Lord Keeper, a wise and witty gentleman.

The Army now turned out the Parliament. We had now no government in the nation ; all in confusion ; no magistrate either owned or pretended, but the soldiers, and they not agreed. God Almighty have mercy on, and settle us !

17th. I visited Mr. Howard, at Arundel-house, who gave me a fair onyx set in gold, and showed me his design of a palace there.

21st. A private fast was kept by the Church of England Protestants in town, to beg of God the removal of His judgments, with devout prayers for His mercy to our calamitous Church.

7th November. Was published my bold *Apology for the King*<sup>a</sup> in this time of danger, when it was capital to speak or write in favour of him. It was twice printed ; so universally it took.

9th. We observed our solemn Fast for the calamity of our Church.

12th. I went to see the several drugs for the confection of treacle, dioscoridium, and other electuaries, which an ingenious apothecary had not only prepared and ranged on a large and very long table, but covered every ingredient with a sheet of paper, on which was very lively painted the thing in miniature, well to the life, were it plant, flower, animal, or other exotic drug.

15th. Dined with the Dutch Ambassador. He did in a manner acknowledge that his nation mind only their own profit, do nothing out of gratitude, but collaterally as it relates to their gain, or security ; and therefore the English were to look for nothing of assistance to the banished King. This was to me no very grateful discourse, though an ingenuous confession.

18th. Mr. Gunning celebrated the wonted Fast, and preached on *Phil.* ii. 12, 13.

24th. Sir John Evelyn [of Godstone] invited us to the forty-first wedding-day feast, where was much company of friends.

26th. I was introduced into the acquaintance of divers learned and worthy persons, Sir John Marsham, Mr. Dugdale, Mr. Stanley, and others.

9th December. I supped with Mr. Gunning, it being our fast-day, Dr.

lasted four years, and on his return published the results under the title of *A Voyage to the Levant, with Observations concerning the Modern Condition of the Turks*, which passed through many editions. In 1638 he succeeded to the family estate, Blount's Hall, Staffordshire, and the next year received the honour of knighthood. On the breaking out of the troubles, Sir Henry Blount became a cavalier officer, and fought under the royal banner at Edgehill. He afterwards changed sides, was employed by Cromwell as a commissioner for reforming the criminal code, and was engaged in trying the brother of the Portuguese ambassador for murder. On the death of his brother in 1654, Sir Henry succeeded to another estate at Tittenhanger, and became High Sheriff of Hertfordshire in 1661. On the return of Charles II he found no difficulty in making his peace, and entertained his subsequent leisure with the composition of comedies and other fugitive productions.

<sup>a</sup> Reprinted in Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings*, pp. 169-192.

Fearne, Mr. Thrisco, Mr. Chamberlain, Dr. Henchman, Dr. Wild<sup>a</sup>, and other devout and learned divines, firm confessors, and excellent persons. Note : Most of them since made bishops.

10th December. I treated privately with Colonel Morley<sup>b</sup>, then Lieutenant of the Tower, and in great trust and power, concerning delivering it to the King, and the bringing of him in, to the great hazard of my life, but the Colonel had been my school-fellow, and I knew would not betray me.

12th. I spent in public concerns for his Majesty, pursuing the point to bring over Colonel Morley, and his brother-in-law, Fay, Governor of Portsmouth.

18th. Preached that famous divine, Dr. Sanderson (since Bishop of Lincoln), now eighty years old, on *Jer.* xxx. 13, concerning the evil of forsaking God.

29th. Came my Lord Count Arundel, of Wardour, to visit me. I went also to see my Lord Viscount Montague<sup>c</sup>.

31st. Settling my domestic affairs in order, blessed God for his infinite mercies and preservations the past year.

ANNUS MIRABILIS, 1659-60. *January* 1. Begging God's blessings for the following year, I went to Exeter Chapel, when Mr. Gunning began the year on *Galatians* iv. 3-7, showing the love of Christ in shedding his blood so early for us.

12th. Wrote to Colonel Morley again to declare for his Majesty.

22nd. I went this afternoon to visit Colonel Morley. After dinner I discoursed with him ; but he was very jealous, and would not believe that Monk came in to do the King any service ; I told him that he might do it without him, and have all the honour. He was still doubtful, and would resolve on nothing yet, so I took leave.

3rd February. Kept the Fast. General Monk came now to London out of Scotland ; but no man knew what he would do, or declare, yet he was met on his way by the gentlemen of all the counties which he passed, with petitions that he would recall the old long-interrupted Parliament, and settle the nation in some order, being at this time in most prodigious confusion, and under no government, everybody expecting what would be next, and what he would do.

10th. Now were the gates of the city broken down by General Monk ; which exceedingly exasperated the city, the soldiers marching up and down as triumphing over it, and all the old army of the fanatics put out of their posts, and sent out of town.

11th. A signal day. Monk, perceiving how infamous and wretched a pack of knaves would have still usurped the supreme power, and having intelligence that they intended to take away his commission, repenting of what he had done to the city, and where he and his forces were quartered,

<sup>a</sup> *ante*, p. 218. He was of St. John's College, Oxford, Chaplain to Archbishop Laud, and Vicar of St. Giles's, Reading. Adhering to the King, he preached before the Parliament, at Oxford. After the Restoration, he was made Bishop of Londonderry. He had kept up a religious meeting for the Royalists in Fleet Street.

<sup>b</sup> *ante*, p. 190. A detailed account of Evelyn's communications with Colonel Morley will be found in the Illustrations, *post*, Appendix.

<sup>c</sup> Francis Brown, third Viscount, a zealous royalist. He died November 2, 1682.



marches to Whitehall, dissipates that nest of robbers, and convenes the old Parliament, the Rump Parliament (so called as retaining some few rotten members of the other) being dissolved ; and for joy whereof were many thousands of rumps roasted publicly in the streets at the bonfires this night<sup>a</sup>, with ringing of bells, and universal jubilee. This was the first good omen.

From 17th February to 5th April, I was detained in bed with a kind of double tertian, the cruel effects of the spleen and other distempers, in that extremity that my physicians, Drs. Wetherborn, Needham, and Claude, were in great doubt of my recovery ; but it pleased God to deliver me out of this affliction, for which I render him hearty thanks : going to church the 8th, and receiving the blessed Eucharist.

During this sickness, came divers of my relations and friends to visit me, and it retarded my going into the country longer than I intended ; however, I writ and printed a letter, in defence of his Majesty<sup>b</sup>, against a wicked forged Paper, pretended to be sent from Brussels to defame his Majesty's person and virtues, and render him odious, now when everybody was in hope and expectation of the General and Parliament recalling him, and establishing the Government on its ancient and right basis. The doing this towards the decline of my sickness, and sitting up long in my bed, had caused a small relapse, out of which it yet pleased God also to free me, so as by the 14th I was able to go into the country, which I did to my sweet and native air at Wotton.

3rd May. Came the most happy tidings of his Majesty's gracious declaration and applications to the Parliament, General, and People, and their dutiful acceptance and acknowledgment, after a most bloody and unreasonable rebellion of near twenty years. Praised be for ever the Lord of Heaven, who only doeth wondrous things, because His mercy endureth for ever.

8th. This day was his Majesty proclaimed in London, &c.

9th. I was desired and designed to accompany my Lord Berkeley with the public address of the Parliament, General, &c., to the King, and invite him to come over and assume his Kingly Government, he being now at Breda ; but I was yet so weak, I could not make that journey by sea, which was not a little to my detriment, so I went to London to excuse myself, returning the 10th, having yet received a gracious message from his Majesty by Major Scot and Colonel Tuke.

24th. Came to me Colonel Morley, about procuring his pardon, now too late seeing his error and neglect of the counsel I gave him, by which, if he had taken it, he had certainly done the great work with the same ease that Monk did it, who was then in Scotland, and Morley in a post to have done what he pleased, but his jealousy and fear kept him from that blessing and honour. I addressed him to Lord Mordaunt, then in great favour, for his pardon, which he obtained at the cost of 1000*l.*, as I heard. O the sottish omission of this gentleman ! what did I not undergo of danger in this negotiation, to have brought him over to his Majesty's interest, when it was entirely in his hands !

<sup>a</sup> Pamphlets with cuts representing this special turn of the popular heats were printed at the time.

<sup>b</sup> With the title of *The late News, or Message from Brussels, unmasked*. This, and the pamphlet which gave rise to it, are reprinted in Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings*, pp. 193-204.

*29th May.* This day, his Majesty, Charles the Second came to London, after a sad and long exile and calamitous suffering both of the King and Church, being seventeen years. This was also his birth-day, and with a triumph of above 20,000 horse and foot, brandishing their swords, and shouting with inexpressible joy ; the ways strewed with flowers, the bells ringing, the streets hung with tapestry, fountains running with wine ; the Mayor, Aldermen, and all the Companies, in their liveries, chains of gold, and banners ; Lords and Nobles, clad in cloth of silver, gold, and velvet ; the windows and balconies, all set with ladies ; trumpets, music, and myriads of people flocking, even so far as from Rochester, so as they were seven hours in passing the city, even from two in the afternoon till nine at night.

I stood in the Strand and beheld it, and blessed God. And all this was done without one drop of blood shed, and by that very army which rebelled against him : but it was the Lord's doing, for such a restoration was never mentioned in any history, ancient or modern, since the return of the Jews from their Babylonish captivity ; nor so joyful a day and so bright ever seen in this nation, this happening when to expect or effect it was past all human policy.

*4th June.* I received letters of Sir Richard Browne's landing at Dover, and also letters from the Queen, which I was to deliver at Whitehall, not as yet presenting myself to his Majesty, by reason of the infinite concourse of people. The eagerness of men, women, and children, to see his Majesty, and kiss his hands, was so great, that he had scarce leisure to eat for some days, coming as they did from all parts of the nation ; and the King being as willing to give them that satisfaction, would have none kept out, but gave free access to all sorts of people.

Addressing myself to the Duke, I was carried to his Majesty, when very few noblemen were with him, and kissed his hands, being very graciously received. I then returned home, to meet Sir Richard Browne, who came not till the 8th, after nineteen years' exile, during all which time he kept up in his chapel the liturgy and offices of the Church of England, to his no small honour, and in a time when it was so low, and as many thought utterly lost, that in various controversies both with Papists and Sectaries, our divines used to argue for the visibility of the Church, from his chapel and congregation.

I was all this week to and fro at court about business.

*16th.* The French, Italian, and Dutch Ministers came to make their address to his Majesty, one Monsieur Stoope pronouncing the harangue with great eloquence.

*18th.* I proposed the embassy to Constantinople for Mr. Henshaw ; but my Lord Winchelsea struck in<sup>a</sup>.

Goods that had been pillaged from Whitehall during the Rebellion, were now daily brought in, and restored upon proclamation ; as plate, hangings, pictures, &c.

*22nd.* The Warwickshire gentlemen (as did all the shires and chief towns in all the three nations) presented their congratulatory Address. It was carried by my Lord Northampton.

<sup>a</sup> It was on his return from this embassy that Lord Winchelsea, visiting Sicily, was an eye-witness of the dreadful eruption of Mount Etna in 1669, a short account of which was afterwards published in a small pamphlet, with a cut by Hollar of the mountain, &c.



30th June. The Sussex gentlemen presented their Address, to which was my hand. I went with it, and kissed his Majesty's hand, who was pleased to own me more particularly by calling me his old acquaintance, and speaking very graciously to me.

3rd July. I went to Hyde-Park, where was his Majesty, and abundance of gallantry.

4th. I heard Sir Samuel Tuke harangue to the house of Lords, in behalf of the Roman Catholics, and his account of the transaction at Colchester in murdering Lord Capel, and the rest of those brave men, that suffered in cold blood, after articles of rendition.

5th. I saw his Majesty go with as much pomp and splendour as any earthly prince could do to the great City feast, the first they had invited him to since his return; but the exceeding rain which fell all that day much eclipsed its lustres. This was at Guildhall, and there was also all the Parliament-men, both Lords and Commons. The streets were adorned with pageants, at immense cost.

6th. His Majesty began first to *touch for the evil*! according to custom, thus: his Majesty sitting under his state in the Banqueting-house, the surgeons cause the sick to be brought, or led, up to the throne, where they kneeling, the king strokes their faces, or cheeks with both his hands at once, at which instant a chaplain in his formalities says, 'He put his hands upon them, and he healed them.' This is said to every one in particular. When they have been all touched, they come up again in the same order, and the other chaplain kneeling, and having angel gold<sup>a</sup> strung on white ribbon on his arm, delivers them one by one to his Majesty, who puts them about the necks of the touched as they pass, whilst the first chaplain repeats, 'That is the true light who came into the world.' Then follows; an epistle (as at first a Gospel) with the Liturgy, prayers for the sick, with some alteration; lastly the blessing; and then the Lord Chamberlain and the Comptroller of the Household bring a basin, ewer and towel, for his Majesty to wash.

The king received a congratulatory address from the city of Cologne, in Germany, where he had been some time in his exile; his Majesty saying they were the best people in the world, the most kind and worthy to him that he ever met with.

I recommended Monsieur Messary to be Judge Advocate in Jersey, by the Vice-Chamberlain's mediation with the Earl of St. Albans; and saluted my excellent and worthy noble friend, my Lord Ossory, son to the Marquis of Ormond, after many year's absence returned home.

8th. Mr. Henchman preached on *Ephes. v. 5*, concerning Christian circumspection. From henceforth, was the Liturgy publicly used in our churches, whence it had been for so many years banished.

15th. Came Sir George Carteret and Lady to visit us: he was now Treasurer of the Navy.

28th. I heard his Majesty's speech in the Lords' House, on passing the Bills of Tonnage and Poundage; restoration of my Lord Ormond to his estate in Ireland; concerning the Commission of Sewers, and continuance of the Excise.—In the afternoon, I saluted my old friend, the

<sup>a</sup> Pieces of money, so called from the figure of an angel on them.

Archbishop of Armagh, formerly of Londonderry (Dr. Bramhall)<sup>a</sup>. He presented several Irish divines to be promoted as Bishops in that kingdom, most of the Bishops in the three kingdoms being now almost worn out, and the sees vacant.

31st July. I went to visit Sir Philip Warwick, now Secretary to the Lord Treasurer, at his house in North Cray<sup>b</sup>.

19th August. Our Vicar read the Thirty-nine Articles to the congregation, the national assemblies beginning now to settle, and wanting instruction.

23rd. Came Duke Hamilton, Lord Lothian, and several Scottish Lords, to see my garden.

25th. Colonel Spencer, Colonel of a regiment of horse in our county of Kent, sent to me, and entreated that I would take a commission for a troop of horse, and that I would nominate my Lieutenant and Ensigns ; I thanked him for the honour intended me ; but would by no means undertake the trouble.

4th September. I was invited to an ordination by the Bishop of Bangor, in Henry VII's chapel, Westminster, and afterwards saw the audience of an Envoyée from the Duke of Anjou, sent to compliment his Majesty's return.

5th. Came to visit and dine with me the Envoyée of the King of Poland, and Resident of the King of Denmark, &c.

7th. I went to Chelsea to visit Mr. Boyle, and see his pneumatic engine perform divers experiments. Thence, to Kensington, to visit Mr. Henshaw, returning home that evening.

13th. I saw in Southwark, at St. Margaret's fair, monkeys and apes dance, and do other feats of activity, on the high rope ; they were gallantly clad *à la monde*, went upright, saluted the company, bowing and pulling off their hats, they saluted one another with as good a grace, as if instructed by a dancing-master ; they turned heels over head with a basket having eggs in it, without breaking any ; also, with lighted candles in their hands,

<sup>a</sup> John Bramhall, born in 1593, at Pontefract, in Yorkshire. Studying for the Church, he obtained his Doctor's degree in 1638, and became chaplain to Archbishop Matthews ; then prebendary of York ; and subsequently of Ripon. He went to Ireland on the invitation of Lord Wentworth, and was made Bishop of Derry ; but in 1641 his conduct laid him open to charges of high treason, and he found it necessary to quit the country, till the return of Charles II, when he was created Archbishop of Armagh. He died in 1677, in which year there was a publication of his works, in one volume, folio. Evelyn subsequently refers to a curious letter of his on the Irish Catholics, which caused the suppression of the book in which it appeared.

<sup>b</sup> He was born at Westminster, went to school at Eton, and afterwards proceeded to Geneva. On his return to England, he attached himself to the Court, and obtained a seat in Parliament, where he opposed Strafford's impeachment, and subsequently went to Oxford with the King, who employed him in 1646 as one of his commissioners to treat with the Parliament, and afterwards retained him as his secretary at the Isle of Wight. He was returned for Middlesex at the Restoration, and obtained the office of Secretary to the Lord Treasurer, which brought him into frequent communication with Evelyn. His death occurred in 1682. He had found time to write *A Discourse on Government*, and *Memoirs of King Charles*, the last containing some curious anecdotes, and the most graphic existing account of Cromwell's first speech in the House of Commons. See *Correspondence*.



and on their heads, without extinguishing them, and with vessels of water without spilling a drop. I also saw an Italian wench dance, and perform all the tricks on the high rope, to admiration ; all the court went to see her. Likewise, here was a man who took up a piece of iron cannon of about 400lb. weight with the hair of his head only.

*17th September.* Went to London, to see the splendid entry of the Prince de Ligne, Ambassador extraordinary from Spain ; he was General of the Spanish King's horse in Flanders, and was accompanied with divers great persons from thence, and an innumerable retinue. His train consisted of seventeen coaches, with six horses of his own, besides a great number of English, &c. Greater bravery had I never seen. He was received in the Banqueting House, in exceeding state, all the great officers of Court attending.

*23rd.* In the midst of all this joy and jubilee, the Duke of Gloucester died of the small-pox, in the prime of youth, and a prince of extraordinary hopes.

*27th.* The King received the merchants' addresses in his closet, giving them assurances of his persisting to keep Jamaica, choosing Sir Edward Massey, Governor. In the afternoon, the Danish Ambassador's condolences were presented, on the death of the Duke of Gloucester. This evening, I saw the Princess Royal, mother to the Prince of Orange, now come out of Holland in a fatal period.

*6th October.* I paid the great tax of poll-money, levied for disbanding the army, till now kept up. I paid as an Esquire 10*l.*, and one shilling for every servant in my house.

*7th.* There dined with me a French Count, with Sir George Tuke, who came to take leave of me, being sent over to the Queen-Mother, to break the marriage of the Duke with the daughter of Chancellor Hyde. The Queen would fain have undone it ; but it seems matters were reconciled, on great offers of the Chancellor's to befriend the Queen, who was much in debt, and was now to have the settlement of her affairs go through his hands.

*11th.* The regicides who sat on the life of our late King, were brought to trial in the Old Bailey, before a commission of Oyer and Terminer.

*14th.* Axtall, Carew, Clement, Hacker, Hewson, and Peters, were executed.

*17th.* Scot, Scroop, Cook, and Jones, suffered for reward of their iniquities at Charing Cross, in sight of the place where they put to death their natural prince, and in the presence of the King his son, whom they also sought to kill. I saw not their execution, but met their quarters, mangled, and cut, and reeking, as they were brought from the gallows in baskets on the hurdle. Oh, the miraculous providence of God !

*28th.* His Majesty went to meet the Queen-Mother.

*29th.* Going to London, my Lord Mayor's show stopped me in Cheapside ; one of the pageants represented a great wood, with the royal oak, and history of his Majesty's miraculous escape at Boscobel.

*31st.* Arrived now to my fortieth year, I rendered to Almighty God my due and hearty thanks.

*1st November.* I went with some of my relations to Court, to show them his Majesty's cabinet and closet of rarities ; the rare miniatures of Peter Oliver, after Raphael, Titian, and other masters, which I infinitely esteem ;

also, that large piece of the Duchess of Lennox, done in enamel, by Petitot, and a vast number of agates, onyxes, and intaglios, especially a medallion of Cæsar, as broad as my hand ; likewise, rare cabinets of pietra-commessa, a landscape of needle-work, formerly presented by the Dutch to King Charles the First. Here I saw a vast book of maps, in a volume near four yards large ; a curious ship model ; and, amongst the clocks, one that showed the rising and setting of the sun in the zodiac ; the sun represented by a face and rays of gold, upon an azure sky, observing the diurnal and annual motion, rising and setting behind a landscape of hills, the work of our famous Fromantil ; and several other rarities.

*3rd November.* Arrived the Queen-Mother in England, whence she had been banished for almost twenty years ; together with her illustrious daughter, the Princess Henrietta, divers Princes and Noblemen, accompanying them.

*15th.* I kissed the Queen-Mother's hand.

*20th.* I dined at the Clerk Comptroller's of the Green Cloth, being the first day of the re-establishment of the Court diet, and settling of his Majesty's household.

*23rd.* Being this day in the bedchamber of the Princess Henrietta, where were many great beauties and noblemen, I saluted divers of my old friends and acquaintances abroad ; his Majesty carrying my Wife to salute the Queen and Princess, and then led her into his closet, and with his own hands showed her divers curiosities.

*25th.* Dr. Rainbow preached before the King, on *Luke ii. 14*, of the glory to be given God for all his mercies, especially for restoring the Church and government ; now the service was performed with music, voices, &c., as formerly.

*27th.* Came down the Clerk Comptroller [of the Green Cloth] by the Lord Steward's appointment, to survey the land at Sayes Court, on which I had pretence, and to make his report<sup>a</sup>.

*6th December.* I waited on my Brother and Sister Evelyn to Court. Now were presented to his Majesty those two rare pieces of drollery, or rather a Dutch Kitchen, painted by Dowe, so finely as hardly to be distinguished from enamel. I was also showed divers rich jewels and crystal vases ; the rare head of Jo. Bellino, Titian's master ; Christ in the Garden, by Hannibal Caracci ; two incomparable heads, by Holbein ; the Queen-Mother in a miniature, almost as big as the life ; an exquisite piece of carving ; two unicorn's horns, &c., This in the closet.

*13th.* I presented my Son, John, to the Queen-Mother, who kissed him, talked with and made extraordinary much of him.

*14th.* I visited my Lady Chancellor, the Marchioness of Ormond, and Countess of Guildford<sup>b</sup>, all of whom we had known abroad in exile.

<sup>a</sup> Up to this time it was still the usage to supply the King's Household with corn and cattle from the different counties ; and upon oxen being sent up, pasture-grounds of the King, near town, were allotted for them ; among these were lands at Deptford, and Tottenham-Court, which were under the direction of the Lord Steward and Board of Green Cloth. Sir Richard Browne had the keeping of the lands at Deptford.

<sup>b</sup> Elizabeth, daughter of William, first Earl of Denbigh, married to Lewis, Viscount Boyle, who fell at the Battle of Liscarroll, in 1642. She was advanced to the Peerage for life, on the 14th July, 1660, as Countess of Guildford, and died in 1673.



18th December. I carried Mr. Spellman, a most ingenious gentleman, grandchild to the learned Sir Henry, to my Lord Mordaunt, to whom I had recommended him as Secretary.

21st. This day died the Princess of Orange, of the small-pox, which entirely altered the face and gallantry of the whole Court.

22nd. The marriage of the Chancellor's daughter being now newly owned, I went to see her, she being Sir Richard Browne's intimate acquaintance when she waited on the Princess of Orange; she was now at her father's, at Worcester-House, in the Strand. We all kissed her hand, as did also my Lord Chamberlain (Manchester) and Countess of Northumberland. This was a strange change—can it succeed well?—I spent the evening at St. James's, whither the Princess Henrietta was retired during the fatal sickness of her sister, the Princess of Orange, now come over to salute the King her brother. The Princess gave my Wife an extraordinary compliment and gracious acceptance, for the 'Character'<sup>a</sup> she had presented her the day before, and which was afterwards printed.

25th. Preached at the Abbey, Dr. Earle, Clerk of his Majesty's Closet, and my dear friend, now Dean of Westminster, on *Luke* ii. 13, 14, condoling the breach made in the public joy by the lamented death of the Princess.

30th. I dined at Court with Mr. Crane, Clerk of the Green Cloth.

31st. I gave God thanks for his many signal mercies to myself, church, and nation, this wonderful year.

1660-1. 2nd January. The Queen-mother, with the Princess Henrietta, began her journey to Portsmouth, in order to her return into France.

5th. I visited my Lord Chancellor Clarendon, with whom I had been well acquainted abroad.

6th. Dr. Allestree preached at the Abbey, after which four Bishops were consecrated, Hereford, Norwich . . .

This night was suppressed a bloody insurrection of some *Fifth-Monarchy enthusiasts*. Some of them were examined at the Council the next day; but could say nothing to extenuate their madness and unwarrantable zeal.

I was now chosen (and nominated by his Majesty for one of the Council), by suffrage of the rest of the Members, a Fellow of the Philosophic Society now meeting at Gresham College, where was an assembly of divers learned gentlemen. This being the first meeting since the King's return; but it had been begun some years before at Oxford, and was continued with interruption here in London during the Rebellion.

There was another rising of the fanatics, in which some were slain.

16th. I went to the Philosophic Club, where was examined the Torricellian experiment. I presented my Circle of Mechanical Trades, and had recommended to me the publishing what I had written of *Chalco-graphy*<sup>b</sup>.

25th. After divers years since I had seen any play, I went to see acted *The Scornful Lady*, at a new theatre in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.

30th. Was the first solemn fast and day of humiliation to deplore the sins which had so long provoked God against this afflicted church and people, ordered by Parliament to be annually celebrated to expiate the guilt of the execrable murder of the late King.

<sup>a</sup> *A Character of England*, reprinted in Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings*, pp. 141-167.

<sup>b</sup> See *post*, p. 254.

This day (O the stupendous and inscrutable judgments of God !) were the carcasses of those arch-rebels, Cromwell, Bradshawe (the judge who condemned his Majesty), and Ireton (son-in-law to the Usurper), dragged out of their superb tombs in Westminster among the Kings, to Tyburn, and hanged on the gallows there from nine in the morning till six at night, and then buried under that fatal and ignominious monument in a deep pit ; thousands of people who had seen them in all their pride being spectators. Look back at October 22, 1658<sup>a</sup>, and be astonished ! and fear God and honour the King ; but meddle not with them who are given to change !

6th February. To London, to our Society, where I gave notice of the visit of the Danish Ambassador-Extraordinary, and was ordered to return him their acceptance of that honour, and to invite him the next meeting day.

10th. Dr. Baldero preached at Ely-house, on *Matthew* vi. 33, of seeking early the kingdom of God ; after sermon, the Bishop (Dr. Wren) gave us the blessing, very pontifically.

13th. I conducted the Danish Ambassador to our meeting at Gresham College, where were showed him various experiments *in vacuo*, and other curiosities.

21st. Prince Rupert first showed me how to grave in *mezzo tinto*.

26th. I went to Lord Mordaunt's, at Parson's Green<sup>b</sup>.

27th. Ash-Wednesday. Preached before the King the Bishop of London (Dr. Sheldon) on *Matthew* xviii. 25, concerning charity and forgiveness.

8th March. I went to my Lord Chancellor's, and delivered to him the state of my concernment at Sayes Court.

9th. I went with that excellent person and philosopher, Sir Robert Murray, to visit Mr. Boyle at Chelsea, and saw divers effects of the eolipile for weighing air.

13th. I went to Lambeth, with Sir R. Browne's pretence to the Wardenship of Merton College, Oxford, to which, as having been about forty years before a student of that House, he was elected by the votes of every Fellow except one : but the statutes of the House being so that, unless every Fellow agree, the election devolves to the Visitor, who is the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Juxon), his Grace gave his nomination to Sir T. Clayton, resident there, and the Physic Professor ; for which I was not at all displeased, because, though Sir Richard missed it by much ingratitude and wrong of the Archbishop (Clayton being no Fellow), yet it would have hindered Sir Richard from attending at Court to settle his greater concerns, and so have prejudiced me, though he was much inclined to have passed his time in a collegiate life, very unfit for him at that time, for many reasons. So I took leave of his Grace, who was formerly Lord Treasurer in the reign of Charles I.

This afternoon, Prince Rupert showed me, with his own hands, the new way of gravings, called *mezzo tinto*, which afterwards, by his permission,

<sup>a</sup> *ante*, p. 228 : the entry in the *Diary* describing the Protector's funeral.

<sup>b</sup> This house remained in the family until during the last century, when Lord Peterborough sold it to Mr. Heaviside, who a few years after sold it to Mr. Merrick, an army agent. The old house was then pulled down, to make way for that now standing there.



I published in my *History of Chalcography*<sup>a</sup>; this set so many artists on work, that they soon arrived to the perfection it is since come to, emulating the tenderest miniatures.

Our society now gave in my relation of the Peak of Teneriffe, in the Great Canaries, to be added to more queries concerning divers natural things reported of that island.

I returned home with my Cousin, Tuke, now going for France, as sent by his Majesty to condole the death of that great Minister and politician, Count Mazarine.

29th March. Dr. Heylin (author of the *Geography*) preached at the Abbey, on *Cant.* v. 25, concerning friendship and charity; he was, I think, at this time quite dark, and so had been for some years.

31st. This night, his Majesty promised to make my Wife Lady of the Jewels (a very honourable charge) to the future Queen (but which he never performed).

1st April. I dined with that great mathematician and virtuoso, Monsieur Zulichemb<sup>b</sup>, inventor of the pendule clock, and discoverer of the phenomenon of Saturn's annulus: he was elected into our Society.

19th. To London, and saw the bath-ing and rest of the ceremonies of the Knights of the Bath, preparatory to the coronation; it was in the Painted Chamber, Westminster. I might have received this honour; but declined it. The rest of the ceremony was in the chapel at Whitehall, when their swords being laid on the altar, the Bishop delivered them.

22nd. Was the splendid cavalcade of his Majesty from the Tower of London to Whitehall, when I saw him in the Banqueting House create six Earls, and as many Barons, viz.

Edward Lord Hyde<sup>c</sup>, Lord Chancellor, Earl of Clarendon; supported by the Earls of Northumberland and Sussex; the Earl of Bedford carried the cap and coronet, the Earl of Warwick, the sword, the Earl of Newport, the mantle.

Next, was Capel, created Earl of Essex.

Brudenell, . . . Cardigan

Valentia, . . . Anglesea

Greenvill . . . Bath; and

Howard, Earl of Carlisle<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> See *post*, p. 254.

<sup>b</sup> See hereafter, under July, 1664.

<sup>c</sup> 'In 1656, or 1657, attempts were made to remove the Chancellor (Hyde), by accusing him of betraying His Majesty's Counsels, and holding correspondence with Cromwell; but these allegations were so trivial and frivolous, that they manifestly appeared to be nothing but the effects of malice against him, and therefore produced the contrary effects to those which some desired, and strengthened the King's kindness to him; as giving him just occasion to believe that these suggestions against him proceeded all from one and the same cause, namely, from the ambition which some people had to enter in his room to the first trust of His Majesty's affairs, if once they could remove him from his station.'—*Life of King James II from his own papers*, 1816, vol. i, p. 274.

<sup>d</sup> The first of these was the son of the celebrated Royalist general, Sir Bevill Grenville, by whose side he had fought in several battles with great gallantry, though a mere youth. During the Protectorate he had acted as Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles II, for whom he conducted negotiations with Monk. He died in 1701.—The new Earl of Carlisle was Charles created Baron Dacre,

The Barons were : Denzill Holles ; Cornwallis ; Booth ; Townsend ; Cooper ; Crew ; who were led up by several Peers, with Garter and officers of arms before them ; when, after obedience on their several approaches to the throne, their patents were presented by Garter King-at-Arms, which being received by the Lord Chamberlain, and delivered to his Majesty, and by him to the Secretary of State, were read, and then again delivered to his Majesty, and by him to the several Lords created ; they were then robed, their coronets and collars put on by his Majesty, and they were placed in rank on both sides the state and throne ; but the Barons put off their caps and circles, and held them in their hands, the Earls keeping on their coronets, as cousins to the King.

I spent the rest of the evening in seeing the several arch-triumphals built in the streets at several eminent places through which his Majesty was next day to pass, some of which, though temporary, and to stand but one year, were of good invention and architecture, with inscriptions.

*23rd April.* Was the Coronation of his Majesty Charles the Second in the Abbey-Church of Westminster ; at all which ceremony I was present. The King and his Nobility went to the Tower, I accompanying my Lord Viscount Mordaunt part of the way ; this was on Sunday, the 22nd ; but indeed his Majesty went not till early this morning, and proceeded from thence to Westminster, in this order<sup>a</sup>.

First, went the Duke of York's Horse Guards. Messengers of the Chamber. 136 Esquires to the Knights of the Bath, each of whom had two, most richly habited. The Knight Harbinger. Serjeant Porter. Sewers of the Chamber. Quarter Waiters. Six Clerks of Chancery. Clerk of the Signet. Clerk of the Privy Seal. Clerks of the Council, of the Parliament, and of the Crown. Chaplains in ordinary having dignities, 10. King's Advocates and Remembrancer. Council at Law. Masters of the Chancery. Puisne Serjeants. King's Attorney and Solicitor. King's eldest Serjeant. Secretaries of the French and Latin tongue. Gentlemen Ushers. Daily Waiters, Sewers, Carvers, and Cupbearers in ordinary. Esquires of the body, 4. Masters of standing offices, being no Counsellors, viz., of the Tents, Revels, Ceremonies, Armoury, Wardrobe, Ordnance, Requests. Chamberlain of the Exchequer. Barons of the Exchequer. Judges. Lord Chief-Baron. Lord Chief-Justice of the Common Pleas. Master of the Rolls. Lord Chief-Justice of England. Trumpets. Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber. Knights of the Bath,

Viscount and Earl of Carlisle, who held several important offices. He was Ambassador to the Czar of Muscovy, and was afterwards sent with the Order of the Garter to Charles XII, King of Sweden. He was also Governor of Jamaica. He died February 24th, 1684.—Denzill Holles was second son of John, first Earl of Clare, and at the commencement of his career vigorously opposed in Parliament the arbitrary measures of Charles I ; but during the Commonwealth he sought to restore the monarchy, for which, as we now see, he was created Baron Holles. He was employed as Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of France, and Plenipotentiary at the Treaty of Breda. Nevertheless, he subsequently was held to have gone round to his old opinions, and was again under disfavour as a patriot in the latter days of his life, which terminated on the 17th February, 1679-80. Cornwallis was Sir Frederick Cornwallis, Bart., here, for his services to Charles I and Charles II, created Baron Cornwallis, of Eye. He died in 1662.

<sup>a</sup> A full account of this ceremony, with elaborate engravings, appeared in a folio volume published by John Ogilby, 1662.



68, in crimson robes, exceeding rich, and the noblest show of the whole cavalcade, his Majesty excepted. Knight Marshal. Treasurer of the Chamber. Master of the Jewels. Lords of the Privy Council. Comptroller of the Household. Treasurer of the Household. Trumpets. Serjeant Trumpet. Two Pursuivants at Arms. Barons. Two Pursuivants at Arms. Viscounts. Two Heralds. Earls. Lord Chamberlain of the Household. Two Heralds. Marquises. Dukes. Heralds Clarenceux and Norroy. Lord Chancellor. Lord High Steward of England. Two persons representing the Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine, viz., Sir Richard Fanshawe and Sir Herbert Price, in fantastic habits of the time. Gentlemen Ushers. Garter. Lord Mayor of London. The Duke of York alone (the rest by twos). Lord High Constable of England. Lord Great Chamberlain of England. The sword borne by the Earl Marshal of England. The KING, in royal robes and equipage. Afterwards, followed equerries, footmen, gentlemen pensioners. Master of the Horse, leading a horse richly caparisoned. Vice-Chamberlain. Captain of the Pensioners. Captain of the Guard. The Guard. The Horse-Guard. The troop of Volunteers, with many other officers and gentlemen.

This magnificent train on horseback, as rich as embroidery, velvet, cloth of gold and silver, and jewels, could make them and their prancing horses, proceeded through the streets strewed with flowers, houses hung with rich tapestry, windows and balconies full of ladies; the London militia lining the ways, and the several companies, with their banners and loud music, ranked in their orders; the fountains running wine, bells ringing, with speeches made at the several triumphal arches; at that of the Temple Bar (near which I stood) the Lord Mayor was received by the Bailiff of Westminster, who, in a scarlet robe, made a speech. Thence, with joyful acclamations, his Majesty passed to Whitehall. Bonfires at night.

The next day, being St. George's, he went by water to Westminster Abbey. When his Majesty was entered, the Dean and Prebendaries brought all the regalia, and delivered them to several noblemen to bear before the King, who met them at the west door of the church, singing an anthem, to the choir. Then, came the peers, in their robes, and coronets in their hands, till his Majesty was placed on a throne elevated before the altar. Afterwards, the Bishop of London (the Archbishop of Canterbury being sick) went to every side of the throne to present the King to the people, asking if they would have him for their King, and do him homage; at this, they shouted four times 'God save King Charles the Second!' Then, an anthem was sung. His Majesty, attended by three Bishops, went up to the altar, and he offered a pall and a pound of gold. Afterwards, he sate down in another chair during the sermon, which was preached by Dr. Morley, Bishop of Worcester.

After sermon, the King took his oath before the altar to maintain the religion, Magna Charta, and laws of the land. The hymn *Veni S. Sp.* followed, and then the Litany by two Bishops. Then the Archbishop of Canterbury, present but much indisposed and weak, said 'Lift up your hearts', at which, the King rose up, and put off his robes and upper garments, and was in a waistcoat so opened in divers places, that the Archbishop might commodiously anoint him, first in the palms of his hands, when an anthem was sung, and a prayer read; then, his breast

and betwixt the shoulders, bending of both arms ; and, lastly, on the crown of the head, with apposite hymns and prayers at each anointing ; this done, the Dean closed and buttoned up the waistcoat. After which, was a coif put on, and the cobbium, sindon or dalmatic, and over this a super-tunic of cloth of gold, with buskins and sandals of the same, spurs, and the sword ; a prayer being first said over it by the Archbishop on the altar, before it was girt on by the Lord Chamberlain. Then, the armill, mantle, &c. Then, the Archbishop placed the crown-imperial on the altar, prayed over it, and set it on his Majesty's head, at which all the Peers put on their coronets. Anthems, and rare music, with lutes, viols, trumpets, organs, and voices, were then heard, and the Archbishop put a ring on his Majesty's finger. The King next offered his sword on the altar, which being redeemed, was drawn, and borne before him. Then, the Archbishop delivered him the sceptre, with the dove in one hand, and, in the other, the sceptre with the globe. The King kneeling, the Archbishop pronounced the blessing. His Majesty then ascending again his royal throne, whilst *Te Deum* was singing, all the Peers did their homage, by every one touching his crown. The Archbishop, and the rest of the Bishops, first kissing the King ; who received the Holy Sacrament, and so disrobed, yet with the crown-imperial on his head, and accompanied with all the nobility in the former order, he went on foot upon blue cloth, which was spread and reached from the west door of the Abbey to Westminster stairs, when he took water in a triumphal barge to Whitehall, where was extraordinary feasting.

24th April. I presented his Majesty with his *Panegyric*<sup>a</sup> in the Privy Chamber, which he was pleased to accept most graciously ; I gave copies to the Lord Chancellor, and most of the noblemen who came to me for it. I dined at the Marquis of Ormond's, where was a magnificent feast, and many great persons.

1st May. I went to Hyde Park to take the air, where was his Majesty and an innumerable appearance of gallants and rich coaches, being now a time of universal festivity and joy.

2nd. I had audience of my Lord Chancellor about my title to Sayes Court.

3rd. I went to see the wonderful engine for weaving silk stockings, said to have been the invention of an Oxford scholar forty years since ; and I returned by Fromantil's, the famous clock-maker, to see some pendules, Monsieur Zulichem being with us.

This evening, I was with my Lord Brouncker<sup>b</sup>, Sir Robert Murray, Sir Patrick Neill, Monsieur Zulichem, and Bull (all of them of our Society, and excellent mathematicians), to show his Majesty, who was present, Saturn's annulus, as some thought, but as Zulichem affirmed, with his balteus (as that learned gentleman had published), very near eclipsed by

<sup>a</sup> A poem which Evelyn had composed on his Majesty's Coronation ; the 23rd of April, 1661 ; being St. George's day. For his Majesty's not unnatural alarm respecting it, see *Correspondence*.

<sup>b</sup> Sir William, the second Viscount Brouncker, was the first President of the Royal Society ; and several mathematical papers written by him are to be found in their transactions. He died April 5th, 1684. He was also Chancellor to Queen Catherine of Braganza, a Commissioner of the Admiralty, and Master of St. Katharine's Hospital.



the moon, near the Mons Porphyritis ; also, Jupiter and satellites, through his Majesty's great telescope, drawing thirty-five feet ; on which were divers discourses.

8th May. His Majesty rode in state, with his imperial crown on, and all the peers in the irrobes, in great pomp to the parliament now newly chosen (the old one being dissolved) ; and, that evening, declared in council his intention to marry the Infanta of Portugal.

9th. At Sir Robert Murray's, where I met Dr. Wallis<sup>a</sup>, Professor of Geometry in Oxford, where was discourse of several mathematical subjects.

11th. My Wife presented to his Majesty the Madonna she had copied in miniature from P. Oliver's painting, after Raphael, which she wrought with extraordinary pains and judgment. The King was infinitely pleased with it, and caused it to be placed in his cabinet amongst his best paintings.

13th. I heard and saw such exercises at the election of scholars at Westminster School to be sent to the University in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic, in themes and extemporary verses, as wonderfully astonished me in such youths, with such readiness and wit, some of them not above twelve, or thirteen years of age. Pity it is, that what they attain here so ripely, they either do not retain, or do not improve more considerably when they come to be men, though many of them do ; and no less is to be blamed their odd pronouncing of Latin, so that out of England none were able to understand, or endure it. The examinants, or posers, were, Dr. Duport, Greek Professor at Cambridge ; Dr. Fell, Dean of Christchurch, Oxford<sup>b</sup> ; Dr. Pierson, Dr. Allestree, Dean of Westminster, and any that would.

14th. His Majesty was pleased to discourse with me concerning several

<sup>a</sup> John Wallis, born in 1616, at Ashford, in Kent, of which place his father was minister. Adopting the same profession, he took his degree of Doctor of Divinity, became chaplain to a Yorkshire baronet in 1641, and obtained the living of St. Gabriel, Fenchurch-street, London, in 1643. As we learn from Evelyn, he was one of the earliest members of the Royal Society, to the transactions of which he contributed many valuable papers, and wrote several mathematical and theological works. He was appointed chaplain to Charles II, and had been employed in decyphering intercepted correspondence, in which he was considered remarkably clever. He died October, 1703, at Oxford, where his works had previously been published in three volumes, folio.

<sup>b</sup> James Duport was the son of the Master of Jesus' College, Cambridge, where he was born in the year 1606. He finished his education at Trinity, and was appointed Regius Professor of Greek in 1632, but was deprived in 1656 for refusing the engagement. He was Prebendary of Lincoln and Archdeacon of Stow in 1641, and in 1660 chaplain to Charles II, when he was restored to his Greek Professorship, created Doctor of Divinity, made Dean of Peterborough, and, in 1668, elected Master of Magdalen College. He was a good classical scholar.—John Fell, born June 23rd, 1625, at Longworth, in Berkshire, was son of the Dean of Christchurch. He was removed from the grammar-school at Thame, when only eleven years of age, to become a student at Christchurch, Oxford, his father being at the time Vice-Chancellor of the University. Of this appointment the elder Fell was deprived by the Parliament, and his son expelled from his College, for having been in arms for the King. The father died upon hearing of the execution of Charles, but the son was not overlooked at the Restoration, receiving a stall at Chichester, and afterwards a more valuable one at Christchurch. He served the office of Vice-Chancellor of the University in 1666, and, in 1676, was made Bishop of Oxford. Bishop Fell was a voluminous author. He died in 1686.

particulars relating to our Society, and the planet Saturn, &c., as he sate at supper in the withdrawing-room to his bed-chamber.

16th May. I dined with Mr. Garmus, the resident from Hamburgh, who continued his feast near nine whole hours, according to the custom of his country, though there was no great excess of drinking, no man being obliged to take more than he liked.

22nd. The Scotch Covenant was burnt by the common hangman in divers places in London. Oh, prodigious change !

29th. This was the first anniversary appointed by Act of Parliament to be observed as a day of General Thanksgiving for the miraculous restoration of his Majesty : our vicar preaching on *Psalms* cxviii, 24, requiring us to be thankful and rejoice, as indeed we had cause.

4th June. Came Sir Charles Harbord, his Majesty's surveyor, to take an account of what grounds I challenged at Sayes Court.

27th. I saw the Portugal Ambassador at dinner with his Majesty in state, where was excellent music.

2nd July. I went to see the New Spring-Garden, at Lambeth, a pretty contrived plantation<sup>a</sup>.

19th. We tried our Diving-Bell, or engine, in the water-dock at Deptford, in which our curator continued half an hour under water ; it was made of cast lead, let down with a strong cable.

3rd August. Came my Lord Hatton, Comptroller of his Majesty's household, to visit me.

9th. I tried several experiments on the sensitive plant and humilis, which contracted with the least touch of the sun through a burning-glass, though it rises and opens only when it shines on it.

I first saw the famous Queen Pine<sup>b</sup> brought from Barbadoes, and presented to his Majesty ; but the first that were ever seen in England were those sent to Cromwell four years since.

I dined at Mr. Palmer's in Gray's Inn, whose curiosity excelled in clocks and pendules, especially one that had innumerable motions, and played nine or ten tunes on the bells very finely, some of them set in parts ; which was very harmonious. It was wound up but once in a quarter. He had also good telescopes and mathematical instruments, choice pictures, and other curiosities. Thence, we went to that famous mountebank, Jo. Punteus.

Sir Kenelm Digby presented every one of us his discourse of the Vegetation of Plants ; and Mr. Henshaw, his History of Salt-Petre and Gunpowder. I assisted him to procure his place of French Secretary to the King, which he purchased of Sir Henry De Vic.

I went to that famous physician, Sir Fr. Prujean, who showed me his laboratory, his work-house for turning, and other mechanics ; also many excellent pictures, especially the Magdalen of Caracci ; and some incomparable *paysages* done in distemper ; he played to me likewise on the *polythore*, an instrument having something of the harp, lute, and theorbo ; by none known in England, nor described by any author, nor used, but by this skilful and learned Doctor.

<sup>a</sup> Since better known as the Vauxhall Gardens.

<sup>b</sup> A print in the line manner, 13 inches by 12, was engraved in 1823 by Robert Grave, from the picture at Strawberry-Hill, of King Charles II, receiving this species of fruit from Rose his gardener, who is presenting it on his knees at Dawney Court, Buckinghamshire, the seat of the celebrated Duchess of Cleveland.



15th August. I went to Tunbridge-Wells, my wife being there for the benefit of her health. Walking about the solitudes, I greatly admired the extravagant turnings, insinuations, and growth of certain birch-trees among the rocks.

13th September. I presented my *Fumifugium*<sup>a</sup> dedicated to his Majesty, who was pleased that I should publish it by his special commands, being much gratified with it.

18th. This day was read our petition to his Majesty for his royal grant, authorizing our Society to meet as a corporation, with several privileges.

An exceeding sickly, wet autumn.

1st October. I sailed this morning with his Majesty in one of his yachts (or pleasure-boats), vessels not known among us till the Dutch East India Company presented that curious piece to the King; being very excellent sailing vessels. It was on a wager between his other new pleasure-boat, built frigate-like, and one of the Duke of York's; the wager 100*l.*; the race from Greenwich to Gravesend and back. The King lost it going, the wind being contrary, but saved stakes in returning. There were divers noble persons and lords on board, his Majesty sometimes steering himself. His barge and kitchen boat attended. I brake fast this morning with the King at return in his smaller vessel, he being pleased to take me and only four more, who were noblemen, with him; but dined in his yacht, where we all eat together with his Majesty. In this passage he was pleased to discourse to me about my book inveighing against the nuisance of the smoke of London, and proposing expedients how, by removing those particulars I mentioned<sup>b</sup>, it might be reformed; commanding me to prepare a Bill against the next session of Parliament, being, as he said, resolved to have something done in it. Then he discoursed to me of the improvement of gardens and buildings, now very rare in England comparatively to other countries. He then commanded me to draw up the matter of fact happening at the bloody encounter which then had newly happened between the French and Spanish Ambassadors near the Tower, contending for precedency, at the reception of the Swedish Ambassador; giving me order to consult Sir William Compton, Master of the Ordnance, to inform me of what he knew of it, and with his favourite, Sir Charles Berkeley<sup>c</sup>, captain of the Duke's life-guard, then present with his troop and three foot-companies; with some other reflections and instructions, to be prepared with a declaration to take off the reports which went about of his Majesty's partiality in the affairs, and of his officers' and spectators' rudeness whilst the conflict lasted. So I came home that night, and went next morning to London, where from the officers of the Tower, Sir William Compton, Sir Charles Berkeley, and others who were attending at this meeting of the Ambassadors three days before, having collected what I could, I drew up a Narrative in vindication of his Majesty, and the carriage of his officers and standers-by.

On Thursday, his Majesty sent one of the pages of the back stairs for me to wait on him with my papers, in his cabinet, where was present only

<sup>a</sup> This pamphlet having become scarce, was in 1772 reprinted in 4to, and is now incorporated in Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings*.

<sup>b</sup> In the *Fumifugium*, before mentioned.

<sup>c</sup> Subsequently that Earl of Falmouth who was killed by the side of the Duke of York in the first Dutch war.

Sir Henry Bennett<sup>a</sup> (Privy-Purse), when beginning to read to his Majesty what I had drawn up, by the time I had read half a page, came in Mr. Secretary Morice with a large paper, desiring to speak with his Majesty, who told him he was now very busy, and therefore ordered him to come again some other time ; the Secretary replied that what he had in his hand was of extraordinary importance. So the King rose up, and, commanding me to stay, went aside to a corner of the room with the Secretary ; after a while, the Secretary being despatched, his Majesty returning to me at the table, a letter was brought him from Madame out of France<sup>b</sup> ; this he read and then bid me proceed from where I left off. This I did till I had ended all the narrative, to his Majesty's great satisfaction ; and, after I had inserted one or two more clauses, in which his Majesty instructed me, commanded that it should that night be sent to the Post-house, directed to the Lord Ambassador at Paris (the Earl of St. Alban's), and then at leisure to prepare him a copy, which he would publish<sup>c</sup>. This I did, and immediately sent my papers to the Secretary of State, with his Majesty's express command of despatching them that night for France. Before I went out of the King's closet, he called me back to show me some ivory statues, and other curiosities that I had not seen before.

*3rd October.* Next evening, being in the withdrawing-room adjoining the bedchamber, his Majesty espying me came to me from a great crowd of noblemen standing near the fire, and asked me if I had done ; and told me he feared it might be a little too sharp, on second thoughts ; for he had that morning spoken with the French Ambassador, who it seems had palliated the matter, and was very tame ; and therefore directed me where I should soften a period or two, before it was published (as afterwards it was). This night also he spake to me to give him a sight of what was sent, and to bring it to him in his bedchamber ; which I did, and received it again from him at dinner, next day. By Saturday, having finished it with all his Majesty's notes, the King being gone abroad, I sent the papers to Sir Henry Bennett (Privy-Purse and a great favourite), and slipped home, being myself much indisposed and harassed with going about, and sitting up to write.

*19th.* I went to London to visit my Lord of Bristol<sup>d</sup>, having been with Sir John Denham (his Majesty's surveyor) to consult with him about the placing of his palace at Greenwich, which I would have had

<sup>a</sup> Afterwards Secretary of State, Earl of Arlington, and Lord Chamberlain.

<sup>b</sup> Henrietta Maria.

<sup>c</sup> The Narrative is reprinted at the close of this volume, Appendix III.

<sup>d</sup> George Digby, second Earl, had suffered much for Royalty, but was made Knight of the Garter, and might have held important employments, had he not, when abroad, become a Catholic. He died in 1676. Horace Walpole thus smartly sums up his character : ' He wrote against Popery, and embraced it. He was a zealous opposer of the Court, and a sacrifice for it : was conscientiously converted in the midst of his prosecution of Lord Strafford, and was most unconscientiously a prosecutor of Lord Clarendon. With great parts he always hurt himself and his friends. With romantic bravery, he was always an unsuccessful commander. He spoke for the Test Act, though a Roman Catholic ; and addicted himself to astrology on the birth-day of true philosophy.' (*Royal and Noble Authors*, Vol. II, p. 25.) Grammont mentions him, but in terms far from respectful : nor does ' my lord of Bristol ' appear to more advantage in the annals of Bussy, or in the continuation of his life by Clarendon.



built between the river and the Queen's house, so as a large square cut should have let in the Thames like a bay ; but Sir John was for setting it on piles at the very brink of the water, which I did not assent to ; and so came away, knowing Sir John to be a better poet than architect, though he had Mr. Webb (Inigo Jones's man) to assist him.

29th October. I saw the Lord Mayor<sup>a</sup> pass in his water triumph to Westminster, being the first solemnity of this nature after twenty years.

2nd November. Came Sir Henry Bennett, since Lord Arlington, to visit me, and to acquaint me that his Majesty would do me the honour to come and see my garden ; but, it being then late, it was deferred.

3rd. One Mr. Breton preached his probation-sermon at our parish-church, and indeed made a most excellent discourse on *John* i, 29, of God's free grace to penitents, so that I could not but recommend him to the patron<sup>b</sup>.

10th. In the afternoon, preached at the Abbey Dr. Basire, that great traveller, or rather French Apostle<sup>c</sup>, who had been planting the Church of England in divers parts of the Levant and Asia. He showed that the Church of England was, for purity of doctrine, substance, decency, and beauty, the most perfect under Heaven ; that England was the very land of Goshen.

11th. I was so idle as to go to see a play called *Love and Honour*<sup>d</sup>.—Dined at Arundel House ; and that evening discoursed with his Majesty about shipping, in which he was exceeding skilful.

15th. I dined with the Duke of Ormond, who told me there were no moles in Ireland, nor any rats till of late, and that but in one county ; but it was a mistake that spiders would not live there, only they were not poisonous. Also, that they frequently took salmon with dogs.

16th. I presented my translation of *Naudæus concerning Libraries* to my Lord Chancellor ; but it was miserably false printed.

17th. Dr. Creighton<sup>e</sup>, a Scot, author of the *Florentine Council*, and a most eloquent man and admirable Grecian, preached on *Cant.* vi, 13, celebrating the return and restoration of the Church and King.

20th. At the Royal Society, Sir William Petty proposed divers things

<sup>a</sup> Sir John Frederick. The pageant for this day was called *London's Triumph*, at the Charges of the Grocers' Company. By John Tatham. See the *Gentleman's Magazine*, xciv, ii, 517.

<sup>b</sup> He obtained the living.

<sup>c</sup> See *post*, p. 258, and *Correspondence*. Isaac Basire, born in the Island of Jersey, in 1607 ; was educated for the Church ; for some time officiated as Master of the Free School at Guernsey, and then as chaplain to Morton, Bishop of Durham, who presented him with a rectory and a vicarage. Preferments and honours promised to flow rapidly upon him, when the disturbed state of the country induced him to quit England, and he travelled in the Morea, to the Holy Land, and to Constantinople. On his return, Charles II appointed Dr. Basire his Chaplain in Ordinary. He died in 1676. His sermons obtained a deserved celebrity. He wrote also a *History of the English and Scottish Presbytery*.

<sup>d</sup> *A Tragi-Comedy*, by Sir William Davenant ; the performance took place in the morning.

<sup>e</sup> Afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells. His son, Dr. Robert Creighton, while attending Charles II in his exile, studied music, in which he became such a proficient that his anthem, ' I will arise and go to my Father ' and a service in the key of E, still maintain a high reputation with the lovers of sacred music. He died at Wells in the year 1736.

for the improvement of Shipping; a versatile keel that should be on hinges, and concerning sheathing ships with thin lead<sup>a</sup>.

24th November. This night his Majesty fell into discourse with me concerning bees, &c.

26th. I saw *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark* played; but now the old plays began to disgust this refined age, since his Majesty's being so long abroad.

28th. I dined at Chiffinch's house-warming, in St. James's Park; he was his Majesty's closet-keeper, and had his new house full of good pictures, &c. There dined with us Russell, Popish Bishop of Cape Verd, who was sent out to negotiate his Majesty's match with the Infanta of Portugal, after the Ambassador was returned.

29th. I dined at the Countess of Peterborough's, and went that evening to Parson's Green with my Lord Mordaunt, with whom I stayed that night.

1st December. I took leave of my Lord Peterborough, going now to Tangier, which was to be delivered to the English on the match with Portugal.

3rd. By universal suffrage of our philosophic assembly, an order was made and registered, that I should receive their public thanks for the honourable mention I made of them by the name of Royal Society, in my Epistle dedicatory to the Lord Chancellor, before my Traduction of Naudæus. Too great an honour for a trifle.

4th. I had much discourse with the Duke of York, concerning strange cures he affirmed of a woman who swallowed a whole ear of barley,

<sup>a</sup> Of which more will be related hereafter. Sir William Petty, one of the celebrities of the seventeenth century, was born at Ramsey, in Hampshire, in 1623. He was the son of a clothier, who sent him to the grammar-school of his native town; but at the age of fifteen he was removed to the University of Caen in Normandy. On his return to England, he accepted an appointment in the navy; but with the object only of raising enough money to enable him to travel, and complete his education his own way. He proceeded to one of the Dutch Universities in 1643; thence to Paris, studying anatomy and medicine; and was again in England in 1646. In 1647, he took out a patent for a copying-machine, which attracted towards the inventor the notice of many men of science. Then he practised as a physician, and resided at Oxford, where he was appointed assistant professor, and afterwards Professor of Anatomy. He was a Fellow of Brasenose, created M.D. in 1649, and admitted into the College of Physicians in the following year. He was, at about the same period, Professor of Music in Gresham College; Physician to the Army in Ireland, and to the Lord Deputy Commissioner for the division of the lands forfeited by the Rebels; Secretary to the Lord Deputy; and Clerk of the Council. But having been elected for East Loo in the Parliament of 1658, he was impeached for high crimes and misdemeanours in his Irish commission a few months afterwards, and this ended in a deprivation of all his employments. At the Restoration, however, he again appeared upon the scene as prominently as ever. He was Commissioner of the Court of Claims; physician, philosopher, author, and projector; opened lead mines, established pilchard fisheries, and assisted in the councils of the Royal Society; invented the double-bottomed ship to go against wind and tide, mentioned by Evelyn; wrote a method for equalising taxation, and acted as president of a philosophical society established in Dublin. So numerous is the list of things he did, and the books he wrote, that it is impossible to notice half of them. But the best and most amusing character of him is to be found in the text. He died December 16th, 1687.



which worked out at her side. I told him of the *knife swallowed*<sup>a</sup> and the pins.

I took leave of the Bishop of Cape Verd, now going in the fleet to bring over our new Queen.

7th December. I dined at Arundel House, the day when the great contest in Parliament was concerning the restoring the Duke of Norfolk; however, it was carried for him. I also presented my little trifle of Sumpuary Laws, entitled *Tyrannus* [or *The Mode*].

14th. I saw otter-hunting with the King, and killed one.

16th. I saw a French Comedy acted at Whitehall.

20th. The Bishop of Gloucester<sup>b</sup> preached at the Abbey, at the funeral of the Bishop of Hereford, brother to the Duke of Albemarle. It was a decent solemnity. There was a silver mitre, with episcopal robes, borne by the herald before the hearse, which was followed by the Duke his brother, and all the Bishops, with divers noblemen.

23rd. I heard an Italian play and sing to the guitar with extraordinary skill before the Duke.

1661-2. 1st January. I went to London, invited to the solemn foolery of the Prince de la Grange, at Lincoln's Inn, where came the King, Duke, &c. It began with a grand masque, and a formal pleading before the mock Princes, Grandees, Nobles, and Knights of the Sun. He had his Lord Chancellor, Chamberlain, Treasurer, and other Royal Officers, gloriously clad and attended. It ended in a magnificent banquet. One Mr. Lort was the young spark who maintained the pageantry.

6th. This evening, according to custom, his Majesty opened the revels of that night by throwing the dice himself in the privy-chamber, where was a table set on purpose, and lost his 100*l*. (The year before he won 1500*l*.) The ladies also played very deep. I came away when the Duke of Ormond had won about 1000*l*., and left them still at passage, cards, &c. At other tables, both there and at the Groom-porter's, observing the wicked folly and monstrous excess of passion amongst some losers; sorry am I that such a wretched custom as play to that excess should be countenanced in a Court, which ought to be an example of virtue to the rest of the Kingdom.

9th. I saw acted *The Third Part of the Siege of Rhodes*. In this acted the fair and famous comedian called Roxalana from the part she performed; and I think it was the last, she being taken to be the Earl of Oxford's Miss (as at this time they began to call lewd women). It was in recitative music.

10th. Being called into his Majesty's closet when Mr. Cooper, the rare limner<sup>c</sup>, was crayoning of the King's face and head, to make the stamps

<sup>a</sup> This refers to the Dutchman, *ante*, p. 20, and to an extraordinary case contained in a *Miraculous Cure of the Prussian Swallow Knife*, &c., by Dan. Lakin, P.C., quarto, London, 1642, with a woodcut representing the object of the cure and the size of the knife.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. William Nicholson.

<sup>c</sup> There were two artists of this name, brothers, Alexander and Samuel Cooper. The former painted landscapes and portraits, resided at Amsterdam, and entered into the service of Queen Christina of Sweden: the other was a fashionable portrait painter, well known by his characteristic likeness of Cromwell, and obtained in France and Holland, where he lived for several years, not less reputation than he had acquired in England. His head is engraved in Walpole's *Anecdotes*,

for the new milled money now contriving, I had the honour to hold the candle whilst it was doing, he choosing the night and candle-light for the better finding out the shadows. During this, his Majesty discoursed with me on several things relating to painting and graving.

11th January. I dined at Arundel House, where I heard excellent music performed by the ablest masters, both French and English, on theorbos, viols, organs, and voices, as an exercise against the coming of the Queen, purposely composed for her chapel. Afterwards, my Lord Aubigny (her Majesty's Almoner to be) showed us his elegant lodging, and his wheel-chair for ease and motion, with divers other curiosities; especially a kind of artificial glass, or porcelain, adorned with relievos of paste, hard and beautiful. Lord Aubigny (brother to the Duke of Lennox) was a person of good sense, but wholly abandoned to ease and effeminacy.

I received of Sir Peter Ball, the Queen's Attorney, a draught of an Act against the nuisance of the smoke of London, to be reformed by removing several trades which are the cause of it, and endanger the health of the King and his people. It was to have been offered to the Parliament, as his Majesty commanded.

12th. At St. James's chapel preached, or rather harangued, the famous orator, Monsieur Morus<sup>a</sup>, in French. There were present the King, Duke, French Ambassador, Lord Aubigny, Earl of Bristol, and a world of Roman Catholics, drawn thither to hear this eloquent Protestant.

15th. There was a general fast through the whole nation, and now celebrated in London, to avert God's heavy judgment on this land. Great rain had fallen without any frost, or seasonable cold, not only in England, but in Sweden, and the most northern parts, being here near as warm as at Midsummer in some years.

This solemn fast was held for the House of Commons at St. Margaret's. Dr. Reeves, Dean of Windsor, preached on *Joshua* vii, 12, showing how the neglect of exacting justice on offenders (by which he insinuated such of the old King's murderers as were yet reprieved and in the Tower) was a main cause of God's punishing a land. He brought in that of the Gibeonites, as well as Achan and others, concluding with an eulogy of the Parliament for their loyalty in restoring the Bishops and Clergy, and vindicating the Church from sacrilege.

16th. Having notice of the Duke of York's intention to visit my poor habitation and garden this day, I returned, when he was pleased to do me that honour of his own accord, and to stay some time viewing such things as I had to entertain his curiosity. Afterwards, he caused me to dine with him at the Treasurer of the Navy's house, and to sit with him covered at the same table. There were his Highness, the Duke of Ormond, and several Lords. Then they viewed some of my grounds about a project for a receptacle for ships to be moored in, which was laid aside as a fancy of Sir Nicholas Crisp. After this, I accompanied the Duke to an East India vessel that lay at Blackwall, where we had entertainment of several curiosities. Amongst other spirituous drinks, as punch, &c.,

where there is a notice of him. He was born in 1604, and died in 1672. The scene commemorated in the passage of Evelyn's *Diary* above referred to has formed the subject of a cabinet picture by Mr. Maclise, R.A.

<sup>a</sup> Probably Alexander Morus (the antagonist of Milton), who was here in 1662.



they gave us Canary that had been carried to and brought from the Indies, which was indeed incomparably good. I returned to London with his Highness. This night was acted before his Majesty *The Widow*, a lewd play.

18th January. I came home to be private a little, not at all affecting the life and hurry of Court.

24th. His Majesty entertained me with his intentions of building his Palace of Greenwich, and quite demolishing the old one; on which I declared my thoughts.

25th. I dined with the Trinity-Company at their house, that Corporation being by charter fixed at Deptford.

3rd February. I went to Chelsea, to see Sir Arthur Gorges' house.

11th. I saw a comedy acted before the Duchess of York at the Cockpit. The King was not at it.

17th. I went with my Lord of Bristol to see his house at Wimbledon<sup>a</sup>, newly bought of the Queen-Mother, to help contrive the garden after the modern. It is a delicious place for prospect and the thickets, but the soil cold and weeping clay. Returned that evening with Sir Henry Bennett.

This night was buried in Westminster-Abbey the Queen of Bohemia<sup>b</sup>, after all her sorrows and afflictions being come to die in the arms of her nephew, the King: also this night and the next day fell such a storm of hail, thunder, and lightning, as never was seen the like in any man's memory, especially the tempest of wind, being south-west, which subverted, besides huge trees, many houses, innumerable chimneys (amongst others that of my parlour at Sayes Court), and made such havoc at land and sea, that several perished on both. Divers lamentable fires were also kindled at this time; so exceedingly was God's hand against this ungrateful and vicious nation and Court.

20th. I returned home to repair my house, miserably shattered by the late tempest.

24th March. I returned home with my whole family, which had been most part of the winter, since October, at London, in lodgings near the Abbey of Westminster.

6th April. Being of the Vestry, in the afternoon we ordered that the communion-table should be set (as usual) altar-wise, with a decent rail in front, as before the Rebellion.

17th. The young Marquis of Argyle<sup>c</sup>, whose turbulent father was executed in Scotland, came to see my garden. He seemed a man of parts.

7th May. I waited on Prince Rupert to our Assembly, where were

<sup>a</sup> It devolved afterwards to Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, who built a new house there, burnt down many years since. The property afterwards passed to the Spencer family, by whom a smaller house was built. There are two scarce and curious views of the old house, engraved by Winstanley.

<sup>b</sup> Elizabeth, Electress Palatine, daughter of James I., many of whose letters will be found among the *Correspondence* of Evelyn. And see *ante*, p. 14.

<sup>c</sup> Archibald, ninth Earl, who, notwithstanding his father's attainder, which forfeited the marquise, was permitted to inherit the ancient Earldom of his family. Evelyn seems at once to have discovered him in this interview to be 'a man of parts', and he greatly deplored his subsequent fate. This has been too strikingly and beautifully told by Lord Macaulay in his history (vol. i, pp. 537-565) to require further allusion here. The reader may be also referred to Lord Lindsay's entertaining *Lives of the Lindsays*, vol. ii, pp. 146-155.

tried several experiments in Mr. Boyle's *vacuum*. A man thrusting in his arm, upon exhaustion of the air, had his flesh immediately swelled so as the blood was near bursting the veins : he drawing it out, we found it all speckled.

14th May. To London, being chosen one of the Commissioners for reforming the buildings, ways, streets, and incumbrances, and regulating the hackney coaches in the City of London, taking my oath before my Lord Chancellor, and then went to his Majesty's Surveyor's Office, in Scotland-Yard, about naming and establishing officers, adjourning till the 16th, when I went to view how St. Martin's Lane might be made more passable into the Strand. There were divers gentlemen of quality in this commission.

25th. I went this evening to London, in order to our journey to Hampton Court, to see the new Queen, who, having landed at Portsmouth, had been married to the King a week before by the Bishop of London.

30th. The Queen arrived with a train of Portuguese ladies in their monstrous fardingales, or guard-infantes, their complexions olivader<sup>a</sup> and sufficiently unagreeable. Her Majesty in the same habit, her fore-top long and turned aside very strangely. She was yet of the handsomest countenance of all the rest, and, though low of stature, prettily shaped, languishing and excellent eyes, her teeth wronging her mouth by sticking a little too far out ; for the rest, lovely enough.

31st. I saw the Queen at dinner ; the Judges came to compliment her arrival, and, after them, the Duke of Ormond brought me to kiss her hand.

2nd June. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen made their addresses to the Queen, presenting her 1000*l.* in gold. Now saw I her Portuguese ladies, and the Guarda-damas, or Mother of her Maids<sup>b</sup>, and the old knight, a lock of whose hair quite covered the rest of his bald pate, bound on by a thread, very oddly. I saw the rich gondola sent to his Majesty from the State of Venice ; but it was not comparable for swiftness to our common wherries, though managed by Venetians.

4th. Went to visit the Earl of Bristol, at Wimbledon.

8th. I saw her Majesty at supper privately in her bed-chamber.

9th. I heard the Queen's Portugal music, consisting of pipes, harps, and very ill voices.

Hampton Court is as noble and uniform a pile, and as capacious as any Gothic architecture can have made it. There is an incomparable furniture in it, especially hangings designed by Raphael, very rich with gold ; also many rare pictures, especially the Cæsarean Triumphs of Andrea Mantegna, formerly the Duke of Mantua's ; of the tapestries, I believe the world can show nothing nobler of the kind than the stories of Abraham and Tobit. The gallery of horns is very particular for the vast beams of stags, elks, antelopes, &c. The Queen's bed was an embroidery of silver on crimson velvet, and cost 8000*l.*, being a present made by the States of

<sup>a</sup> Of a dark olive complexion. It has been noticed in other accounts that Katharine of Braganza's Portuguese Ladies of Honour, who came over with her, were uncommonly ill-favoured, and disagreeable in their appearance. See Faithorne's curious print of the Queen in the costume here described.

<sup>b</sup> The Maids of Honour had a Mother at least as early as the reign of Elizabeth. The office is supposed to have been abolished about the period of the Revolution of 1688.



Holland when his Majesty returned, and had formerly been given by them to our King's sister, the Princess of Orange, and, being bought of her again, was now presented to the King. The great looking-glass and toilet, of beaten and massive gold, was given by the Queen-Mother. The Queen brought over with her from Portugal such Indian cabinets as had never before been seen here. The great hall is a most magnificent room. The chapel-roof excellently fretted and gilt. I was also curious to visit the wardrobe and tents, and other furniture of state. The park, formerly a flat and naked piece of ground, now planted with sweet rows of lime trees; and the canal for water now near perfected; also the air-park. In the garden is a rich and noble fountain, with Sirens, statues, &c., cast in copper, by Fanelli; but no plenty of water. The cradle-work of horn beam in the garden is, for the perplexed twining of the trees, very observable. There is a parterre which they call Paradise, in which is a pretty banqueting-house set over a cave, or cellar. All these gardens might be exceedingly improved, as being too narrow for such a palace.

10th June. I returned to London, and presented my *History of Chalco-graphy* (dedicated to Mr. Boyle) to our Society<sup>a</sup>.

19th. I went to Albury, to visit Mr. Henry Howard, soon after he had procured the Dukedom to be restored. This gentleman had now compounded a debt of 200,000*l.*, contracted by his grandfather. I was much obliged to that great virtuoso, and to this young gentleman, with whom I stayed a fortnight.

2nd July. We hunted and killed a buck in the park. Mr. Howard inviting most of the gentlemen of the country near him.

3rd. My wife met me at Woodcot, whither Mr. Howard accompanied me to see my son John, who had been much brought up amongst Mr. Howard's children at Arundel House, till, for fear of their perverting him in the Catholic religion, I was forced to take him home.

8th. To London, to take leave of the Duke and Duchess of Ormond, going then into Ireland with an extraordinary retinue.

13th. Spent some time with the Lord Chancellor, where I had discourse with my Lord Willoughby, Governor of Barbadoes, concerning divers particulars of that colony.

28th. His Majesty going to sea to meet the Queen-Mother, now coming again for England, met with such ill weather as greatly endangered him. I went to Greenwich, to wait on the Queen, now landed.

30th. To London, where was a meeting about Charitable Uses, and particularly to inquire how the City had disposed of the revenues of Gresham College, and why the salaries of the professors there were no better improved. I was on this commission, with divers Bishops and Lords of the Council; but little was the progress we could make.

31st. I sat with the Commissioners about reforming buildings and streets of London, and we ordered the paving of the way from St. James's North, which was a quagmire, and also of the Haymarket about Piquidillo [Piccadilly], and agreed upon instructions to be printed and published for the better keeping the streets clean.

1st August. Mr. H. Howard, his brothers Charles, Edward, Bernard, Philip<sup>b</sup>, now the Queen's Almoner (all brothers of the Duke of Norfolk,

<sup>a</sup> See Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings*, 4to, p. 243.

<sup>b</sup> Since Cardinal at Rome. Evelyn's Note.

still in Italy), came with a great train, and dined with me ; Mr. H. Howard leaving with me his eldest and youngest sons, Henry and Thomas, for three or four days, my son, John, having been sometime bred up in their father's house.

4th August. Came to see me the old Countess of Devonshire<sup>a</sup>, with that excellent and worthy person, my Lord her son, from Roehampton.

5th. To London, and next day to Hampton Court, about my purchase, and took leave of Sir R. Fanshawe<sup>b</sup>, now going Ambassador to Portugal.

13th. Our Charter being now passed under the broad Seal, constituting us a corporation under the name or the Royal Society for the improvement of natural knowledge by experiment, was this day read, and was all that was done this afternoon, being very large.

14th. I sat on the commission for Charitable Uses, the Lord Mayor and others of the Mercers' Company being summoned, to answer some complaints of the Professors, grounded on a clause in the will of Sir Thomas Gresham, the founder.

This afternoon, the Queen-Mother, with the Earl of St. Alban's and many great ladies and persons, was pleased to honour my poor villa with her presence, and to accept of a collation. She was exceedingly pleased, and staid till very late in the evening.

15th. Came my Lord Chancellor (the Earl of Clarendon) and his lady, his purse and mace borne before him, to visit me. They were likewise collationed with us, and were very merry. They had all been our old acquaintance in exile, and indeed this great person had ever been my friend. His son, Lord Cornbury, was here, too.

17th. Being the Sunday when the Common Prayer-Book, reformed and ordered to be used for the future, was appointed to be read, and the solemn League and Covenant to be abjured by all the incumbents of England under penalty of losing their livings ; our vicar read it this morning.

20th. There were strong guards in the city this day, apprehending some tumults, many of the Presbyterian ministers not conforming. I dined with the Vice-Chamberlain, and then went to see the Queen-Mother, who was pleased to give me many thanks for the entertainment she received at my house, when she recounted to me many observable stories of the sagacity of some dogs she formerly had.

21st. I was admitted and then sworn one of the Council of the Royal Society, being nominated in his Majesty's original grant to be of this Council for the regulation of the Society, and making laws and statutes conducive to its establishment and progress, for which we now set apart

<sup>a</sup> Christian, Countess of Devonshire. Of considerable celebrity for her devotion, her hospitality, and her great care in the management of her son's affairs ; she was esteemed also as a patroness of the wits of the age, who frequently met at her house ; and her loyalty and exertions to promote the Restoration, obtained her additional repute. Charles II frequently visited her at this place with the Queen-Mother and the Royal Family. There is a life of her, written by Mr. Pomfret.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Richard Fanshawe, equally eminent at this period as a diplomatist and as a poet. In the former position he acted as ambassador to the courts of Spain and Portugal ; in the latter translated the *Pastor Fido* of Guarini, and the *Lusiad* of Camoens. Born 1608 ; died 1666. His wife was Anne, eldest daughter of Sir John Harrison, of Balls, Hertfordshire.



every Wednesday morning till they were all finished. Lord Viscount Brouncker (that excellent mathematician) was also by his Majesty, our founder, nominated our first President. The King gave us the arms of England to be borne in a canton in our arms, and sent us a mace of silver gilt, of the same fashion and bigness as those carried before his Majesty, to be borne before our president, on meeting days. It was brought by Sir Gilbert Talbot, Master of his Majesty's Jewel-house.

22nd August. I dined with my Lord Brouncker and Sir Robert Murray, and then went to consult about a new-modelled ship at Lambeth, the intention being to reduce that art to as certain a method as any other part of architecture.

23rd. I was spectator of the most magnificent triumph that ever floated on the Thames<sup>a</sup>, considering the innumerable boats and vessels, dressed and adorned with all imaginable pomp, but, above all, the thrones, arches, pageants, and other representations, stately barges of the Lord Mayor and Companies, with various inventions, music and peals of ordnance both from the vessels and the shore, going to meet and conduct the new Queen from Hampton Court to Whitehall, at the first time of her coming to town. In my opinion, it far exceeded all the Venetian Bucentoras, &c., on the Ascension, when they go to espouse the Adriatic. His Majesty and the Queen came in an antique-shaped open vessel, covered with a state, or canopy, of cloth of gold, made in form of a cupola, supported with high Corinthian pillars, wreathed with flowers, festoons and garlands. I was in our new-built vessel, sailing amongst them.

29th. The Council and Fellows of the Royal Society went in a body to Whitehall, to acknowledge his Majesty's royal grace in granting our Charter, and vouchsafing to be himself our Founder; when the President made an eloquent speech, to which his Majesty gave a gracious reply, and we all kissed his hand. Next day, we went in like manner with our address to my Lord Chancellor, who had much promoted our patent: he received us with extraordinary favour. In the evening, I went to the Queen-Mother's Court, and had much discourse with her.

1st September. Being invited by Lord Berkeley, I went to Durdans<sup>b</sup>, where dined his Majesty, the Queen, Duke, Duchess, Prince Rupert, Prince Edward, and abundance of noblemen. I went, after dinner, to visit my brother of Woodcot, my sister having been delivered of a son a little before, but who had now been two days dead.

4th. Commission for Charitable Uses, my Lord Mayor and Aldermen being again summoned, and the improvements of Sir Thomas Gresham's estate examined. There were present the Bishop of London, the Lord Chief Justice, and the King's Attorney.

6th. Dined with me Sir Edward Walker, Garter King-at-Arms, Mr. Slingsby, Master of the Mint, and several others.

17th. We now resolved that the Arms of the Society should be a field Argent, with a canton of the arms of England; the supporters two talbots Argent: crest, an eagle Or holding a shield with the like arms

<sup>a</sup> An account of this solemnity was published in *Aqua Triumphalis*; being a true relation of the honourable City of London entertaining their sacred Majesties upon the River of Thames, and welcoming them from Hampton Court to Whitehall, &c. Engraved by John Tathan, folio, 1662. See *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. xciv, ii, 516.

<sup>b</sup> At Epsom.

of England, viz., three lions. The words *Nullius in verba*. It was presented to his Majesty for his approbation, and orders given to Garter King-at-Arms to pass the diploma of their office for it.

20th September. I presented a petition to his Majesty about my own concerns, and afterwards accompanied him to Monsieur Febure, his chymist (and who had formerly been my master in Paris), to see his accurate preparation for the composing Sir Walter Raleigh's rare cordial: he made a learned discourse before his Majesty in French on each ingredient.

27th. Came to visit me Sir George Saville<sup>a</sup>, grandson to the learned Sir Henry Saville, who published St. Chrysostom. Sir George was a witty gentleman, if not a little too prompt and daring.

3rd October. I was invited to the College of Physicians, where Dr. Meret<sup>b</sup>, a learned man and library-keeper, showed me the library, theatre for anatomy, and divers natural curiosities; the statue and epigram under it of that renowned physician, Dr. Harvey, discoverer of the circulation of the blood. There I saw Dr. Gilbert's, Sir William Paddy's and other pictures of men famous in their faculty.

Visited Mr. Wright<sup>c</sup>, a Scotchman, who had lived long at Rome, and was esteemed a good painter. The pictures of the Judges at Guildhall are of his hand, and so are some pieces in Whitehall, as the roof in his Majesty's old bed-chamber, being Astræa, the St. Catherine, and a chimney-piece in the Queen's privy chamber; but his best, in my opinion, is Lacy, the famous Roscius or comedian, whom he has painted in three dresses, as a gallant, a Presbyterian minister, and a Scotch highlander in his plaid<sup>d</sup>. It is in his Majesty's dining-room at Windsor. He had at his house an excellent collection, especially that small piece of Correggio, Scotus of de la Marca, a design of Paulo; and, above all, those ruins of Polydore, with some good agates and medals, especially a Scipio, and a Cæsar's head of gold.

15th. I this day delivered my *Discourse concerning Forest-Trees* to the Society, upon occasion of certain queries sent to us by the Commissioners of his Majesty's Navy, being the first book that was printed by order of the Society, and by their printer, since it was a Corporation.

16th. I saw *Volpone* acted at Court before their Majesties.

21st. To the Queen-Mother's Court, where her Majesty related to us divers passages of her escapes during the Rebellion and wars in England.

28th. To Court in the evening, where the Queen-Mother, the Queen-Consort, and his Majesty, being advertised of some disturbance, forbore to go to the Lord Mayor's show and feast appointed next day, the new Queen not having yet seen that triumph.

29th. Was my Lord Mayor's Show<sup>e</sup>, with a number of sumptuous

<sup>a</sup> Afterwards the celebrated Marquis of Halifax.

<sup>b</sup> Christopher Merret, a celebrated physician and naturalist, and fellow of the Royal Society.

<sup>c</sup> *ante*, p. 228.

<sup>d</sup> A private etching from this picture was made in 1825 by William Hopkins, one of the Court pages. Mr. John Lacy is represented in his three principal characters, namely, Teague, in the Committee; Scruple, in the Cheats; and Galliard, in the Variety.

<sup>e</sup> Sir John Robinson, Knt. and Bart. Clothworker. The pageant on this occasion, which was the same as in the preceding year (see note, *ante*, p. 248), was at the charge of the Clothworkers' Company.



pageants, speeches, and verses. I was standing in a house in Cheapside against the place prepared for their Majesties. The Prince and heir of Denmark was there, but not our King. There were also the maids of honour. I went to Court this evening, and had much discourse with Dr. Basiers<sup>a</sup>, one of his Majesty's chaplains, the great traveller, who showed me the synographs and original subscriptions of divers eastern patriarchs and Asian churches to our confession.

4th November. I was invited to the wedding of the daughter of Sir George Carteret, (the Treasurer of the Navy and King's Vice-Chamberlain), married to Sir Nicholas Slaning, Knight of the Bath, by the Bishop of London, in the Savoy chapel; after which was an extraordinary feast.

5th. The Council of the Royal Society met to amend the Statutes, and dined together: afterwards meeting at Gresham College, where was a discourse suggested by me, concerning planting his Majesty's Forest of Dean with oak, now so much exhausted of the choicest ship-timber in the world.

20th. Dined with the Comptroller, Sir Hugh Pollard; afterwards, saw *The Young Admiral*<sup>b</sup> acted before the King.

21st. Spent the evening at Court, Sir Kenelm Digby giving me great thanks for my *Sylvæ*<sup>c</sup>.

27th. Went to London to see the entrance of the Russian Ambassador, whom his Majesty ordered to be received with much state, the Emperor not only having been kind to his Majesty in his distress, but banishing all commerce with our nation during the Rebellion.

First, the City Companies and Trained Bands were all in their stations: his Majesty's Army and Guards in great order. His Excellency came in a very rich coach, with some of his chief attendants; many of the rest on horseback, clad in their vests, after the Eastern manner, rich furs, caps, and carrying the presents, some carrying hawks, furs, teeth, bows, &c. It was a very magnificent show.

I dined with the Master of the Mint<sup>d</sup>, where was old Sir Ralph Fremane; passing my evening at the Queen-Mother's Court; at night, saw acted *The Committee*, a ridiculous play of Sir R. Howard, where the mimic, Lacy, acted the Irish footman to admiration.

30th. St. Andrew's day. Invited by the Dean of Westminster<sup>f</sup> to his consecration-dinner and ceremony, on his being made Bishop of Worcester. Dr. Bolton preached in the Abbey Church; then followed the consecration by the Bishops of London, Chichester, Winchester, Salisbury, &c. After this, was one of the most plentiful and magnificent dinners that in my life I ever saw; it cost near 600*l.* as I was informed. Here were the Judges, nobility, clergy, and gentlemen innumerable, this Bishop being universally beloved for his sweet and gentle disposition. He was author of those Characters which go under the name of Blount<sup>g</sup>. He translated his late Majesty's Icon into Latin, was Clerk of his Closet, Chaplain, Dean of Westminster, and yet a most humble, meek, and cheerful man, an excellent scholar, and rare preacher. I had the honour to be loved by him. He married me at Paris, during his Majesty's and the Church's exile. When

<sup>a</sup> Isaac Basire. See *ante*, p. 248.

<sup>b</sup> A Tragi-Comedy by James Shirley.

<sup>c</sup> *Discourse on Forest-Trees*. See preceding page.

<sup>d</sup> Mr. Slingsby.

<sup>e</sup> Of Betchworth, in Surrey.

<sup>f</sup> Dr. John Earle. Translated afterwards to Salisbury.

<sup>g</sup> Several times printed, and still read with some interest.

I took leave of him, he brought me to the cloisters in his episcopal habit. I then went to prayers at Whitehall, where I passed that evening.

1st December. Having seen the strange and wonderful dexterity of the sliders on the new canal in St. James's Park, performed before their Majesties by divers gentlemen and others with skates, after the manner of the Hollanders, with what swiftness they pass, how suddenly they stop in full career upon the ice ; I went home by water, but not without exceeding difficulty, the Thames being frozen, great flakes of ice encompassing our boat.

17th. I saw acted before the King *The Law against Lovers*<sup>a</sup>.

21st. One of his Majesty's chaplains preached ; after which, instead of the ancient, grave, and solemn wind music accompanying the organ, was introduced a concert of twenty-four violins between every pause, after the French fantastical light way, better suiting a tavern, or playhouse, than a church. This was the first time of change, and now we no more heard the cornet which gave life to the organ ; that instrument quite left off in which the English were so skilful. I dined at Mr. Povey's, where I talked with Cromer, a great musician.

23rd. I went with Sir George Tuke, to hear the comedians con and repeat his new comedy, *The Adventures of Five Hours*, a play whose plot was taken out of the famous Spanish poet, Calderon.

27th. I visited Sir Theophilus Biddulph.

29th. Saw the audience of the Muscovy Ambassador, which was with extraordinary state, his retinue being numerous, all clad in vests of several colours, with buskins, after the Eastern manner ! their caps of fur ; tunics, richly embroidered with gold and pearls, made a glorious show. The King being seated under a canopy in the Banqueting-house, the Secretary of the Embassy went before the Ambassador in a grave march, holding up his master's letters of credence in a crimson taffeta scarf before his forehead. The Ambassador then delivered it with a profound reverence to the King, who gave it to our Secretary of State : it was written in a long and lofty style. Then came in the presents, borne by 165 of his retinue, consisting of mantles and other large pieces lined with sable, black fox, and ermine ; Persian carpets, the ground cloth of gold and velvet ; hawks, such as they said never came the like ; horses said to be Persian ; bows and arrows, &c. These borne by so long a train rendered it very extraordinary. Wind music played all the while in the galleries above. This finished, the Ambassador was conveyed by the master of the ceremonies to York House, where he was treated with a banquet which cost 200*l.* as I was assured<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> By Sir William Davenant, a hotch-potch out of *Measure for Measure* and *Much Ado about Nothing*.

<sup>b</sup> 'The Czar of Muscovy sent an Ambassador to compliment King Charles II on his Restoration. The King sent the Earl of Carlisle as his Ambassador to Moscow, to desire the re-establishment of the ancient privileges of the English merchants at Archangel, which had been taken away by the Czar, who, abhorring the murder of the King's father, accused them as favourers of it. But, by the means of the Czar's ministers, his Lordship was very ill received, and met with what he deemed affronts, and had no success as to his demands, so that at coming away he refused the presents sent him by the Czar. The Czar sent an Ambassador to England to complain of Lord Carlisle's conduct ; but his Lordship vindicated himself so well, that the King told the Ambassador he saw no reason to condemn his Lordship's conduct.' Relation of the Embassy by G. M., authenticated by Lord Carlisle, printed 1669.



1662-3. 7th January. At night, I saw the ball, in which his Majesty danced with several great ladies.

8th. I went to see my kinsman, Sir George Tuke's comedy acted at the Duke's theatre, which took so universally, that it was acted for some weeks every day, and it was believed it would be worth to the comedians 400*l.* or 500*l.* The plot was incomparable; but the language stiff and formal.

10th. I saw a ball again at Court, danced by the King, the Duke, and ladies, in great pomp.

21st. Dined at Mr. Treasurer's of the Household, Sir Charles Berkeley's, where were the Earl of Oxford<sup>a</sup>, Lord Bellasis, Lord Gerard, Sir Andrew Scrope, Sir William Coventry, Dr. Fraser, Mr. Windham, and others.

5th February. I saw *The Wild Gallant*, a comedy<sup>b</sup>; and was at the great ball at Court, where his Majesty, the Queen, &c., danced.

6th. Dined at my Lord Mayor's, Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower.

15th. This night some villains brake into my house and study below, and robbed me to the value of 60*l.* in plate, money, and goods—this being the third time I have been thus plundered.

26th March. I sat at the Commission of Sewers, where was a great case pleaded by his Majesty's counsel; he having built a wall over a water-course, denied the jurisdiction of the Court. The verdict went for the plaintiff<sup>c</sup>.

30th April. Came his Majesty to honour my poor villa with his presence, viewing the gardens and even every room of the house, and was pleased to take a small refreshment. There were with him the Duke of Richmond, Earl of St. Alban's, Lord Lauderdale, and several persons of quality.

14th May. Dined with my Lord Mordaunt, and thence went to Barnes, to visit my excellent and ingenious friend, Abraham Cowley.

17th. I saluted the old Bishop of Durham, Dr. Cosin, to whom I had been kind, and assisted in his exile; but which he little remembered in his greatness.

29th. Dr. Creighton preached his extravagant sermon at St. Margaret's, before the House of Commons.

30th. This morning was passed my lease of Sayes Court from the Crown, for the finishing of which I had been obliged to make such frequent journeys to London. I returned this evening, having seen the Russian Ambassador take leave of their Majesties with great solemnity.

2nd July. I saw the great Masque at Court, and lay that night at Arundel-house.

4th. I saw his Majesty's Guards, being of horse and foot 4000, led by the General, the Duke of Albemarle, in extraordinary equipage and gallantry, consisting of gentlemen of quality and veteran soldiers, excellently

<sup>a</sup> Aubrey de Vere, twentieth and last Earl. He had served as a military officer, both at home and abroad; and his services were rewarded at the Restoration by a seat at the Privy Council, the dignity of Knight of the Garter, and the appointment of Lord-Lieutenant of Essex. He died in 1702, leaving an only daughter, married to the Duke of St. Alban's.

<sup>b</sup> By Dryden. It was unsuccessful on the first representation, but was subsequently altered to the form in which it now appears.

<sup>c</sup> That is, against the King.

clad, mounted, and ordered, drawn up in battalia before their Majesties in Hyde Park, where the old Earl of Cleveland trailed a pike, and led the right-hand file in a foot company, commanded by the Lord Wentworth, his son; a worthy spectacle and example, being both of them old and valiant soldiers. This was to show the French Ambassador, Monsieur Comminges; there being a great assembly of coaches, &c., in the park.

7th July. Dined at the Comptroller's; after dinner, we met at the Commission about the streets, and to regulate hackney-coaches, also to make up our accounts to pass the Exchequer.

16th. A most extraordinary wet and cold season.

Sir George Carteret, Treasurer of the Navy, had now married his daughter, Caroline, to Sir Thomas Scott, of Scott's-hall, in Kent<sup>a</sup>. This gentleman was thought to be the son of Prince Rupert.

2nd August. This evening, I accompanied Mr. Treasurer and Vice-Chamberlain Carteret to his lately married son-in-law's, Sir Thomas Scott, to Scott's-hall. We took barge as far as Gravesend, and thence by post to Rochester, whence in coach and six horses to Scott's-hall; a right noble seat, uniformly built, with a handsome gallery. It stands in a park well stored, the land fat and good. We were exceedingly feasted by the young knight, and in his pretty chapel heard an excellent sermon by his chaplain. In the afternoon, preached the learned Sir Norton Knatchbull<sup>b</sup>, (who has a noble seat hard by, and a plantation of stately fir-trees). In the church-yard of the parish church I measured an over-grown yew-tree, that was eighteen of my paces in compass, out of some branches of which, torn off by the winds, were sawed divers goodly planks.

10th. We returned by Sir Norton's, whose house is likewise in a park. This gentleman is a worthy person, and learned critic, especially in Greek and Hebrew. Passing by Chatham, we saw his Majesty's Royal Navy, and dined at Commissioner Pett's<sup>c</sup>, master-builder there, who showed me his study and models, with other curiosities belonging to his art. He is esteemed for the most skilful ship-builder in the world. He hath a pretty garden and banqueting-house, pots, statues, cypresses, resembling some villas about Rome. After a great feast we rode post to Gravesend, and, sending the coach to London, came by barge home that night.

18th. To London, to see my Lord Chancellor, where I had discourse with my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester, who enjoined me to write to Dr. Pierce, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, about a letter sent him by Dr. Goff, a Romish Oratorian, concerning an answer to Dean Cressy's late book<sup>d</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> See Hasted's *Account of Kent*, iii, p. 293.

<sup>b</sup> *ibid.*, ii, p. 444.

<sup>c</sup> A monument to him in Deptford church bears a most pompous inscription: 'Qui fuit patriæ decus, patriæ suæ magnum munimentum'; to the effect that he not only restored our naval affairs, but he invented that excellent and new ornament of the Navy which we call Frigate, formidable to our enemies, to us most useful and safe: he was to be esteemed, indeed, by this invention, the Noah of his age, which, like another Ark, had snatched from shipwreck our rights and our dominion of the seas.

<sup>d</sup> Of Dr. Pierce, who was also Dean of Salisbury, Wood speaks very unfavourably in his *Fasti*. He was engaged in many disputes both in his College and at Salisbury. Dean Cressy was bred in the Church of England, and appointed Canon of Windsor and Dean of Leighlin in Ireland, in the time of King Charles I,



20th August. I dined at the Comptroller's [of the Household] with the Earl of Oxford and Mr. Ashburnham ; it was said it should be the last of the public diets, or tables, at Court, it being determined to put down the old hospitality, at which was great murmuring, considering his Majesty's vast revenue, and the plenty of the nation. Hence, I went to sit in a Committee, to consider about the regulation of the Mint at the Tower ; in which some small progress was made.

27th. Dined at Sir Philip Warwick's, Secretary to my Lord Treasurer, who showed me the accounts and other private matters relating to the revenue. Thence, to the Commissioners of the Mint, particularly about coinage, and bringing his Majesty's rate from fifteen to ten shillings for every pound weight of gold.

31st. I was invited to the translation of Dr. Sheldon, Bishop of London, from that see to Canterbury, the ceremony performed at Lambeth. First, went his Grace's mace-bearer, steward, treasurer, comptroller, all in their gowns, and with white staves ; next, the Bishops in their habits, eight in number ; Dr. Sweate, Dean of the Arches, Dr. Exton, Judge of the Admiralty, Sir William Merick, Judge of the Prerogative Court, with divers advocates in scarlet. After divine service in the chapel, performed with music extraordinary, Dr. French and Dr. Stradling (his Grace's chaplains) said prayers. The Archbishop in a private room looking into the chapel, the Bishops who were Commissioners went up to a table placed before the altar, and sat round it in chairs. Then, Dr. Chaworth presented the commission under the broad seal to the Bishop of Winchester, and it was read by Dr. Sweate. After which, the Vicar-General went to the vestry, and brought his Grace into the chapel, his other officers marching before. He being presented to the Commissioners, was seated in a great arm-chair at one end of the table, when the definitive sentence was read by the Bishop of Winchester, and subscribed by all the Bishops, and proclamation was three times made at the chapel door, which was then set open for any to enter, and give their exceptions ; if any they had. This done, we all went to dinner in the great hall to a mighty feast. There were present all the nobility in town, the Lord Mayor of London, Sheriffs, Duke of Albemarle, &c. My Lord Archbishop did in particular most civilly welcome me. So going to visit my Lady Needham, who lived at Lambeth, I went over to London.

10th September. I dined with Mr. Treasurer of the Navy, where, sitting by Mr. Secretary Morice, we had much discourse about books and authors, he being a learned man, and had a good collection.

24th October. Mr. Edward Phillips came to be my son's preceptor : this gentleman was nephew to Milton, who wrote against Salmasius's *Defensio* ; but was not at all infected with his principles, though brought up by him<sup>a</sup>.

5th November. Dr. South, my Lord Chancellor's chaplain, preached at Westminster Abbey an excellent discourse concerning obedience to

but the troubles of that time interposed to prevent his receiving benefit from either ; he afterwards became a Roman Catholic. The book here referred to is *Exomologētis*, or the motives of his conversion. See *Correspondence*.

<sup>a</sup> The *Lives* of Edward and John Phillips, nephews and pupils of the poet, were published in 1815, by William Godwin.

magistrates, against the pontificians and sectaries. I afterwards dined at Sir Philip Warwick's, where was much company.

6th November. To Court, to get Sir John Evelyn of Godstone off from being Sheriff of Surrey<sup>a</sup>.

30th. Was the first anniversary of our Society for the choice of new officers, according to the tenour of our patent and institution. It being St. Andrew's day, who was our patron, each fellow wore a St. Andrew's cross of ribbon on the crown of his hat. After the election, we dined together, his Majesty sending us venison.

16th December. To our Society, where Mr. P. Balle, our Treasurer at the late election, presented the Society with an iron chest, having three locks, and in it 100*l.* as a gift.

18th. Dined with the gentlemen of his Majesty's bedchamber at Whitehall.

1663-4, 2nd January. To Barn Elms, to see Abraham Cowley after his sickness; and returned that evening to London.

4th February. Dined at Sir Philip Warwick's; thence, to Court, where I had discourse with the King about an invention of glass-grenades, and several other subjects.

5th. I saw *The Indian Queen* acted, a tragedy well written<sup>b</sup>, so beautiful with rich scenes as the like had never been seen here, or haply (except rarely) elsewhere on a mercenary theatre.

16th. I presented my *Sylva* to the Society; and next day to his Majesty, to whom it was dedicated; also to the Lord Treasurer and the Lord Chancellor.

24th. My Lord George Berkeley, of Durdans, and Sir Samuel Tuke, came to visit me. We went on board Sir William Petty's double-bottomed vessel, and so to London.

26th. Dined with my Lord Chancellor; and thence to Court, where I had great thanks for my *Sylva*, and long discourse with the King of divers particulars.

2nd March. Went to London to distribute some of my books amongst friends.

4th. Came to dine with me the Earl of Lauderdale, his Majesty's great favourite, and Secretary of Scotland; the Earl of Teviot; my Lord Viscount Brouncker, President of the Royal Society; Dr. Wilkins, Dean of Ripon; Sir Robert Murray, and Mr. Hooke, Curator to the Society<sup>c</sup>.

This spring, I planted the Home-field and West-field about Sayes Court with elms, being the same year that the elms were planted by his Majesty in Greenwich Park.

9th. I went to the Tower, to sit in commission about regulating the Mint; and now it was that the fine new-milled coin, both of white money and guineas, was established.

<sup>a</sup> In which he succeeded.

<sup>b</sup> By Sir Robert Howard and Dryden.

<sup>c</sup> Robert Hooke, born in 1635. He pursued his studies in the abstract sciences with singular success, obtaining a great reputation among his most learned contemporaries. He was professor of Geometry in Gresham College, wrote several treatises on different branches of philosophy, and entered into controversies with Hevelius, and on Newton's Theology of Light and Colours. Created M.D. in 1691, and died in March, 1702-3.



26th March. It pleased God to take away my son, Richard, now a month old, yet without any sickness of danger perceivably, being to all appearance a most likely child; we suspected much the nurse had over-lain him; to our extreme sorrow, being now again reduced to one: but God's will be done.

29th. After evening prayers, was my child buried near the rest of his brothers—my very dear children.

27th April. Saw a facetious comedy, called *Love in a Tub*; and supped at Mr. Secretary Bennett's.

3rd May. Came the Earl of Kent, my kinsman, and his lady, to visit us.

5th. Went with some company a journey of pleasure on the water, in a barge, with music, and at Mortlake had a great banquet, returning late. The occasion was, Sir Robert Carr now courting Mrs. Bennett, sister to the Secretary of State.

6th. Went to see Mr. Wright the painter's collection of rare shells, &c.

8th June. To our Society, to which his Majesty had sent that wonderful horn of the fish which struck a dangerous hole in the keel of a ship in the India sea, which, being broken off with the violence of the fish, and left in the timber, preserved it from foundering.

9th. Sir Samuel Tuke<sup>a</sup> being this morning married to a lady, kinswoman to my Lord Arundel of Wardour, by the Queen's Lord Almoner, L. Aubigny in St. James's chapel, solemnized his wedding-night at my house with much company.

22nd. One Tomson, a Jesuit, showed me such a collection of rarities, sent from the Jesuits of Japan and China to their Order at Paris, as a present to be reserved in their repository, but brought to London by the East India ships for them, as in my life I had not seen. The chief things were, rhinoceros's horns; glorious vests, wrought and embroidered on cloth of gold, but with such lively colours, that for splendour and vividness we have nothing in Europe that approaches it; a girdle studded with agates and rubies of great value and size; knives, of so keen an edge as one could not touch them, nor was the metal of our colour, but more pale and livid; fans, like those our ladies use, but much larger, and with long handles curiously carved and filled with Chinese characters: a sort of paper very broad, thin, and fine, like abortive parchment, and exquisitely polished, of an amber yellow, exceeding glorious and pretty to look on, and seeming to be like that which my Lord Verulam describes in his *Nova Atlantis*; several other sorts of paper, some written, others printed; prints of landscapes, their idols, saints, pagods, of most ugly serpentine monstrous and hideous shapes, to which they paid devotion; pictures of men and countries, rarely painted on a sort of gummed calico, transparent as glass; flowers, trees, beasts, birds, &c., excellently wrought in a kind of sleeve silk, very natural; divers drugs that our druggists and physicians could make nothing of, especially one which the Jesuit called *Lac Tigridis*: it looked like a fungus, but was weighty like metal, yet was a concretion, or coagulation, of some other matter; several book MSS.; a grammar of the language written in Spanish; with innumerable other rarities.

1st July. Went to see Mr. Povey's<sup>b</sup> elegant house in Lincoln's-Inn-

<sup>a</sup> A Roman Catholic.

<sup>b</sup> Doubtless, this was the same Mr. Povey, one of the Masters of Requests, 'a nice contriver of all elegancies, and exceedingly formal.'

Fields, where the perspective in his court, painted by Streeter, is indeed excellent, with the vases in imitation of porphyry, and fountains; the inlaying of his closet; above all, his pretty cellar and ranging of his wine-bottles.

*7th July.* To Court, where I subscribed to Sir Arthur Slingsby's lottery, a desperate debt owing me long since in Paris.

*14th.* I went to take leave of the two Mr. Howards, now going to Paris, and brought them as far as Bromley; thence, to Eltham, to see Sir John Shaw's new house, now building; the place is pleasant, if not too wet, but the house not well contrived; especially the roof and rooms too low pitched, and the kitchen where the cellars should be; the orangery and aviary handsome, and a very large plantation about it.

*19th.* To London, to see the event of the lottery which his Majesty had permitted Sir Arthur Slingsby to set up for one day in the Banqueting-House, at Whitehall; I gaining only a trifle, as well as did the King, Queen-Consort, and Queen-Mother, for near thirty lots; which was thought to be contrived very unhandsomely by the master of it, who was, in truth, a mere shark.

*21st.* I dined with my Lord Treasurer at Southampton-House, where his Lordship used me with singular humanity. I went in the afternoon to Chelsea, to wait on the Duke of Ormond, and returned to London.

*28th.* Came to see me Monsieur Zuylichen, Secretary to the Prince of Orange, an excellent Latin poet, a rare latinist, with Monsieur Oudart.

*3rd August.* To London; a concert of excellent musicians, especially one Mr. Berkenshaw, that rare artist, who invented a mathematical way or composure very extraordinary, true as to the exact rules of art, but without much harmony<sup>a</sup>.

*8th.* Came the sad and unexpected news of the death of Lady Cotton, wife to my brother George, a most excellent lady.

*9th.* Went with my brother Richard to Wotton, to visit and comfort my disconsolate brother; and on the 13th, saw my friend, Mr. Charles Howard, at Dipden, near Dorking.

*16th.* I went to see Sir William Ducie's house at Charlton, which he purchased of my excellent friend, Sir Henry Newton, now nobly furnished.

*22nd.* I went from London to Wotton, to assist at the funeral of my sister-in-law, the Lady Cotton, buried in our dormitory there, she being put up in lead. Dr. Owen made a profitable and pathetic discourse, concluding with an eulogy of that virtuous, pious, and deserving lady. It was a very solemn funeral, with about fifty mourners. I came back next day with my wife to London.

*2nd September.* Came Constantine Huygens, Signor de Zuylichen, Sir Robert Morris, Mr. Oudart, Mr. Carew, and other friends, to spend the day with us.

*5th October.* To our Society. There was brought a new-invented instrument of music, being a harpsichord with gut-strings, sounding like a concert of viols with an organ, made vocal by a wheel, and a zone of parchment that rubbed horizontally against the strings.

*6th.* I heard the anniversary oration in praise of Dr. Harvey, in the

<sup>a</sup> Berkenshaw was music master to Pepys, who informs us that he gave him five pounds for five weeks' lessons.



Anatomy Theatre in the College of Physicians ; after which I was invited by Dr. Alston, the President, to a magnificent feast.

7th October. I dined at Sir Nicholas Strood's, one of the Masters of Chancery, in Great St. Bartholomew's ; passing the evening at Whitehall, with the Queen, &c.

8th. Sir William Curtius, his Majesty's Resident in Germany, came to visit me ; he was a wise and learned gentleman, and, as he told me, scholar to Henry Alstedius, the Encyclopedist.

15th. Dined at the Lord Chancellor's, where was the Duke of Ormond, Earl of Cork, and Bishop of Winchester. After dinner, my Lord Chancellor and his lady carried me in their coach to see their palace<sup>a</sup> (for he now lived at Worcester-House, in the Strand) building at the upper end of St. James's-street, and to project the garden. In the evening, I presented him with my book on *Architecture*<sup>b</sup>, as before I had done to his Majesty and the Queen-Mother. His lordship caused me to stay with him in his bed-chamber, discoursing of several matters very late, even till he was going into his bed.

17th. I went with my Lord Viscount Cornbury, to Cornbury, in Oxfordshire, to assist him in the planting of the park, and bear him company, with Mr. Belin and Mr. May, in a coach with six horses ; dined at Uxbridge, lay at Wycombe.

18th. At Oxford. Went through Woodstock, where we beheld the destruction of that royal seat and park by the late rebels, and arrived that evening at Cornbury, a house lately built by the Earl of Denbigh, in the middle of a sweet park, walled with a dry wall<sup>c</sup>. The house is of excellent freestone, abounding in that part, (a stone that is fine, but never sweats, or casts any damp) ; it is of ample dimensions, has goodly cellars, the paving of the hall admirable for its close laying. We designed a handsome chapel that was yet wanting : as Mr. May had the stables, which indeed are very fair, having set out the walks in the park and gardens. The lodge is a pretty solitude, and the ponds very convenient ; the park well stored.

20th. Hence, to see the famous wells, natural and artificial grots and fountains, called Bushell's Wells, at Enstone<sup>d</sup>. This Bushell had been Secretary to my Lord Verulam. It is an extraordinary solitude. There he had two mummies ; a grot where he lay in a hammock, like an Indian. Hence, we went to Dichley, an ancient seat of the Lees, now Sir Henry Lee's ; it is a low ancient timber-house, with a pretty bowling-green. My Lady gave us an extraordinary dinner. This gentleman's mother was Countess of Rochester, who was also there, and Sir Walter St. John.

<sup>a</sup> A large engraving of it exists. The Chancellor, in the *Continuation* of his Life, laments his having built it, on account of the great cost, and the unpopularity which its magnificence created. He had little enjoyment of it, as will be seen hereafter.

<sup>b</sup> *Parallel between Ancient and Modern Architecture*, originally written in French, by Roland Freart, *Sieur de Chambray*, and translated by Evelyn. See his *Miscellaneous Writings*, pp. 337-348.

<sup>c</sup> Some years ago the residence of Francis Almeric, created Baron Churchill, brother of the then Duke of Marlborough.

<sup>d</sup> Bushell published a pamphlet descriptive of his contrivances here ; and in Plott's *Oxfordshire* is an engraving of the rock, fountains, &c. belonging to it. See an account of him in the *History of Surrey*, vol. iii, p. 523, and Appendix cxlix.

There were some pictures of their ancestors, not ill painted; the great-grandfather had been Knight of the Garter; there was a picture of a Pope, and our Saviour's head. So we returned to Cornbury.

24th October. We dined at Sir Timothy Tyrill's at Shotover. This gentleman married the daughter and heir of Dr. James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, that learned prelate. There is here in the grove a fountain of the coldest water I ever felt, and very clear. His plantation of oaks and other timber is very commendable. We went in the evening to Oxford, lay at Dr. Hyde's, principal of Magdalen-Hall, (related to the Lord Chancellor), brother to the Lord Chief-Justice and that Sir Henry Hyde, who lost his head for his loyalty. We were handsomely entertained two days. The Vice-Chancellor, who with Dr. Fell, Dean of Christ Church, the learned Dr. Barlow, Warden of Queen's, and several Heads of houses, came to visit Lord Cornbury (his father being now Chancellor of the University), and next day invited us all to dinner. I went to visit Mr. Boyle (now here), whom I found with Dr. Wallis and Dr. Christopher Wren, in the tower of the schools, with an inverted tube, or telescope, observing the discus of the sun for the passing of Mercury that day before it; but the latitude was so great that nothing appeared; so we went to see the rarities in the Library, where the keepers showed me my name among the benefactors. They have a cabinet of some medals, and pictures of the muscular parts of man's body. Thence, to the new Theatre, now building at an exceeding and royal expense by the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury [Sheldon], to keep the Acts in for the future, till now being in St. Mary's Church. The foundation had been newly laid, and the whole designed by that incomparable genius my worthy friend, Dr. Christopher Wren, who showed me the model, not disdaining my advice in some particulars. Thence, to see the picture on the wall over the altar of All Souls, being the largest piece of fresco-painting (or rather in imitation of it, for it is in oil of turpentine) in England, not ill designed by the hand of one Fuller; yet I fear it will not hold long. It seems too full of nakeds for a chapel.

Thence, to New College, and the painting of Magdalen chapel, which is on blue cloth in *chiar oscuro*, by one Greenborow, being a *Cæna Domini*, and a *Last Judgment* on the wall by Fuller, as is the other, but somewhat varied.

Next to Wadham, and the Physic Garden, where were two large locust-trees, and as many platani (plane-trees), and some rare plants under the culture of old Bobart<sup>a</sup>.

26th. We came back to Beaconsfield; next day to London, where we dined at the Lord Chancellor's, with my Lord Bellasis.

27th. Being casually in the privy gallery at Whitehall, his Majesty gave me thanks before divers lords and noblemen for my book of *Archi-*

<sup>a</sup> Jacob Bobart, a German, was appointed the first keeper of the Physic Garden, at Oxford. There is a fine print of him, after Loggan, by Burghers, dated 1675. There exists also a small whole-length of him in the frontispiece to *Vertumnus*, a poem on that Oxford garden. In this he is dressed in a long vest, with a beard. The Bobarts remained resident in Oxford, and one of the family was bred up at college there; but eventually quitted his studies for the profession of the Whip, driving one of the Oxford coaches (his own property) for many years 'with great credit'. In 1813 he broke his leg by an accident; and in 1814, from the respect he had acquired by his good conduct, he was appointed by the University to the place of one of the Esquire Bedels.



ecture, and again for my *Sylva*, saying they were the best designed and useful for the matter and subject, the best printed and designed (meaning the *taille-douces* of the *Parallel of Architecture*) that he had seen. He then caused me to follow him alone to one of the windows, and asked me if I had any paper about me unwritten, and a crayon ; I presented him with both, and then laying it on the window-stool, he with his own hands designed to me the plot for the future building of Whitehall, together with the rooms of state, and other particulars. After this, he talked with me of several matters, asking my advice, in which I find his Majesty had an extraordinary talent becoming a magnificent prince.

The same day at Council, there being Commissioners to be made to take care of such sick and wounded and prisoners of war, as might be expected upon occasion of a succeeding war and action at sea, war being already declared against the Hollanders, his Majesty was pleased to nominate me to be one, with three other gentlemen, parliament-men, viz. Sir William Doily, Knt. and Bart., Sir Thomas Clifford<sup>a</sup>, and Bullein Rheymes, Esq. ; with a salary of 1200*l.* a year amongst us, besides extraordinaries for our care and attention in time of station, each of us being appointed to a particular district, mine falling out to be Kent and Sussex, with power to constitute officers, physicians, chirurgeons, provost-marshals, and to dispose of half of the hospitals through England. After the council, we kissed his Majesty's hand. At this council, I heard Mr. Solicitor Finch<sup>b</sup> plead most elegantly for the merchants trading to the Canaries, praying for a new Charter.

29th October. Was the most magnificent triumph by water and land of the Lord Mayor<sup>c</sup>. I dined at Guildhall at the upper table, placed next to Sir H. Bennett, Secretary of State, opposite to my Lord Chancellor and the Duke of Buckingham, who sate between Monsieur Comminges, the French Ambassador, Lord Treasurer, the Dukes of Ormond and Albemarle, Earl of Manchester, Lord Chamberlain, and the rest of the great officers of state. My Lord Mayor came twice up to us, first drinking in the golden goblet his Majesty's health, then the French King's as a compliment to the Ambassador ; we returned my Lord Mayor's health, the trumpets and drums sounding. The cheer was not to be imagined for the plenty and rarity, with an infinite number of persons at the tables in that ample hall. The feast was said to cost 1000*l.* I slipped away in the crowd, and came home late.

31st. I was this day 44 years of age ; for which I returned thanks to Almighty God, begging His merciful protection for the year to come.

2nd November. Her Majesty, the Queen-Mother, came across the gallery in Whitehall to give me thanks for my book of Architecture, which I had presented to her, with a compliment that I did by no means deserve.

16th. We chose our treasurer, clerks, and messengers, and appointed our seal, which I ordered should be the good Samaritan, with this motto, *Fac similiter*. Painters' Hall was lent us to meet in. In the great room were divers pictures, some reasonably good, that had been

<sup>a</sup> Afterwards Lord Treasurer.

<sup>b</sup> Afterwards Earl of Nottingham, Lord Chancellor.

<sup>c</sup> Sir John Lawrence. The pageant for the day was at the cost of the Haberdashers' Company.

given to the Company by several of the wardens and masters of the Company.

23<sup>rd</sup> November. Our statutes now finished, were read before a full assembly of the Royal Society.

24<sup>th</sup>. His Majesty was pleased to tell me what the conference was with the Holland Ambassador, which, as after I found, was the heads of the speech he made at the re-convention of the Parliament, which now began.

2<sup>nd</sup> December. We delivered the Privy Council's letters to the Governors of St. Thomas's Hospital, in Southwark, that a moiety of the house should be reserved for such sick and wounded as should from time to time be sent from the fleet during the war. This being delivered at their Court, the President and several Aldermen, Governors of that Hospital, invited us to a great feast in Fishmongers' Hall.

20<sup>th</sup>. To London, our last sitting, taking order for our personal visiting our several districts. I dined at Captain Cocke's (our Treasurer), with that most ingenious gentleman, Matthew Wren, son to the Bishop of Ely, and Mr. Joseph Williamson, since Secretary of State<sup>a</sup>.

22<sup>nd</sup>. I went to the launching of a new ship of two bottoms, invented by Sir William Petty, on which were various opinions; his Majesty being present, gave her the name of the Experiment: so I returned home, where I found Sir Humphry Winch, who spent the day with me.

This year I planted the lower grove next the pond at Sayes Court. It was now exceeding cold, and a hard long frosty season, and the comet was very visible.

28<sup>th</sup>. Some of my poor neighbours dined with me, and others of my tenants, according to my annual custom.

31<sup>st</sup>. Set my affairs in order, gave God praise for His mercies the past year, and prepared for the reception of the Holy Sacrament, which I partook of the next day, after hearing our minister on the 4<sup>th</sup> of *Galatians*, verses 4, 5, of the mystery of our Blessed Saviour's Incarnation.

1664-5. 2<sup>nd</sup> January. This day was published by me that part of *The Mystery of Jesuitism*<sup>b</sup> translated and collected by me, though without

<sup>a</sup> Sir Joseph Williamson, P.R.S., became distinguished for his ability and services in the House of Commons. He represented Thetford and Rochester in several parliaments. A considerable part of his wealth was expended in useful charities, or in promoting learning; and the places for which he had been member received much of his bounty. At his death he left 6000*l.* to Queen's College, Oxford, where he was educated, and at Rochester he founded a mathematical school, in which Garrick was one of the pupils placed under the first master, Mr. John Colson, afterwards mathematical professor at Cambridge. A whole-length portrait of Williamson still hangs in the Town-hall, at Rochester.

<sup>b</sup> In a letter to Lord Cornbury, 2 Jan. 1664, Evelyn says, 'I came to present your Lordship with your own book [in the margin is written, "The other part of the Mystery of Jesuitism translated and published by me"]: I left it with my Lord your father, because I would not suffer it to be public till he had first seen it, who, on your Lordship's score, has so just a title to it. The particulars, which you will find added after the 4<sup>th</sup> letter, are extracted out of several curious papers and passages lying by me, which for being very apposite to the controversy, I thought fit to annex, in danger otherwise to have never been produced.'—In another letter to Lord Cornbury, 9<sup>th</sup> Feb. 1664, Evelyn says he undertook the translation by command of his Lordship, and of his father the Lord Chancellor.

The authors of the *Biographia Britannica* speak of *The Mystery of Jesuitism* as one volume; but in the library at Wotton there are three, in duodecimo, with



my name, containing the Imaginary Heresy, with four letters and other pieces.

4th January. I went in a coach, it being excessive sharp frost and snow, towards Dover and other parts of Kent, to settle physicians, surgeons, agents, marshals, and other officers in all the sea-ports, to take care of such as should be set on shore, wounded, sick, or prisoners, in pursuance of our commission reaching from the North Foreland, in Kent, to Portsmouth, in Hampshire. The rest of the ports in England were allotted to the other Commissioners. That evening, I came to Rochester, where I delivered the Privy Council's letter to the Mayor to receive orders from me.

5th. I arrived at Canterbury, and went to the cathedral, exceedingly well repaired since his Majesty's return.

6th. To Dover, where Colonel Stroode, Lieutenant of the Castle, having received the letter I brought him from the Duke of Albemarle, made me lodge in it, and I was splendidly treated, assisting me from place to place. Here I settled my first Deputy. The Mayor and officers of the Customs were very civil to me.

9th. To Deal.—10th. To Sandwich, a pretty town, about two miles from the sea. The Mayor and officers of the Customs were very diligent to serve me. I visited the forts in the way, and returned that night to Canterbury.

11th. To Rochester, when I took order to settle officers at Chatham.

12th. To Gravesend, and returned home. A cold, busy, but not unpleasant journey.

25th. This night being at Whitehall, his Majesty came to me standing in the withdrawing-room, and gave me thanks for publishing *The Mysteries*

the subjoined titles and contents. The second in order is that translated by Evelyn.

1. *Les Provinciales, or, the Mystery of Jesuitism*, discovered in certain letters written upon occasion of the present difference at Sorbonne between the Jansenists and the Molinists, displaying the pernicious Maxims of the late Casuists. The second edition corrected, with large additions. *Sicut Serpentes*. London: Printed for Richard Royston, and are to be sold by Robert Clave at the Stag's Head near St. Gregorie's church in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1658.—pp. 360 Additional, pp. 147. At the end are the names of some of the most eminent Casuists.

2. *Μυστήριον τῆς Ἀνομίας*. That is, Another Part of the Mystery of Jesuitism; or the new Heresy of the Jesuits, publicly maintained at Paris, in the College of Clermont, the xii of December MDCLXI. declared to all the Bishops of France. According to the copy printed at Paris. Together with the Imaginary Heresy, in three Letters, with divers other particulars relating to the abominable Mystery. Never before published in English. London: Printed by James Flesher for Richard Royston, bookseller to his most sacred Majesty, 1664—3 letters, pp. 206. Copy of a Letter from the Reverend Father Valerian, a Capuchin, to Pope Alexander 7th, pp. 207-239. The sense of the French Church, pp. 240-254.

3. *The Moral Practice of the Jesuits* demonstrated by many remarkable histories of their actions in all parts of the world. Collected either from books of the greatest authority, or most certain and unquestionable records and memorials. By the Doctors of the Sorbonne. Faithfully translated into English (by Dr. Tongue; see hereafter, under 1678, Oct. 1). London: Printed for Simon Miller, at the Star at the west end of St. Paul's, 1670. See Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings*.

of *Jesuitism*, which he said he had carried two days in his pocket, read it, and encouraged me ; at which I did not a little wonder : I suppose Sir Robert Murray had given it to him.

27th January. Dined at the Lord Chancellor's, who caused me after dinner to sit two or three hours alone with him in his bedchamber.

2nd February. I saw a Masque performed at Court, by six gentlemen and six ladies, surprising his Majesty, it being Candlemas-day.

8th. Ash Wednesday. I visited our prisoners at Chelsea College, and to examine how the marshal and sutlers behaved. These were prisoners taken in the war ; they only complained that their bread was too fine. I dined at Sir Henry Herbert's, Master of the Revels.

9th. Dined at my Lord Treasurer's, the Earl of Southampton, in Bloomsbury, where he was building a noble square, or piazza<sup>a</sup>, a little town ; his own house stands too low, some noble rooms, a pretty cedar chapel, a naked garden to the north, but good air<sup>b</sup>. I had much discourse with his Lordship, whom I found to be a person of extraordinary parts, but a *valetudinarian*.—I went to St. James's Park, where I saw various animals, and examined the throat of the *Onocrotylus*, or pelican, a fowl between a stork and a swan ; a melancholy water-fowl, brought from Astracan by the Russian Ambassador ; it was diverting to see how he would toss up and turn a flat fish, plaice, or flounder, to get it right into his gullet at its lower beak, which, being filmy, stretches to a prodigious wideness when it devours a great fish. Here was also a small water-fowl, not bigger than a moorhen, that went almost quite erect, like the penguin of America ; it would eat as much fish as its whole body weighed ; I never saw so unsatiable a devourer, yet the body did not appear to swell the bigger. The Solan geese here are also great devourers, and are said soon to exhaust all the fish in a pond. Here was a curious sort of poultry not much exceeding the size of a tame pigeon, with legs so short as their crops seemed to touch the earth ; a milk-white raven ; a stork, which was a rarity at this season, seeing he was loose, and could fly loftily ; two Balearian cranes, one of which having had one of his legs broken and cut off above the knee, had a wooden or boxen leg and thigh, with a joint so accurately made that the creature could walk and use it as well as if it had been natural ; it was made by a soldier. The park was at this time stored with numerous flocks of several sorts of ordinary and extraordinary wild fowl, breeding about the Decoy, which for being near so great a city, and among such a concourse of soldiers and people, is a singular and diverting thing. There were also deer of several countries, white ; spotted like leopards ; antelopes, an elk, red deer, roebucks, stags, Guinea goats, Arabian sheep, &c. There were withy-pots, or nests, for the wild fowl to lay their eggs in, a little above the surface of the water.

23rd. I was invited to a great feast at Mr. Rich's (a relation of my Wife's, now Reader at Lincoln's Inn) ; where was the Duke of Monmouth, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishops of London and Winchester, the Speaker of the House of Commons, divers of the Judges, and several other great men.

<sup>a</sup> The Italians mean simply a square by their *piazzas*.

<sup>b</sup> Afterwards called Bedford-House, the town residence for many years of the Russell family. It was pulled down in 1800 ; and on the site and the adjoining fields were erected Russell Square, Bedford Place, Russell Place, &c.



24th February. Dr. Fell, Canon of Christ Church, preached before the King, on 15 ch. *Romans*, v, 2, a very formal discourse, and in blank verse, according to his manner ; however, he is a good man.—Mr. Philips, preceptor to my son, went to be with the Earl of Pembroke's son, my Lord Herbert.

2nd March. I went with his Majesty into the lobby behind the House of Lords, where I saw the King and the rest of the Lords robe themselves, and got into the House of Lords in a corner near the woolsack, on which the Lord Chancellor sits next below the throne : the King sate in all the regalia, the crown-imperial on his head, the sceptre and globe, &c. The Duke of Albemarle bare the sword, the Duke of Ormond, the cap of dignity. The rest of the Lords robed in their places : a most splendid and august convention. Then came the Speaker and the House of Commons, and at the bar made a speech, and afterwards presented several bills, a nod only passing them, the clerk saying, *Le Roy le veult*, as to public bills ; as to private, *Soit faite comme il est désiré*. Then, his Majesty made a handsome but short speech, commanding my Lord Privy Seal to prorogue the Parliament, which he did, the Chancellor being ill and absent. I had not before seen this ceremony.

9th. I went to receive the poor creatures that were saved out of the London frigate, blown up by accident, with above 200 men.

29th. Went to Goring House<sup>a</sup>, now Mr. Secretary Bennett's, ill built, but the place capable of being made a pretty villa. His Majesty was now finishing the Decoy in the Park.

2nd April. Took order about some prisoners sent from Captain Allen's ship, taken in the Solomon, viz., the brave men who defended her so gallantly.

5th. Was a day of public humiliation and for success of this terrible war, begun doubtless at secret instigation of the French to weaken the States and Protestant interest. Prodigious preparations on both sides.

6th. In the afternoon, I saw acted *Mustapha*, a tragedy written by the Earl of Orrery.

11th. To London, being now left the only Commissioner to take all necessary orders how to exchange, remove, and keep prisoners, dispose of hospitals, &c. ; the rest of the Commissioners being gone to their several districts, in expectation of a sudden engagement.

19th. Invited to a great dinner at the Trinity House, where I had business with the Commissioners of the Navy, and to receive the second 5000*l.* impressed for the service of the sick and wounded prisoners.

20th. To Whitehall, to the King, who called me into his bed-chamber as he was dressing, to whom I showed the letter written to me from the Duke of York from the fleet, giving me notice of young Evertzen, and some considerable commanders newly taken in fight with the Dartmouth and Diamond frigates<sup>b</sup>, whom he had sent me as prisoners at war ; I went to

<sup>a</sup> Buckingham Palace is now built on the site. There is a small print of Goring House, as it then stood.

<sup>b</sup> In the Life of King James II from his own papers (printed 1816), after describing the engagement with the Dutch fleet in 1665, it is added, ' Soon after this, three Dutch men-of-war, which had been seen for some time to the windward of us, and were looking out for their own fleet, bore down in order to join it. One of them was a great ship of above 80 guns, which for want of some repairs had been left by Cornelius Evertzen to his son, with orders to follow ; the other two were not of the same force. These being to windward, endeavoured to join the head of their fleet, and young Evertzen, being a mettled man, and

know of his Majesty how he would have me treat them, when he commanded me to bring the young captain to him, and to take the word of the Dutch Ambassador (who yet remained here) for the other, that he should render himself to me whenever I called on him, and not stir without leave. Upon which I desired more guards, the prison being Chelsea House. I went also to Lord Arlington (the Secretary Bennett lately made a Lord) about other business. Dined at my Lord Chancellor's; none with him but Sir Sackville Crowe, formerly Ambassador at Constantinople; we were very cheerful and merry.

*24th April.* I presented young Captain Evertzen (eldest son of Cornelius, Vice-Admiral of Zealand, and nephew of John, now Admiral, a most valiant person) to his Majesty in his bedchamber. The King gave him his hand to kiss, and restored him his liberty; asked many questions concerning the fight (it being the first blood drawn), his Majesty remembering the many civilities he had formerly received from his relations abroad, who had now so much interest in that considerable Province. Then, I was commanded to go with him to the Holland Ambassador, where he was to stay for his passport, and I was to give to him fifty pieces in broad gold. Next day I had the Ambassador's parole for the other Captain, taken in Captain Allen's fight before Calais. I gave the King an account of what I had done, and afterwards asked the same favour for another Captain, which his Majesty gave me.

*28th.* I went to Tunbridge, to see a solemn exercise at the free-school there<sup>a</sup>.

having a mind to distinguish himself, resolved to run on board of the Plymouth, hoping to bear her down; but Sir Thomas Allen, perceiving by Evertzen's working what his design was, brought his ship to at once, so that Evertzen missed his aim, though he came so near it that the yard-arms of both ships touched, and they gave each other a severe broadside in passing; after which, Evertzen and the other two made a shift to join their own fleet, and Sir Thomas Allen continued leading as before, till finding himself extremely disabled, he was forced to lie by.' P. 410.—'After this engagement was over, and the Dutch had retired to their own ports, the Duke of York had brought back the English fleet to the Nore, he took care to have his scouts abroad, two of which, the Diamond, Captain Golding, and the Yarmouth, Captain Ayliffe, being sent to observe the motions of the Dutch, they happened to meet with two of the direction-ships (as the Dutch call them) of 40 odd guns each; the biggest was commanded by one Masters, the other by young Cornelius Evertzen, who, though ours were of somewhat better force, did not avoid engaging. At the first broadside, Golding was slain; but his Lieutenant, Davis, managed the fight so well, as did the Captain of the Yarmouth, that after some hours' dispute, both the Dutch ships were taken, though bravely defended, for they lost many men, and were very much disabled, before they struck. The Duke gave young Evertzen his liberty, in consideration of his father, Cornelius, who had performed several services for the King before his Restoration; and his R. H. freed also the other captain for having defended himself so well, and made Lieutenant Davis captain of one of those prizes.' P. 419. In the remark that the Duke gave young Evertzen his liberty, he must mean that he recommended this to the King; for we see by the text, that he was sent to London, and presented to the King by Evelyn.

<sup>a</sup> At the annual visitation of the Skinners' Company of London, who are the patrons, at which verses, themes, &c. are spoken before them by the senior scholars. The Rev. Vicesimus Knox (D.D. by an American University), a writer of books that had some popularity about a century ago, was many years master of Tunbridge school; and the office has since been held by better scholars.



Having taken orders with my marshal about my prisoners, and with the doctor and chirurgeon to attend the wounded enemies, and of our own men, I went to London again, and visited my charge, several with legs and arms off ; miserable objects, God knows.

16th May. To London, to consider of the poor orphans and widows made by this bloody beginning, and whose husbands and relations perished in the London frigate, of which there were fifty widows, and forty-five of them with child.

26th. To treat with the Holland Ambassador at Chelsea, for release of divers prisoners of war in Holland on exchange here. After dinner, being called into the Council-Chamber at Whitehall, I gave his Majesty an account of what I had done, informing him of the vast charge upon us, now amounting to no less than 1000*l.* weekly.

29th. I went with my little boy to my district in Kent, to make up accounts with my officers. Visited the Governor at Dover Castle, where were some of my prisoners.

3rd June. In my return went to Gravesend ; the fleets being just now engaged, gave special orders for my officers to be ready to receive the wounded and prisoners.

5th. To London, to speak with his Majesty and the Duke of Albemarle for horse and foot guards for the prisoners at war, committed more particularly to my charge by a commission apart.

8th. I went again to his Grace, thence to the Council, and moved for another privy seal for 20,000*l.*, and that I might have the disposal of the Savoy Hospital for the sick and wounded ; all which was granted. Hence to the Royal Society, to refresh among the philosophers.

Came news of his highness's victory, which indeed might have been a complete one, and at once ended the war, had it been pursued, but the cowardice of some, or treachery, or both, frustrated that. We had, however, bonfires, bells, and rejoicing in the city. Next day, the 9th, I had instant orders to repair to the Downs, so as I got to Rochester this evening. Next day, I lay at Deal, where I found all in readiness : but, the fleet being hindered by contrary winds, I came away on the 12th, and went to Dover, and returned to Deal ; and on the 13th, hearing the fleet was at Solbay, I went homeward, and lay at Chatham, and on the 14th, I got home. On the 15th, came the eldest son of the present Secretary of State to the French King, with much other company, to dine with me. After dinner, I went with him to London, to speak to my Lord General for more guards, and gave his Majesty an account of my journey to the coasts under my inspection. I also waited on his Royal Highness, now come triumphant from the fleet, gotten into repair. See the whole history of this conflict in my *History of the Dutch War*<sup>a</sup>.

20th. To London, and represented the state of the sick and wounded to his Majesty in Council, for want of money ; he ordered I should apply to my Lord Treasurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer, upon what funds to raise the money promised. We also presented to his Majesty divers expedients for retrenchment of the charge.

This evening making my court to the Duke, I spake to Monsieur Comminges, the French Ambassador, and his Highness granted me six

<sup>a</sup> See the curious notices also in Pepys's *Diary*.

prisoners, Embdeners, who were desirous to go to the Barbadoes with a merchant.

*22nd June.* We waited on the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and got an Order of Council for our money to be paid to the Treasurer of the Navy for our Receivers.

*23rd.* I dined with Sir Robert Paston, since Earl of Yarmouth, and saw the Duke of Verneville, base brother to the Queen-Mother, a handsome old man, a great hunter.

The Duke of York told us that, when we were in fight, his dog sought out absolutely the very securest place in all the vessel. In the afternoon, I saw the pompous reception and audience of El Conde de Molino, the Spanish Ambassador, in the Banqueting-house, both their Majesties sitting together under the canopy of state.

*30th.* To Chatham; and, 1st July, to the fleet with Lord Sandwich, now Admiral, with whom I went in a pinnace to the Buoy of the Nore, where the whole fleet rode at anchor; went on board the Prince, of ninety brass ordnance, haply the best ship in the world, both for building and sailing; she had 700 men. They made a great huzza, or shout, at our approach, three times. Here we dined with many noblemen, gentlemen, and volunteers, served in plate and excellent meat of all sorts. After dinner, came his Majesty, the Duke, and Prince Rupert. Here I saw the King knight Captain Custance for behaving so bravely in the late fight. It was surprising to behold the good order, decency, and plenty of all things in a vessel so full of men. The ship received a hundred cannon shot in her body. Then I went on board the Charles, to which after a gun was shot off, came all the flag-officers to his Majesty, who there held a General Council, which determined that his Royal Highness should adventure himself no more this summer. I came away late, having seen the most glorious fleet that ever spread sails. We returned in his Majesty's yacht with my Lord Sandwich and Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, landing at Chatham on Sunday morning.

*5th July.* I took order for 150 men, who had been recovered of their wounds, to be carried on board the Clove Tree, Carolus Quintus, and Zealand, ships that had been taken by us in the fight; and so returned home.

*7th.* To London, to Sir William Coventry; and so to Sion, where his Majesty sat at Council during the contagion: when business was over, I viewed that seat belonging to the Earl of Northumberland, built out of an old nunnery, of stone, and fair enough, but more celebrated for the garden than it deserves: yet there is excellent wall-fruit, and a pretty fountain; nothing else extraordinary.

*9th.* I went to Hampton-Court, where now the whole Court was, to solicit for money; to carry intercepted letters; confer again with Sir William Coventry, the Duke's secretary; and so home, having dined with Mr. Secretary Morice.

*16th.* There died of the plague in London this week 1100; and in the week following, above 2000. Two houses were shut up in our parish.

*2nd August.* A solemn fast through England to deprecate God's displeasure against the land by pestilence and war; our Doctor preaching on 26 *Levit.* v, 41, 42, that the means to obtain remission of punishment was not to repine at it; but humbly to submit to it.



*3rd August.* Came his Grace the Duke of Albemarle, Lord General of all his Majesty's Forces, to visit me, and carried me to dine with him.

*4th.* I went to Wotton with my Son and his tutor, Mr. Bohun, Fellow of New College (recommended to me by Dr. Wilkins, and the President of New College, Oxford), for fear of the pestilence, still increasing in London and its environs. On my return, I called at Durdans, where I found Dr. Wilkins, Sir William Petty, and Mr. Hooke, contriving chariots, new rigging for ships, a wheel for one to run races in, and other mechanical inventions; perhaps three such persons together were not to be found elsewhere in Europe, for parts and ingenuity.

*8th.* I waited on the Duke of Albemarle, who was resolved to stay at the Cock-pit, in St. James's Park. Died this week in London, 4000.

*15th.* There perished this week 5000.

*28th.* The contagion still increasing, and growing now all about us, I sent my wife and whole family (two or three necessary servants excepted) to my brother's at Wotton, being resolved to stay at my house myself, and to look after my charge, trusting in the providence and goodness of God.

*5th September.* To Chatham, to inspect my charge, with 900*l.* in my coach.

*7th.* Came home, there perishing near 10,000 poor creatures weekly; however, I went all along the city and suburbs from Kent Street to St. James's, a dismal passage, and dangerous to see so many coffins exposed in the streets, now thin of people; the shops shut up, and all in mournful silence, not knowing whose turn might be next. I went to the Duke of Albemarle for a pest-ship, to wait on our infected men, who were not a few.

*14th.* I went to Wotton; and on 16th September, to visit old Secretary Nicholas, being now at his new purchase of West Horsley, once mortgaged to me by Lord Viscount Montague: a pretty dry seat on the Down. Returned to Wotton.

*17th.* Receiving a letter from Lord Sandwich of a defeat given to the Dutch, I was forced to travel all Sunday. I was exceedingly perplexed to find that near 3000 prisoners were sent to me to dispose of, being more than I had places fit to receive and guard.

*25th.* My Lord Admiral being come from the fleet to Greenwich, I went thence with him to the Cock-pit, to consult with the Duke of Albemarle. I was peremptory that, unless we had 10,000*l.* immediately, the prisoners would starve, and it was proposed it should be raised out of the East India prizes now taken by Lord Sandwich. They being but two of the commission, and so not empowered to determine, sent an express to his Majesty and Council, to know what they should do. In the meantime, I had five vessels, with competent guards, to keep the prisoners in for the present, to be placed as I should think best. After dinner (which was at the General's) I went over to visit his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth.

*28th.* To the General again, to acquaint him of the deplorable state of our men for want of provisions: returned with orders.

*29th.* To Erith, to quicken the sale of the prizes lying there, with order to the commissioner who lay on board till they should be disposed of, 5000*l.* being proportioned for my quarter. Then I delivered the Dutch Vice-Admiral, who was my prisoner, to Mr. Lo. . . .<sup>a</sup> of the Marshalsea, he giving me bond in 500*l.* to produce him at my call. I

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Lowman.

exceedingly pitied this brave unhappy person, who had lost with these prizes 40,000*l.* after 20 years' negotiation [trading] in the East Indies. I dined in one of these vessels, of 1200 tons, full of riches.

*1st October.* This afternoon, whilst at evening prayers, tidings were brought me of the birth of a Daughter at Wotton, after six Sons, in the same chamber I had first took breath in, and at the first day of that month, as I was on the last, 45 years before.

*4th.* The monthly fast.

*11th.* To London, and went through the whole City, having occasion to alight out of the coach in several places about business of money, when I was environed with multitudes of poor pestiferous creatures begging alms : the shops universally shut up, a dreadful prospect ! I dined with my Lord General ; was to receive 10,000*l.*, and had guards to convey both myself and it, and so returned home, through God's infinite mercy.

*17th.* I went to Gravesend ; next day to Chatham ; thence to Maidstone, in order to the march of 500 prisoners to Leeds Castle, which I had hired of Lord Culpeper. I was earnestly desired by the learned Sir Roger Twisden, and Deputy-Lieutenants, to spare Maidstone from quartering any of my sick flock. Here, Sir Edward Brett sent me some horse to bring up the rear. This country, from Rochester to Maidstone and the Downs, is very agreeable for the prospect.

*21st.* I came from Gravesend, where Sir J. Griffith, the Governor of the Fort, entertained me very handsomely.

*31st.* I was this day 45 years of age, wonderfully preserved ; for which I blessed God for His infinite goodness towards me.

*23rd November.* Went home, the contagion having now decreased considerably.

*27th.* The Duke of Albemarle was going to Oxford, where both Court and Parliament had been most part of the summer. There was no small suspicion of my Lord Sandwich having permitted divers commanders, who were at the taking of the East India prizes, to break bulk, and to take to themselves jewels, silks, &c. : though I believe some whom I could name filled their pockets, my Lord Sandwich himself had the least share. However, he underwent the blame, and it created him enemies, and prepossessed the Lord General, for he spake to me of it with much zeal and concern, and I believe laid load enough on Lord Sandwich at Oxford.

*8th December.* To my Lord of Albemarle (now returned from Oxford), who was declared General at Sea, to the no small mortification of that excellent person the Earl of Sandwich, whom the Duke of Albemarle not only suspected faulty about the prizes, but less valiant ; himself imagining how easy a thing it were to confound the Hollanders, as well now as heretofore he fought against them upon a more disloyal interest.

*25th.* Kept Christmas with my hospitable Brother, at Wotton.

*30th.* To Woodcot, where I supped at my Lady Mordaunt's at Ashsted, where was a room hung with *pintado*, full of figures great and small, prettily representing sundry trades and occupations of the Indians, with their habits ; here supped also Dr. Duke, a learned and facetious gentleman.

*31st.* Now blessed be God for His extraordinary mercies and preservation of me this year, when thousands, and ten thousands, perished, and were swept away on each side of me, there dying in our parish this year 406 of the pestilence !



1665-6. 3rd January. I supped in Nonesuch House<sup>a</sup>, whither the office of the Exchequer was transferred during the plague, at my good friend's Mr. Packer's, and took an exact view of the plaster statues and bass-relievos inserted betwixt the timbers and puncheons of the outside walls of the Court; which must needs have been the work of some celebrated Italian. I much admired how they had lasted so well and entire since the time of Henry VIII, exposed as they are to the air; and pity it is they are not taken out and preserved in some dry place; a gallery would become them. There are some mezzo-relievos as big as the life; the story is of the Heathen Gods, emblems, compartments, &c. The palace consists of two courts, of which the first is of stone, castle like, by the Lord Lumleys (of whom it was purchased), the other of timber, a Gothic fabric, but these walls incomparably beautified. I observed that the appearing timber-puncheons, entrelices, &c., were all so covered with scales of slate, that it seemed carved in the wood and painted, the slate fastened on the timber in pretty figures, that has, like a coat of armour, preserved it from rotting. There stand in the garden two handsome stone pyramids, and the avenue planted with rows of fair elms, but the rest of these goodly trees, both of this and of Worcester Park adjoining, were felled by those destructive and avaricious rebels in the late war, which defaced one of the stateliest seats his Majesty had.

12th. After much, and indeed extraordinary mirth and cheer, all my brothers, our wives, and children, being together, and after much sorrow and trouble during this contagion, which separated our families as well as others, I returned to my house, but my wife went back to Wotton. I not as yet willing to adventure her, the contagion, though exceedingly abated, not as yet wholly extinguished amongst us.

29th. I went to wait on his Majesty, now returned from Oxford to Hampton-Court, where the Duke of Albemarle presented me to him; he ran towards me, and in a most gracious manner gave me his hand to kiss, with many thanks for my care and faithfulness in his service in a time of such great danger, when every body fled their employments; he told me he was much obliged to me, and said he was several times concerned for me, and the peril I underwent, and did receive my service most acceptably (though in truth I did but do my duty, and O that I had performed it as I ought!). After this, his Majesty was pleased to talk with me alone, near an hour, of several particulars of my employment, and ordered me to attend him again on the Thursday following at Whitehall. Then the Duke came towards me, and embraced me with much kindness, telling me if he had thought my danger would have been so great, he would not have suffered his Majesty to employ me in that station. Then came to salute me my Lord of St. Albans, Lord Arlington, Sir William Coventry, and several great persons; after which, I got home, not being very well in health.

<sup>a</sup> Of this famous summer residence of Queen Elizabeth not a vestige remains, but 'the avenue planted with rows of fair elms.' There is a small print of Nonesuch in Speed's Map of Surrey, but a larger one is given by Hoefnagle in his *Collection of Views, some in England, but chiefly abroad*. Lysons has copied the latter in his *Environs of London*, edit. 1796, 153. Pepys mentions the Exchequer money being removed to Nonesuch, and describes the park and house as they then appeared. The building was subsequently pulled down, and its contents dispersed. A modern structure has been raised on its site.

The Court was now in deep mourning for the French Queen-Mother.

2nd February. To London; his Majesty now come to Whitehall, where I heard and saw my Lord Mayor (and brethren) make his speech of welcome, and the two Sheriffs were knighted.

6th. My wife and family returned to me from the country, where they had been since August, by reason of the contagion, now almost universally ceasing. Blessed be God for His infinite mercy in preserving us! I, having gone through so much danger, and lost so many of my poor officers, escaping still myself that I might live to recount and magnify His goodness to me.

8th. I had another gracious reception by his Majesty, who called me into his bed-chamber, to lay before and describe to him my project of an Infirmary, which I read to him, who, with great approbation, recommended it to his Royal Highness.

20th. To the Commissioners of the Navy who, having seen the project of the Infirmary, encouraged the work, and were very earnest it should be set about immediately; but I saw no money, though a very moderate expense would have saved thousands to his Majesty, and been much more commodious for the cure and quartering of our sick and wounded, than the dispersing them into private houses, where many more chirurgeons and attendants were necessary, and the people tempted to debauchery.

21st. Went to my Lord Treasurer for an assignment of 40,000*l.* upon the two last quarters for support of the next year's charge. Next day, to Duke of Albemarle and Secretary of State, to desire them to propose it to the Council.

1st March. To London, and presented his Majesty my book intituled, *The pernicious Consequences of the new Heresy of the Jesuits against Kings and States*<sup>a</sup>.

7th. Dr. Sancroft, since Archbishop of Canterbury, preached before the King about the identity and immutability of God, on *Psalms* cii, 27.

13th. To Chatham, to view a place designed for an Infirmary.

15th. My charge now amounted to near 7000*l.* [weekly].

22nd. The Royal Society re-assembled, after the dispersion from the contagion.

24th. Sent 2000*l.* to Chatham.

1st April. To London, to consult about ordering the natural rarities belonging to the repository of the Royal Society; referred to a Committee.

10th. Visited Sir William D'Oyly<sup>b</sup>, surprised with a fit of apoplexy, and in extreme danger.

11th. Dr. Bathurst preached before the King, from 'I say unto you all, watch'—a seasonable and most excellent discourse. When his Majesty came from chapel, he called to me in the lobby, and told me he must now have me sworn for a Justice of Peace (having long since made me of the Commission); which I declined as inconsistent with the other service I was engaged in, and humbly desired to be excused. After dinner, waiting on him, I gave him the first notice of the Spaniards referring the umpirage of the peace betwixt them and Portugal to the French King, which came

<sup>a</sup> ante, p. 269.

<sup>b</sup> One of the Commissioners for the Sick and Wounded. Pepys records a wager which Sir William laid with him, of 'a poll of ling, a brace of carps, and a pottle of wine, and Sir W. Pen, and Mr. Scowen to be at the eating of them.'



to me in a letter from France before the Secretaries of State had any news of it. After this, his Majesty again asked me if I had found out any able person about our parts that might supply my place of Justice of Peace (the office in the world I had most industriously avoided, in regard of the perpetual trouble thereof in these numerous parishes); on which I nominated one, whom the King commanded me to give immediate notice of to my Lord Chancellor, and I should be excused; for which I rendered his Majesty many thanks.—From thence, I went to the Royal Society, where I was chosen by twenty-seven voices to be one of their Council for the ensuing year; but, upon my earnest suit in respect of my other affairs, I got to be excused—and so home.

15th April. Our parish was now more infected with the plague than ever, and so was all the country about, though almost quite ceased at London.

24th. To London about our Mint-Commission, and sat in the inner Court of Wards.

8th May. To Queenborough, where finding the Richmond frigate, I sailed to the buoy of the Nore to my Lord-General and Prince Rupert, where was the Rendezvous of the most glorious fleet in the world, now preparing to meet the Hollander.—Went to visit my cousin, Hales, at a sweetly-watered place at Chilston, near Bockton. The next morning, to Leeds Castle, once a famous hold, now hired by me of my Lord Culpeper for a prison. Here I flowed the dry moat, made a new drawbridge, brought spring water into the court of the Castle to an old fountain, and took order for the repairs.

22nd. Waited on my Lord Chancellor at his new palace; and Lord Berkeley's<sup>a</sup> built next to it.

24th. Dined with Lord Cornbury, now made Lord Chamberlain to the Queen; who kept a very honourable table.

1st June. Being in my garden at six o'clock in the evening, and hearing the great guns go thick off, I took horse and rode that night to Rochester; thence, next day towards the Downs and sea-coast, but meeting the Lieutenant of the Hampshire frigate, who told me what passed, or rather what had not passed, I returned to London, there being no noise, or appearance, at Deal, or on that coast of any engagement. Recounting this to his Majesty, whom I found at St. James's Park, impatiently expecting, and knowing that Prince Rupert was loose about three at St. Helen's Point at N. of the Isle of Wight, it greatly rejoiced him; but he was astonished when I assured him they heard nothing of the guns in the Downs, nor did the Lieutenant who landed there by five that morning.

3rd. Whit-Sunday. After sermon came news that the Duke of Albemarle was still in fight, and had been all Saturday, and that Captain Harman's ship (the Henry) was like to be burnt. Then a letter from Mr. Bertie that Prince Rupert was come up with his squadron (according to my former advice of his being loose and in the way), and put new courage into our fleet, now in a manner yielding ground; so that now we were chasing the chasers; that the Duke of Albemarle was slightly wounded, and the rest

<sup>a</sup> John, created Baron Berkeley, of Stratton, in 1658. He was Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1670, and Ambassador to France in 1674. He died in 1678. His new house, next to the Lord Chancellor's, was well-known as Berkeley House—the neighbourhood of Piccadilly being the then favourite locality for what Evelyn styles 'new palaces'.

still in great danger. So, having been much wearied with my journey, I slipped home, the guns still roaring very fiercely.

*5th June.* I went this morning to London, where came several particulars of the fight.

*6th.* Came Sir Daniel Harvey from the General, and related the dreadful encounter, on which his Majesty commanded me to despatch an extraordinary physician and more chirurgeons. It was on the solemn Fast-day when the news came ; his Majesty being in the chapel made a sudden stop to hear the relation, which being with much advantage on our side, his Majesty commanded that public thanks should immediately be given as for a victory. The Dean of the chapel going down to give notice of it to the other Dean officiating ; and notice was likewise sent to St. Paul's and Westminster-Abbey. But this was no sooner over, than news came that our loss was very great both in ships and men ; that the Prince frigate was burnt, and as noble a vessel of 90 brass guns lost ; and the taking of Sir George Ayscue, and exceeding shattering of both fleets ; so as both being obstinate, both parted rather for want of ammunition and tackle than courage ; our General retreating like a lion ; which exceedingly abated of our former joy. There was, however, orders given for bonfires and bells ; but, God knows, it was rather a deliverance than a triumph. So much it pleased God to humble our late over-confidence that nothing could withstand the Duke of Albemarle, who, in good truth, made too forward a reckoning of his success now, because he had once beaten the Dutch in another quarrel ; and being ambitious to outdo the Earl of Sandwich, whom he had prejudicated as deficient in courage.

*7th.* I sent more chirurgeons, linen, medicaments, &c., to the several ports in my district.

*8th.* Dined with me Sir Alexander Fraser, prime physician to his Majesty ; afterwards, went on board his Majesty's pleasure-boat, when I saw the London frigate launched, a most stately ship, built by the City to supply that which was burnt by accident some time since ; the King, Lord Mayor and Sheriffs, being there with great banquet.

*11th.* Trinity Monday, after a sermon, applied to the re-meeting of the Corporation of the Trinity-House, after the late raging and wasting pestilence : I dined with them in their new room in Deptford, the first time since it was rebuilt.

*15th.* I went to Chatham.—*16th.* In the Jemmy yacht (an incomparable sailer) to sea, arrived by noon at the fleet at the Buoy at the Nore, dined with Prince Rupert and the General.

*17th.* Came his Majesty, the Duke, and many Noblemen. After Council, we went to prayers. My business being despatched, I returned to Chatham, having lain but one night in the Royal Charles ; we had a tempestuous sea. I went on shore at Sheerness, where they were building an arsenal for the fleet, and designing a royal fort with a receptacle for great ships to ride at anchor ; but here I beheld the sad spectacle, more than half that gallant bulwark of the kingdom miserably shattered, hardly a vessel entire, but appearing rather so many wrecks and hulls, so cruelly had the Dutch mangled us. The loss of the Prince, that gallant vessel, had been a loss to be universally deplored, none knowing for what reason we first engaged in this ungrateful war ; we lost besides nine or ten more, and near 600 men slain and 1100 wounded, 2000 prisoners ; to balance



which, perhaps we might destroy eighteen or twenty of the enemy's ships, and 700 or 800 poor men.

18th June. Weary of this sad sight, I returned home.

2nd July. Came Sir John Duncomb<sup>a</sup> and Mr. Thomas Chicheley<sup>b</sup>, both Privy Councillors and Commissioners of His Majesty's Ordnance, to visit me, and let me know that his Majesty had in Council, nominated me to be one of the Commissioners for regulating the farming and making of saltpetre through the whole kingdom, and that we were to sit in the Tower the next day. When they were gone, came to see me Sir John Cotton, heir to the famous antiquary, Sir Robert Cotton: a pretended great Grecian, but had by no means the parts, or genius of his grandfather.

3rd. I went to sit with the Commissioners at the Tower, where our commission being read, we made some progress in business, our Secretary being Sir George Wharton, that famous mathematician who wrote the yearly almanack during his Majesty's troubles. Thence, to Painters' Hall, to our other commission, and dined at my Lord Mayor's.

4th. The solemn Fast-day. Dr. Meggot preached an excellent discourse before the King on the terrors of God's judgments. After sermon, I waited on my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Winchester, where the Dean of Westminster spoke to me about putting into my hands the disposal of fifty pounds, which the charitable people of Oxford had sent to be distributed among the sick and wounded seamen since the battle. Hence I went to the Lord Chancellor's to joy him of his Royal Highness's second son, now born at St. James's; and to desire the use of the Star-chamber for our Commissioners to meet in, Painters' Hall not being so convenient.

12th. We sat the first time in the Star-chamber. There was now added to our commission Sir George Downing<sup>c</sup> (one that had been a great . . . against his Majesty, but now insinuated into his favour; and, from a pedagogue and fanatic preacher, not worth a groat, had become excessively rich), to inspect the hospitals and treat about prisons.

14th. Sat at the Tower with Sir J. Duncomb and Lord Berkeley, to sign deputations for undertakers to furnish their proportions of saltpetre.

17th. To London, to prepare for the next engagement of the fleets, now gotten to sea again.

22nd. Our parish still infected with the contagion.

25th. The fleets engaged. I dined at Lord Berkeley's, at St. James's, where dined my Lady Harrietta Hyde, Lord Arlington, and Sir John Duncomb.

<sup>a</sup> 'Duncomb was a judicious man, but very haughty, and apt to raise enemies against himself. He was an able Parliament-man, but could not go into all the designs of the Court; for he had a sense of religion, and a zeal for the liberty of his country.'—Bishop Burnet's *Hist. of his own Times*.

<sup>b</sup> Afterwards knighted. Pepys mentions him as one of the Masters of the Ordnance. He was also, as Evelyn tells us, a Member of the Privy Council.

<sup>c</sup> Secretary to the Treasury, and Commissioner of the Customs. He had been recently made a baronet, and was now a zealous courtier; though during the Commonwealth, as Cromwell's Resident in Holland, he had been no less zealous a republican. He subsequently went to Holland as Ambassador from the King. To him belongs the credit of having engaged Pepys about the year 1659, as one of the clerks in a department of the Exchequer then under his management. For his character, of which Evelyn speaks as we see, and Pepys leaves a somewhat doubtful impression, see Lord Clarendon's *Life*.

29th July. The pestilence now fresh increasing in our parish, I forbore going to church. In the afternoon came tidings of our victory over the Dutch, sinking some, and driving others aground, and into their ports.

1st August. I went to Dr. Keffler, who married the daughter of the famous chymist, Drebbell<sup>a</sup>, inventor of the bodied scarlet. I went to see his iron ovens, made portable (formerly) for the Prince of Orange's army : supped at the Rhenish Wine-House with divers Scots gentlemen.

6th. Dined with Mr. Povey, and then went with him to see a country house he had bought near Brentford<sup>b</sup> ; returning by Kensington ; which house stands to a very graceful avenue of trees, but it is an ordinary building, especially one part.

8th. Dined at Sir Stephen Fox's<sup>c</sup> with several friends and, on the 10th, with Mr. Odart, Secretary of the Latin tongue.

17th. Dined with the Lord Chancellor, whom I intreated to visit the Hospital of the Savoy, and reduce it (after the great abuse that had been continued) to its original institution for the benefit of the poor, which he promised to do.

25th. Waited on Sir William D'Oyly, now recovered, as it were, miraculously. In the afternoon, visited the Savoy Hospital, where I stayed to see the miserably dismembered and wounded men dressed, and gave some necessary orders. Then to my Lord Chancellor, who had, with the Bishop of London and others in the commission, chosen me one of the three surveyors of the repairs of Paul's, and to consider of a model for the new building, or, if it might be, repairing of the steeple, which was most decayed.

26th. The contagion still continuing, we had the Church-service at home.

27th. I went to St. Paul's church, where, with Dr. Wren, Mr. Pratt,

<sup>a</sup> Cornelius Van Drebbell, born at Alkmaar, in Holland, in 1572 ; but in the reign of Charles I settled in London, where he died in 1634. He was famous for other discoveries in science besides that mentioned by Evelyn—the most important of which was the thermometer. He also made improvements in microscopes and telescopes ; and though, like many of his scientific contemporaries, something of an empiric, possessed a considerable knowledge of chemistry and of different branches of natural philosophy.

<sup>b</sup> This country house, situated near Hounslow, was called the Priory. There were three brothers of this name ; sons of Justinian Povey, Auditor-General to Queen Anne of Denmark. The one mentioned by Evelyn was Thomas Povey, a Member of Parliament, Treasurer to the Commissioners for the affairs of Tangier, and Surveyor-General of the Victualling Department, in which offices he was succeeded by Pepys. He had previously held office under Cromwell, and was Treasurer and Receiver-General of the rents and revenues of the Duke of York. Pepys of course mentions him frequently.

<sup>c</sup> One of the most celebrated statesmen of the period comprised in the *Diary*. He was knighted in 1665, made Clerk of the Green Cloth, and Paymaster of the Forces by Charles II. He lost the favour of his successor by opposing the bill for a standing army, but was again employed in the reign of Queen Anne. Evelyn gives an interesting account of him at p. 380 of this volume. He was father of the first Earl of Ilchester, and of the first Baron Holland. He projected Chelsea College—the honour of which has generally been attributed to Nell Gwynne. He also founded a new church and a set of alms-houses at his seat, Farley, in Wilts. He was born in 1627, and died in 1716.



Mr. May, Mr. Thomas Chicheley, Mr. Slingsby<sup>a</sup>, the Bishop of London, the Dean of St. Paul's<sup>b</sup>, and several expert workmen, we went about to survey the general decays of that ancient and venerable church, and to set down in writing the particulars of what was fit to be done, with the charge thereof, giving our opinion from article to article. Finding the main building to recede outwards, it was the opinion of Chicheley and Mr. Pratt that it had been so built *ab origine* for an effect in perspective, in regard of the height ; but I was, with Dr. Wren, quite of another judgment, and so we entered it ; we plumbed the uprights in several places. When we came to the steeple, it was deliberated whether it were not well enough to repair it only on its old foundation, with reservation to the four pillars ; this Mr. Chicheley and Mr. Pratt were also for, but we totally rejected it, and persisted that it required a new foundation, not only in regard of the necessity, but for that the shape of what stood was very mean, and we had a mind to build it with a noble cupola, a form of church-building not as yet known in England, but of wonderful grace. For this purpose, we offered to bring in a plan and estimate, which, after much contest, was at last assented to, and that we should nominate a committee of able workmen to examine the present foundation. This concluded, we drew all up in writing, and so went with my Lord Bishop to the Dean's.

28th August. Sat at the Star-chamber. Next day, to the Royal Society, where one Mercator, an excellent mathematician, produced his rare clock and new motion to perform the equations, and Mr. Rooke, his new pendulum<sup>c</sup>.

2nd September. This fatal night, about ten, began the deplorable fire, near Fish-street, in London.

3rd. I had public prayers at home. The fire continuing, after dinner, I took coach with my wife and son, and went to the Bankside in Southwark, where we beheld that dismal spectacle, the whole city in dreadful flames near the water-side ; all the houses from the Bridge, all Thames-street, and upwards towards Cheapside, down to the Three Cranes, were now consumed ; and so returned, exceeding astonished what would become of the rest.

The fire having continued all this night (if I may call that night which was light as day for ten miles round about, after a dreadful manner), when conspiring with a fierce eastern wind in a very dry season, I went on foot to the same place ; and saw the whole south part of the City burning from Cheapside to the Thames, and all along Cornhill (for it likewise kindled

<sup>a</sup> He held the office of Master of the Mint. Other members of the family were employed about the Court. Arthur, son of Sir Guildford, was knighted, and subsequently made a baronet ; and Sir Robert Slingsby was Comptroller of the Navy—a man much respected by Pepys.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. Sancroft, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

<sup>c</sup> Nicholas Mercator, the mathematician, must not be confounded with his namesake, so well known as the inventor of Mercator's Projection, who was both a geographer and a mathematician, and who died in 1594. Nicholas was born at Holstein in 1640 ; but, after the Restoration, settled in England, where his scientific attainments procured him the honour of being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He wrote several books on science. Laurence Rooke was Astronomy, and subsequently Geometry, Professor of Gresham College. He was born in 1623, and died 1662 ; having established, by several successful works, his reputation as a man of science.

back against the wind as well as forward), Tower-street, Fenchurch-street, Gracious-street<sup>a</sup>, and so along to Baynard's Castle, and was now taking hold of St. Paul's church, to which the scaffolds contributed exceedingly. The conflagration was so universal, and the people so astonished, that, from the beginning, I know not by what despondency, or fate, they hardly stirred to quench it ; so that there was nothing heard, or seen, but crying out and lamentation, running about like distracted creatures, without at all attempting to save even their goods ; such a strange consternation there was upon them, so as it burned both in breadth and length, the churches, public halls, Exchange, hospitals, monuments, and ornaments ; leaping after a prodigious manner, from house to house, and street to street, at great distances one from the other. For the heat, with a long set of fair and warm weather, had even ignited the air, and prepared the materials to conceive the fire, which devoured, after an incredible manner, houses, furniture, and every thing. Here, we saw the Thames covered with goods floating, all the barges and boats laden with what some had time and courage to save, as, on the other side, the carts, &c., carrying out to the fields, which for many miles were strewed with moveables of all sorts, and tents erecting to shelter both people and what goods they could get away. Oh, the miserable and calamitous spectacle ! such as haply the world had not seen since the foundation of it, nor can be outdone till the universal conflagration thereof. All the sky was of a fiery aspect, like the top of a burning oven, and the light seen above forty miles round-about for many nights. God grant mine eyes may never behold the like, who now saw above 10,000 houses all in one flame ! The noise and cracking and thunder of the impetuous flames, the shrieking of women and children, the hurry of people, the fall of towers, houses, and churches, was like a hideous storm ; and the air all about so hot and inflamed, that at the last one was not able to approach it, so that they were forced to stand still, and let the flames burn on, which they did, for near two miles in length and one in breadth. The clouds also of smoke were dismal, and reached, upon computation, near fifty miles in length. Thus, I left it this afternoon burning, a resemblance of Sodom, or the last day. It forcibly called to my mind that passage—*non enim hic habemus stabilem civitatem* : the ruins resembling the picture of Troy. London was, but it is no more ! Thus, I returned.

4th September. The burning still rages, and it is now gotten as far as the Inner Temple. All Fleet-street, the Old Bailey, Ludgate-hill, Warwick-lane, Newgate, Paul's-chain, Watling-street, now flaming, and most of it reduced to ashes ; the stones of Paul's flew like grenados, the melting lead running down the streets in a stream, and the very pavements glowing with fiery redness, so as no horse, nor man, was able to tread on them, and the demolition had stopped all the passages, so that no help could be applied. The eastern wind still more impetuously driving the flames forward. Nothing but the Almighty power of God was able to stop them ; for vain was the help of man.

5th. It crossed towards Whitehall ; but oh ! the confusion there was then at that Court ! It pleased his Majesty to command me, among the rest, to look after the quenching of Fetter-lane end, to preserve (if possible) that part of Holborn, whilst the rest of the gentlemen took

<sup>a</sup> Now Gracechurch-street.



their several posts, some at one part, and some at another (for now they began to bestir themselves, and not till now, who hitherto had stood as men intoxicated, with their hands across), and began to consider that nothing was likely to put a stop but the blowing up of so many houses as might make a wider gap than any had yet been made by the ordinary method of pulling them down with engines. This some stout seamen proposed early enough to have saved near the whole City, but this some tenacious and avaricious men, aldermen, &c., would not permit, because their houses must have been of the first. It was, therefore, now commended to be practised; and my concern being particularly for the Hospital of St. Bartholomew, near Smithfield, where I had many wounded and sick men, made me the more diligent to promote it; nor was my care for the Savoy less. It now pleased God, by abating the wind, and by the industry of the people, when almost all was lost infusing a new spirit into them, that the fury of it began sensibly to abate about noon, so as it came no farther than the Temple westward, nor than the entrance of Smithfield, north: but continued all this day and night so impetuous towards Cripplegate and the Tower, as made us all despair. It also brake out again in the Temple; but the courage of the multitude persisting, and many houses being blown up, such gaps and desolations were soon made, as, with the former three days' consumption, the back fire did not so vehemently urge upon the rest as formerly. There was yet no standing near the burning and glowing ruins by near a furlong's space.

The coal and wood-wharfs, and magazines of oil, rosin, &c., did infinite mischief, so as the invective which a little before I had dedicated to his Majesty and published<sup>a</sup>, giving warning what probably might be the issue of suffering those shops to be in the City was looked upon as a prophecy.

The poor inhabitants were dispersed about St. George's Fields, and Moorfields, as far as Highgate, and several miles in circle, some under tents, some under miserable huts and hovels, many without a rag, or any necessary utensils, bed or board, who from delicateness, riches, and easy accommodations in stately and well-furnished houses, were now reduced to extremest misery and poverty.

In this calamitous condition, I returned with a sad heart to my house, blessing and adoring the distinguishing mercy of God to me and mine, who, in the midst of all this ruin, was like Lot, in my little Zoar, safe and sound.

6th September. Thursday. I represented to his Majesty the case of the French prisoners at war in my custody, and besought him that there might be still the same care of watching at all places contiguous to unseized houses. It is not indeed imaginable how extraordinary the vigilance and activity of the King and the Duke was, even labouring in person, and being present to command, order, reward, or encourage workmen; by which he showed his affection to his people, and gained theirs. Having, then, disposed of some under cure at the Savoy, I returned to Whitehall, where I dined at Mr. Offley's<sup>b</sup>, the groom-porter, who was my relation.

7th. I went this morning on foot from Whitehall as far as London

<sup>a</sup> The *Fumifugium*. See *ante*, p. 246.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. Offley was rector of Abinger, and has left traces of himself as donor of farms to Okewood Chapel, at Wotton, in the patronage of the Evelyn family.

Bridge, through the late Fleet-street, Ludgate-hill by St. Paul's, Cheap-side, Exchange, Bishopsgate, Aldersgate, and out to Moorfields, thence through Cornhill, &c., with extraordinary difficulty, clambering over heaps of yet smoking rubbish, and frequently mistaking where I was : the ground under my feet so hot, that it even burnt the soles of my shoes. In the meantime, his Majesty got to the Tower by water, to demolish the houses about the graff, which, being built entirely about it, had they taken fire and attacked the White Tower, where the magazine of powder lay, would undoubtedly not only have beaten down and destroyed all the bridge, but sunk and torn the vessels in the river, and rendered the demolition beyond all expression for several miles about the country.

At my return, I was infinitely concerned to find that goodly Church, St. Paul's—now a sad ruin, and that beautiful portico (for structure comparable to any in Europe, as not long before repaired by the late King) now rent in pieces, flakes of large stones split asunder, and nothing remaining entire but the inscription in the architrave, showing by whom it was built, which had not one letter of it defaced ! It was astonishing to see what immense stones the heat had in a manner calcined, so that all the ornaments, columns, friezes, capitals, and projectures of massy Portland stone, flew off, even to the very roof, where a sheet of lead covering a great space (no less than six acres by measure) was totally melted. The ruins of the vaulted roof falling, broke into St. Faith's, which being filled with the magazines of books belonging to the Stationers, and carried thither for safety, they were all consumed, burning for a week following. It is also observable that the lead over the altar at the east end was untouched, and among the divers monuments the body of one bishop remained entire. Thus lay in ashes that most venerable church, one of the most ancient pieces of early piety in the Christian world, besides near one hundred more. The lead, iron-work, bells, plate, &c., melted, the exquisitely wrought Mercers' Chapel, the sumptuous Exchange, the august fabric of Christ Church, all the rest of the Companies' Halls, splendid buildings, arches, entries, all in dust ; the fountains dried up and ruined, whilst the very waters remained boiling ; the voragos of subterranean cellars, wells, and dungeons, formerly warehouses, still burning in stench and dark clouds of smoke ; so that in five or six miles traversing about I did not see one load of timber unconsumed, nor many stones but what were calcined white as snow.

The people, who now walked about the ruins, appeared like men in some dismal desert, or rather, in some great city laid waste by a cruel enemy ; to which was added the stench that came from some poor creatures' bodies, beds, and other combustible goods. Sir Thomas Gresham's statue, though fallen from its niche in the Royal Exchange, remained entire, when all those of the Kings since the Conquest were broken to pieces. Also the standard in Cornhill, and Queen Elizabeth's effigies, with some arms on Ludgate, continued with but little detriment, whilst the vast iron chains of the City-streets, hinges, bars, and gates of prisons, were many of them melted and reduced to cinders by the vehement heat. Nor was I yet able to pass through any of the narrow streets, but kept the widest ; the ground and air, smoke and fiery vapour, continued so intense, that my hair was almost singed, and my feet unsufferably surbated. The byelanes and narrow streets were quite filled up with rubbish ; nor could one



have possibly known where he was, but by the ruins of some Church, or Hall, that had some remarkable tower, or pinnacle remaining.

I then went towards Islington and Highgate, where one might have seen 200,000 people of all ranks and degrees dispersed, and lying along by their heaps of what they could save from the fire, deploring their loss ; and, though ready to perish for hunger and destitution, yet not asking one penny for relief, which to me appeared a stranger sight than any I had yet beheld. His Majesty and Council indeed took all imaginable care for their relief, by proclamation for the country to come in, and refresh them with provisions.

In the midst of all this calamity and confusion, there was, I know not how, an alarm begun that the French and Dutch, with whom we were now in hostility, were not only landed, but even entering the City. There was, in truth, some days before, great suspicion of those two nations joining ; and now that they had been the occasion of firing the town. This report did so terrify, that on a sudden there was such an uproar and tumult that they run from their goods, and, taking what weapons they could come at, they could not be stopped from falling on some of those nations whom they casually met, without sense or reason. The clamour and peril grew so excessive, that it made the whole Court amazed, and they did with infinite pains and great difficulty, reduce and appease the people, sending troops of soldiers and guards, to cause them to retire into the fields again, where they were watched all this night. I left them pretty quiet, and came home sufficiently weary and broken. Their spirits thus a little calmed, and the affright abated, they now began to repair into the suburbs about the City, where such as had friends, or opportunity, got shelter for the present ; to which his Majesty's proclamation also invited them<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Subjoined is the Ordinance to which Evelyn alludes, reprinted from the original half-sheet in black letter :

CHARLES R.

His Majesty, in his princely compassion and very tender care, taking into consideration the distressed condition of many of his good subjects, whom the late dreadful and dismal fire hath made destitute of habitations, and exposed to many exigencies and necessities ; for present remedy and redress whereof, his Majesty intending to give further testimony and evidences of his grace and favour towards them, as occasion shall arise, hath thought fit to declare and publish his Royal pleasure : That, as great proportions of bread, and all other provisions as can possibly be furnished, shall be daily and constantly brought, not only to the markets formerly in use, but also to such markets as by his Majesty's late order and declaration to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London and Middlesex have been appointed and ordained, *viz.*, Clerkenwell, Islington, Finsbury-fields, Mile-end Green, and Ratcliff ; his Majesty being sensible that this will be for the benefit also of the town and places adjoining, as being the best expedient to prevent the resort of such persons thereunto as may pilfer and disturb them. And whereas, also, divers of the said distressed persons have saved and preserved their goods, which nevertheless they know not how to dispose of, it is his Majesty's pleasure, that all Churches, Chapels, Schools, and other like public places, shall be free and open to receive the said goods, when they shall be brought to be there laid. And all Justices of the Peace within the several Counties of Middlesex, Essex and Surrey, are to see the same to be done accordingly. And likewise that all cities and towns whatsoever shall, without any contradiction, receive the said distressed persons, and permit them to the free exercise of their manual trades ; his Majesty resolving and promising that, when the present exigence shall be passed over, he

Still, the plague continuing in our parish, I could not, without danger, adventure to our church.

10th September. I went again to the ruins ; for it was now no longer a city.

13th. I presented his Majesty with a survey of the ruins, and a plot for a new City<sup>a</sup>, with a discourse on it ; whereupon, after dinner, his Majesty sent for me into the Queen's bed-chamber, her Majesty and the Duke only being present. They examined each particular, and discoursed on them for near an hour, seeming to be extremely pleased with what I had so early thought on. The Queen was now in her cavalier riding-habit, hat and feather, and horseman's coat, going to take the air.

16th. I went to Greenwich Church, where Mr. Plume preached very well from this text : ' Seeing, then, all these things shall be dissolved,' &c. : taking occasion from the late unparalleled conflagration to mind us how we ought to walk more holy in all manner of conversation.

27th. Dined at Sir William D'Oyly's, with that worthy gentleman, Sir John Holland, of Suffolk.

10th October. This day was ordered a general Fast through the Nation, to humble us on the late dreadful conflagration, added to the plague and war, the most dismal judgments that could be inflicted ; but which indeed we highly deserved for our prodigious ingratitude, burning lusts, dissolute court, profane and abominable lives, under such dispensations of God's continued favour in restoring Church, Prince, and People from our late intestine calamities, of which we were altogether unmindful, even to astonishment. This made me resolve to go to our parish assembly, where our Doctor preached on *Luke* xix, 41 : piously applying it to the occasion. After which, was a collection for the distressed losers in the late fire.

18th. To Court. It being the first time his Majesty put himself solemnly

will take such care and order, that the said persons shall be no burthen to their towns, or parishes. And it is his Majesty's pleasure, that this his declaration be forthwith published, not only by the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, but also by all other Sheriffs, Mayors, and other chief officers in their respective precincts and limits, and by the constables in every parish. And of this his Majesty's pleasure all persons concerned are to take notice, and thereunto to give due obedience to the utmost of their power, as they will answer the contrary at their peril. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the fifth day of September, in the eighteenth year of our reign, one thousand six hundred sixty-six.

God save the King.

<sup>a</sup> Evelyn has preserved his letter to Sir Samuel Tuke, on the subject of the fire, and his scheme for re-building the City. Part of his plan was to lessen the declivities, and to employ the rubbish in filling up the shore of the Thames to low-water mark, so as to keep the basin always full. In another letter to Mr. Oldenburg, Secretary to the Royal Society, dated 22nd December, 1666, he says, after mentioning his having presented his reflections on re-building the City to his Majesty, that ' the want of a more exact plot, wherein I might have marked what the fire had spared, and accommodated my design to the remaining parts, made me take it as a *rasa tabula*, and to form mine idea thereof, accordingly : I have since lighted upon Mr Hollar's late plan, which looking upon as the most accurate hitherto extant, has caused me something to alter what I had so crudely done, though for the most part I still persist in my former discourse, and which I here send you as complete as an imperfect copy will give me leave, and the supplement of an ill memory, for since that time I hardly ever looked on it, and it was finished within two or three days after the Incendium.'



into the Eastern fashion of vest, changing doublet, stiff collar, bands and cloak, into a comely dress, after the Persian mode, with girdles or straps, and shoe-strings and garters into buckles, of which some were set with precious stones<sup>1</sup>, resolving never to alter it, and to leave the French mode, which had hitherto obtained to our great expense and reproach. Upon which, divers courtiers and gentlemen gave his Majesty gold by way of wager that he would not persist in this resolution. I had sometime before presented an invective against that unconstancy, and our so much affecting the French fashion, to his Majesty; in which I took occasion to describe the comeliness and usefulness of the Persian clothing, in the very same manner his Majesty now clad himself. This pamphlet I entitled *Tyrannus, or the Mode*, and gave it to the King to read. I do not impute to this discourse the change which soon happened, but it was an identity that I could not but take notice of.

This night was acted my Lord Broghill's<sup>b</sup> tragedy, called *Mustapha*, before their Majesties at Court, at which I was present; very seldom going to the public theatres for many reasons now, as they were abused to an atheistical liberty; foul and undecent women now (and never till now) permitted to appear and act, who inflaming several young noblemen and gallants, became their misses, and to some, their wives. Witness the Earl of Oxford, Sir R. Howard<sup>c</sup>, Prince Rupert, the Earl of Dorset, and another greater person than any of them, who fell into their snares, to the reproach of their noble families, and ruin of both body and soul<sup>d</sup>. I was invited by my Lord Chamberlain to see this tragedy, exceedingly well written, though in my mind I did not approve of any such pastime in a time of such judgments and calamities.

21st October. This season, after so long and extraordinary a drought in August and September, as if preparatory for the dreadful fire, was so very wet and rainy as many feared an ensuing famine.

28th. The pestilence, through God's mercy, began now to abate considerably in our town.

30th. To London to our office, and now had I on the vest and surcoat, or tunic, as it was called, after his Majesty had brought the whole court to it. It was a comely and manly habit, too good to hold, it being impossible for us in good earnest to leave the Monsieurs' vanities long.

31st. I heard the signal cause of my Lord Cleveland<sup>e</sup> pleaded before the House of Lords; and was this day forty-six years of age, wonderfully protected by the mercies of God, for which I render him immortal thanks.

<sup>a</sup> This costume was shortly after abandoned, and laid aside; nor does any existing portrait exhibit the King so accoutred.

<sup>b</sup> Richard Lord Broghill, created, shortly after this, Earl of Orrery; he wrote several other plays besides that here noticed.

<sup>c</sup> Sir Robert Howard held the office of Auditor of the Exchequer; but was more celebrated as an author, having written comedies, tragedies, poems, histories, and translations. He was born in 1626, and died in 1698.

<sup>d</sup> Among the principal offenders here aimed at were Mrs Margaret Hughes, Mrs. Eleanor Gwynne, Mrs. Davenport, Mrs. Uphill, Mrs. Davis, and Mrs. Knight. Mrs. Davenport (Roxolana) was 'my Lord Oxford's miss'; Mrs. Uphill was the actress alluded to in connection with Sir R. Howard; Mrs. Hughes ensnared Prince Rupert; and the last of the 'misses' referred to by Evelyn was Nell Gwynne.

<sup>e</sup> Thomas Wentworth, created in Feb. 1626-7 Baron Wentworth of Nettlested, and Earl of Cleveland. He died in 1667.

14th November. I went my winter-circle through my district, Rochester and other places, where I had men quartered, and in custody.

15th. To Leeds Castle.

16th. I mustered the prisoners, being about 600 Dutch and French, ordered their proportion of bread to be augmented, and provided clothes and fuel. Monsieur Colbert, Ambassador at the Court of England, this day sent money from his master, the French King, to every prisoner of that nation under my guard.

17th. I returned to Chatham, my chariot overturning on the steep of Bexley-Hill, wounded me in two places on the head; my son, Jack, being with me, was like to have been worse cut by the glass; but I thank God we both escaped without much hurt, though not without exceeding danger.—18th. At Rochester.—19th. Returned home.

23rd. At London, I heard an extraordinary case before a Committee of the whole House of Commons, in the Commons' House of Parliament, between one Captain Taylor and my Lord Viscount Mordaunt<sup>a</sup>, where, after the lawyers had pleaded and the witnesses been examined, such foul and dishonourable things were produced against his Lordship, of tyranny during his government of Windsor Castle, of which he was Constable, incontinence, and suborning witnesses (of which last, one Sir Richard Breames was most concerned), that I was exceedingly interested for his Lordship, who was my special friend, and husband of the most virtuous lady in the world. We sat till near ten at night, and yet but half the Counsel had done on behalf of the Plaintiff. The question then was put for bringing-in of lights to sit longer. This lasted so long before it was determined, and raised such a confused noise among the Members, that a stranger would have been astonished at it. I admire that there is not a rationale to regulate such trifling accidents, which consume much time, and is a reproach to the gravity of so great an assembly of sober men.

27th. Sir Hugh Pollard, Comptroller of the Household, died at Whitehall, and his Majesty conferred the white staff on my brother Commissioner for sick and wounded, Sir Thomas Clifford, a bold young gentleman, of a small fortune in Devon, but advanced by Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, to the great astonishment of all the Court. This gentleman was somewhat related to me by the marriage of his mother to my nearest kinsman, Gregory Coale<sup>b</sup>, and was ever my noble friend, a valiant and daring person, but by no means fit for a supple and flattering courtier.

28th. Went to see Clarendon House<sup>c</sup>, now almost finished, a goodly pile to see to, but had many defects as to the architecture, yet placed most

<sup>a</sup> John, second son of John, first Earl of Peterborough. He was raised to the Peerage in July, 1659, for his services in the cause of Charles II. He died June 5th, 1675. See the whole proceedings in this affair in the Journal of Lords and Commons, under date of 1666.

<sup>b</sup> Of this 'nearest kinsman' and his family, seated at Petersham in Surrey, see Bray's *History* of that County, i, 439, 441, but his precise connection or kinsmanship with the Evelyns does not appear.

<sup>c</sup> Of which frequent mention, throughout his *Diary and Letters*, is made by Evelyn; since quite demolished. It was situated where Albemarle Street now is. After Lord Clarendon's exile the Duke of Albemarle occupied it, and two engraved views of it exist as it then stood; one a small one by John Dunstall, and another upon a very large scale, by J. Spilbergh.



gracefully. After this, I waited on the Lord Chancellor, who was now at Berkshire House<sup>a</sup>, since the burning of London.

2nd December. Dined with me Monsieur Kiviet, a Dutch gentleman-pensioner of Rotterdam, who came over for protection, being of the Prince of Orange's party, now not welcome in Holland. The King knighted him for some merit in the Prince's behalf. He should, if caught, have been beheaded with Monsieur Buat, and was brother-in-law to Van Tromp, the sea-general. With him came Mr. Gabriel Sylvius, and Mr. Williamson<sup>b</sup>, secretary to Lord Arlington; M. Kiviet came to examine whether the soil about the river of Thames would be proper to make clinker-bricks, and to treat with me about some accommodation in order to it<sup>c</sup>.

1666-7. 9th January. To the Royal Society, which since the sad conflagration were invited by Mr. Howard to sit at Arundel-House in the Strand, who, at my instigation, likewise bestowed on the Society that noble library which his grandfather especially, and his ancestors had collected. This gentleman had so little inclination to books, that it was the preservation of them from embezzlement.

24th. Visited my Lord Clarendon, and presented my son, John, to him, now preparing to go to Oxford, of which his Lordship was Chancellor. This evening I heard rare Italian voices, two eunuchs and one woman, in his Majesty's green chamber, next his cabinet.

29th. To London, in order to my son's Oxford journey, who, being very early entered both in Latin and Greek, and prompt to learn beyond most of his age, I was persuaded to trust him under the tutorage of Mr. Bohun, Fellow of New College, who had been his preceptor in my house some years before; but, at Oxford, under the inspection of Dr. Bathurst, President of Trinity College, where I placed him, not as yet thirteen years old. He was newly out of long coats<sup>d</sup>.

15th February. My little book, in answer to Sir George Mackenzie<sup>e</sup> on

<sup>a</sup> Berkshire or Cleveland House, belonging to the Howards, Earls of Berkshire. It was purchased and presented by Charles II to Barbara Duchess of Cleveland, and was then of great extent; she, however, afterwards sold part, which was divided into various houses.

<sup>b</sup> Williamson, already mentioned in a note (p. 269), filled several important offices. He was Keeper of the State Paper Office, Under Secretary, and then Secretary of State. He was knighted; subsequently elected President of the Royal Society; and as Sir Joseph Williamson, continued a Member of Parliament during several sessions, representing Thetford and Rochester. Pepys describes him in 1662-3 as 'a pretty knowing man and a scholar, but it may be, thinks himself to be too much so.' He died in 1701.

<sup>c</sup> Occasional references are made to it hereafter (pp. 293, 298, &c.). Monsieur Kiviet, probably the same person described by Pepys as 'Kevet, Burgomaster of Amsterdam.' He made a proposition, as Evelyn describes it, 'to wharf the whole river of Thames, or quay from the Temple to the Tower, as far as the fire destroyed, with bricks, without piles, both lasting and ornamental.'

<sup>d</sup> In illustration of the garb which succeeded the 'long coats' out of which lads of twelve or thirteen were thus suffered to emerge, it may be mentioned that there hung, some years ago, and perhaps may hang still, upon the walls of the Swan Inn at Leatherhead in Surrey, a picture of four children, dates of birth between 1640 and 1650, of whom a lad of about the age of young Evelyn is represented in a coat reaching to his ankles.

<sup>e</sup> A Scottish advocate, who wrote several works on the Scottish laws, and various essays and poetical pieces. He was born at Dundee in 1636, and died in London in 1691. He has frequent mention in the *Diary and Correspondence*.

*Solitude*, was now published, entitled *Public Employment, and an active Life with its Appanages, preferred to Solitude*<sup>a</sup>.

18th February. I was present at a magnificent ball, or masque, in the theatre at the Court, where their Majesties and all the great lords and ladies danced infinitely gallant, the men in their richly embroidered most becoming vests.

19th. I saw a Comedy acted at Court. In the afternoon, I witnessed a wrestling match for 1000*l.* in St. James's Park, before his Majesty, a vast assemblage of lords and other spectators, betwixt the western and northern men, Mr. Secretary Morice and Lord Gerard being the judges. The western men won. Many great sums were betted.

6th March. I proposed to my Lord Chancellor, Monsieur Kiviet's undertaking to wharf the whole river of Thames, or quay, from the Temple to the Tower, as far as the fire destroyed, with brick, without piles, both lasting and ornamental.—Great frosts, snow, and winds, prodigious at the vernal equinox; indeed it had been a year of prodigies in this nation, plague, war, fire, rain, tempest, and comet.

14th. Saw *The Virgin-Queen*<sup>b</sup>, a play written by Mr. Dryden.

22nd. Dined at Mr. Secretary Morice's<sup>c</sup>, who showed me his library, which was a well-chosen collection. This afternoon, I had audience of his Majesty, concerning the proposal I had made of building the Quay.

26th. Sir John Kiviet dined with me. We went to search for brick-earth, in order to a great undertaking.

4th April. The cold so intense, that there was hardly a leaf on a tree.

18th. I went to make court to the Duke and Duchess of Newcastle, at their house in Clerkenwell<sup>d</sup>, being newly come out of the north. They received me with great kindness, and I was much pleased with the extraordinary fanciful habit, garb, and discourse of the Duchess.

22nd. Saw the sumptuous supper in the banqueting-house at Whitehall, on the eve of St. George's day, where were all the companions of the Order of the Garter.

23rd. In the morning, his Majesty went to chapel with the Knights of the Garter, all in their habits and robes, ushered by the heralds; after the first service, they went in procession, the youngest first, the Sovereign last, with the Prelate of the Order and Dean, who had about his neck the book of the Statutes of the Order; and then the Chancellor of the Order (old Sir Henry de Vic), who wore the purse about his neck; then the Heralds

<sup>a</sup> Reprinted in *Miscellaneous Writings*. In a letter to Cowley, 12th March, 1666, Evelyn apologizes for having written against that life which he had joined with Mr. Cowley in so much admiring, assuring him he neither was nor could be serious in avowing such a preference.

<sup>b</sup> *The Virgin Queen* which Evelyn saw was Dryden's *Maiden Queen*. Pepys saw it on the night of its first production (twelve days before Evelyn's visit); and was charmed by Nell Gwynne's Florimell. 'So great a performance of a comical part was never, I believe, in the world before.'

<sup>c</sup> Sir William Morice. General Monk, his kinsman, procured him, at the Restoration, the place of Secretary of State, which he resigned in 1668. He died in 1676.

<sup>d</sup> See *Correspondence*. Both Duke and Duchess are frequently mentioned by Evelyn. The Duke spent a princely fortune (with very ill reward) in the service of Charles I and II, and is now chiefly remembered for his high-flown wife's fantastical account of him.



and Garter-King-at-Arms, Clarenceux, Black Rod. But before the Prelate and Dean of Windsor went the gentlemen of the chapel and choristers, singing as they marched; behind them two doctors of music in damask robes; this procession was about the courts at Whitehall. Then, returning to their stalls and seats in the chapel, placed under each knight's coat-armour and titles, the second service began. Then, the King offered at the altar, an anthem was sung; then, the rest of the Knights offered, and lastly proceeded to the banqueting-house to a great feast. The King sat on an elevated throne at the upper end at a table alone; the Knights at a table on the right hand, reaching all the length of the room; over-against them a cupboard of rich gilded plate; at the lower end, the music; on the balusters above, wind music, trumpets, and kettle-drums. The King was served by the lords and pensioners who brought up the dishes. About the middle of the dinner, the Knights drank the King's health, then the King, theirs, when the trumpets and music played and sounded, the guns going off at the Tower. At the Banquet, came in the Queen, and stood by the King's left hand, but did not sit. Then was the banqueting-stuff flung about the room profusely. In truth, the crowd was so great, that though I stayed all the supper the day before, I now stayed no longer than this sport began, for fear of disorder. The cheer was extraordinary, each Knight having forty dishes to his mess, piled up five or six high; the room hung with the richest tapestry.

*25th April.* Visited again the Duke of Newcastle, with whom I had been acquainted long before in France, where the Duchess had obligation to my wife's mother for her marriage there; she was sister to Lord Lucas, and maid of honour then to the Queen-Mother; married in our chapel at Paris. My wife being with me, the Duke and Duchess both would needs bring her to the very Court.

*26th.* My Lord Chancellor showed me all his newly finished and furnished palace and library; then, we went to take the air in Hyde-Park.

*27th.* I had a great deal of discourse with his Majesty at dinner. In the afternoon, I went again with my wife to the Duchess of Newcastle, who received her in a kind of transport, suitable to her extravagant humour and dress, which was very singular.

*8th May.* Made up accounts with our Receiver, which amounted to 33,936*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* Dined at Lord Cornbury's, with Don Francisco de Melos, Portugal Ambassador, and kindred to the Queen: Of the party were Mr. Henry Jermyn<sup>a</sup>, and Sir Henry Capel<sup>b</sup>. Afterwards I went to Arundel-House, to salute Mr. Howard's sons, newly returned out of France.

*11th.* To London; dined with the Duke of Newcastle, and sat discoursing with her Grace in her bed-chamber after dinner, till my Lord Marquis of Dorchester with other company came in, when I went away.

*30th.* To London, to wait on the Duchess of Newcastle (who was a mighty pretender to learning, poetry, and philosophy, and had in both published divers books) to the Royal Society<sup>c</sup>, whither she came in great pomp, and

<sup>a</sup> In 1685 created Baron Jermyn of Dover.

<sup>b</sup> A leading member of the House of Commons, created April 11th, 1692, Baron Capel of Tewkesbury, afterwards Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

<sup>c</sup> This may remind us of the visit of another great lady, Queen Christina, to one of the sittings of the French Academy, recorded by Monsieur Pellisson, in his *History* of that learned body.

being received by our Lord President at the door of our meeting-room, the mace, &c., carried before him, had several experiments showed to her. I conducted her Grace to her coach, and returned home.

*1st June.* I went to Greenwich, where his Majesty was trying divers grenadoes shot out of cannon at the Castle-hill, from the house in the Park ; they brake not till they hit the mark, the forged ones brake not at all, but the cast ones very well. The inventor was a German there present. At the same time, a ring was showed to the King, pretended to be a projection of mercury, and malleable, and said by the gentlemen to be fixed by the juice of a plant.

*8th.* To London, alarmed by the Dutch, who were fallen on our fleet at Chatham, by a most audacious enterprise entering the very river with part of their fleet, doing us not only disgrace, but incredible mischief in burning several of our best men-of-war lying at anchor and moored there, and all this through our unaccountable negligence in not setting out our fleet in due time. This alarm caused me, fearing the enemy might venture up the Thames even to London (which they might have done with ease, and fired all the vessels in the River, too), to send away my best goods, plate, &c., from my house to another place. The alarm was so great that it put both Country and City into fear, a panic, and consternation, such as I hope I shall never see more ; everybody was flying, none knew why or whither. Now, there were land-forces despatched with the Duke of Albemarle, Lord Middleton<sup>a</sup>, Prince Rupert, and the Duke, to hinder the Dutch coming to Chatham, fortifying Upnor Castle, and laying chains and bombs ; but the resolute enemy brake through all, and set fire on our ships, and retreated in spite, stopping up the Thames, the rest of the fleet lying before the mouth of it.

*14th.* I went to see the work at Woolwich, a battery to prevent them coming up to London, which Prince Rupert commanded, and sunk some ships in the river.

*17th.* This night, about two o'clock, some chips and combustible matter prepared for some fire-ships, taking flame in Deptford-yard, made such a blaze, and caused such an uproar in the Tower (it being given out that the Dutch fleet was come up, and had landed their men and fired the Tower), as had liked to have done more mischief before people would be persuaded to the contrary and believe the accident. Everybody went to their arms. These were sad and troublesome times.

*24th.* The Dutch fleet still continuing to stop up the river, so as nothing could stir out or come in, I was before the Council, and commanded by his Majesty to go with some others and search about the environs of the city, now exceedingly distressed for want of fuel, whether there could be any peat, or turf, found fit for use. The next day, I went and discovered enough, and made my report that there might be found a great deal ; but nothing further was done in it.

*28th.* I went to Chatham, and thence to view not only what mischief

<sup>a</sup> John Middleton was first a Parliamentary general, but subsequently fought for Charles II at Worcester, and otherwise distinguished himself as a Royalist officer till the Restoration, when he was created Earl of Middleton. He was Commander-in-Chief of the Forces in Scotland, Governor of Edinburgh Castle, Commissioner of the Scottish Parliament, and finally Governor of Tangier, where he died in 1673.



the Dutch had done ; but how triumphantly their whole fleet lay within the very mouth of the Thames, all from the North Fore-land, Margate, even to the buoy of the Nore—a dreadful spectacle as ever Englishmen saw, and a dishonour never to be wiped off ! Those who advised his Majesty to prepare no fleet this spring deserved—I know what—but<sup>a</sup>—

Here in the river off Chatham, just before the town, lay the carcass of the London (now the third time burnt), the Royal Oak, the James, &c., yet smoking ; and now, when the mischief was done, we were making trifling forts on the brink of the river. Here were yet forces, both of horse and foot, with general Middleton continually expecting the motions of the enemy's fleet. I had much discourse with him, who was an experienced commander. I told him I wondered the King did not fortify Sheerness<sup>b</sup> and the Ferry ; both abandoned.

2nd July. Called upon by my Lord Arlington, as from his Majesty, about the new fuel. The occasion why I was mentioned, was from what I said in my *Sylva* three years before, about a sort of fuel for a need, which obstructed a patent of Lord Carlingford<sup>c</sup>, who had been seeking for it himself ; he was endeavouring to bring me into the project, and proffered me a share. I met my Lord ; and, on the 9th, by an order of Council, went to my Lord Mayor, to be assisting. In the mean time they had made an experiment of my receipt of *houllies*, which I mention in my book to be made at Maestricht, with a mixture of charcoal dust and loam, and which was tried with success at Gresham College (then being the exchange for the meeting of the merchants since the fire) for everybody to see. This done, I went to the Treasury for 12,000*l.* for the sick and wounded yet on my hands.

Next day, we met again about the fuel at Sir J. Armourer's in the Mews.

8th. My Lord Brereton and others dined at my house, where I showed them proof of my new fuel, which was very glowing, and without smoke or ill smell.

10th. I went to see Sir Samuel Morland's<sup>d</sup> inventions and machines, arithmetical wheels, quench-fires, and new harp.

<sup>a</sup> 'The Parliament giving but weak supplies for the war, the King, to save charges, is persuaded by the Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, Southampton, the Duke of Albemarle, and the other ministers, to lay up the first and second-rate ships, and make only a defensive war in the next campaign. The Duke of York opposed this, but was over-ruled.' *Life of King James II*, vol. i., p. 425.

<sup>b</sup> Since done (Evelyn's note).

<sup>c</sup> Theobald, second Viscount Taaffe, created Earl of Carlingford, June 26, 1662.

<sup>d</sup> Aubrey (in his *Account of Surrey*, vol. i., p. 12) says : ' Under the equestrian Statute of Charles II, in the great Court at Windsor, is an engine for raising water, contrived by Sir Samuel Morland, alias Morley. He was son of Sir Samuel Morland, of Sulhamsted, Bannister, Berks, created Baronet by Charles II, in consideration of services performed during his exile. The son was a great mechanic, and was presented with a gold medal, and made *Magister Mechanicorum* by the King, in 1681. He invented the drum capstands, for weighing heavy anchors : the speaking trumpet, and other useful engines. He died and was buried at Hammersmith, 1696. There is a monument for the two wives of Sir Samuel Morland in Westminster Abbey. There is a print of the son, by Lombart, after Lely. This Sir Samuel, the son, built a large room in his garden at Vauxhall, which was much admired at that time. On the top was a punchinello, holding a dial.' More to a similar effect will be found in Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*. He receives frequent mention from Evelyn in his letters as well as this *Diary*.

17th July. The Master of the Mint and his lady, Mr. Williamson, Sir Nicholas Armourer<sup>a</sup>, Sir Edward Bowyer, Sir Anthony Auger, and other friends dined with me.

29th. I went to Gravesend; the Dutch fleet still at anchor before the river, where I saw five of his Majesty's men-at-war encounter above twenty of the Dutch, in the bottom of the Hope, chasing them with many broadsides given and returned towards the buoy of the Nore, where the body of their fleet lay, which lasted till about midnight. One of their ships was fired, supposed by themselves, she being run on ground. Having seen this bold action, and their braving us so far up the river, I went home the next day, not without indignation at our negligence, and the nation's reproach. It is well known who of the Commissioners of the Treasury gave advice that the charge of setting forth a fleet this year might be spared, Sir W. C. (William Coventry) by name.

1st August. I received the sad news of Abraham Cowley's death, that incomparable poet and virtuous man, my very dear friend, and was greatly deplored.

3rd. Went to Mr. Cowley's funeral, whose corpse lay at Wallingford House, and was thence conveyed to Westminster Abbey in a hearse with six horses and all funeral decency, near a hundred coaches of noblemen and persons of quality following; among these, all the wits of the town, divers bishops and clergymen. He was interred next Geoffry Chaucer, and near Spenser. A goodly monument is since erected to his memory.

Now did his Majesty again dine in the presence, in ancient state, with music and all the court-ceremonies, which had been interrupted since the late war.

8th. Visited Mr. Oldenburg, a close prisoner in the Tower, being suspected of writing intelligence. I had an order from Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, which caused me to be admitted. This gentleman was secretary to our Society, and I am confident will prove an innocent person<sup>b</sup>.

15th. Finished my account, amounting to 25,000*l*.

17th. To the funeral of Mr. Farrington, a relation of my wife's.

There was now a very gallant horse to be baited to death with dogs; but he fought them all, so as the fiercest of them could not fasten on him, till the men run him through with their swords. This wicked and barbarous sport deserved to have been punished in the cruel contrivers to get money, under pretence that the horse had killed a man, which was false. I would not be persuaded to be a spectator.

21st. Saw the famous Italian puppet-play, for it was no other.

24th. I was appointed, with the rest of my brother Commissioners, to put in execution an order of Council for freeing the prisoners-at-war in my custody at Leeds Castle, and taking off his Majesty's extraordinary charge, having called before us the French and Dutch agents. The Peace was now proclaimed, in the usual form, by the heralds-at-arms.

<sup>a</sup> Sir Nicholas (a different person from Sir James) Armourer was Equerry to Charles II. Pepys tells a curious anecdote of his inducing the King to drink the Duke of York's health on his knees. The Queen of Bohemia talks of him familiarly in her letters as Nick Armourer.

<sup>b</sup> Henry Oldenburg, Secretary to the Royal Society. He was committed to the Tower, as Pepys informs us, 'for writing news to a virtuoso in France,' but was shortly afterwards liberated.



25th August. After evening service, I went to visit Mr. Vaughan<sup>a</sup>, who lay at Greenwich, a very wise and learned person, one of Mr. Selden's executors and intimate friends.

27th. Visited the Lord Chancellor, to whom his Majesty had sent for the seals a few days before; I found him in his bed-chamber, very sad. The Parliament had accused him, and he had enemies at Court, especially the buffoons and ladies of pleasure, because he thwarted some of them, and stood in their way; I could name some of the chief. The truth is, he made few friends during his grandeur among the royal sufferers, but advanced the old rebels. He was, however, though no considerable lawyer, one who kept up the form and substance of things in the Nation with more solemnity than some would have had. He was my particular kind friend, on all occasions. The Cabal, however, prevailed, and that party in Parliament. Great division at Court concerning him, and divers great persons interceding for him.

28th. I dined with my late Lord Chancellor, where also dined Mr. Ashburnham, and Mr. W. Legge, of the Bed-chamber<sup>b</sup>, his Lordship pretty well in heart, though now many of his friends and sycophants abandoned him.

In the afternoon, to the Lords Commissioners for money, and thence to the audience of a Russian Envoy in the Queen's presence-chamber, introduced with much state, the soldiers, pensioners, and guards in their order. His letters of credence brought by his secretary in a scarf of sarsenet, their vests sumptuous, much embroidered with pearls. He delivered his speech in the Russ language, but without the least action, or motion, of his body, which was immediately interpreted aloud by a German that spake good English: half of it consisted in repetition of the Czar's Titles, which were very haughty and oriental: the substance of the rest was, that he was only sent to see the King and Queen, and know how they did, with much compliment and frothy language. Then, they kissed their Majesties' hands, and went as they came; but their real errand was to get money.

29th. We met at the Star-Chamber about exchange and release of prisoners.

7th September. Came Sir John Kiviet, to article with me about his brickwork<sup>c</sup>.

13th. Betwixt the hours of twelve and one, was born my second daughter, who was afterwards christened Elizabeth.

19th. To London, with Mr. Henry Howard, of Norfolk, of whom I obtained the gift of his Arundelian Marbles, those celebrated and famous inscriptions Greek and Latin, gathered with so much cost and industry from Greece, by his illustrious grandfather, the magnificent Earl of Arundel, my noble friend whilst he lived. When I saw these precious monuments

<sup>a</sup> Afterwards, Lord Chief Justice.

<sup>b</sup> John Ashburnham, Groom of the Bedchamber to Charles I and Charles II. Colonel William Legge, Treasurer and Superintendent of the Ordnance, Member for Southampton, and father of the first Lord Dartmouth, filled the same post. Pepys describes him as 'a pleasant man, and that hath seen much of the world, and more of the Court.' He was with Charles I during the rebellion, and represented Sussex in Parliament. Another of the Ashburnhams filled the office of Cofferer. Pepys frequently alludes to both.

<sup>c</sup> *ante*, pp. 292, 293.

miserably neglected, and scattered up and down about the garden, and other parts of Arundel House, and how exceedingly the corrosive air of London impaired them, I procured him to bestow them on the University of Oxford. This he was pleased to grant me; and now gave me the key of the gallery, with leave to mark all those stones, urns, altars, &c., and whatever I found had inscriptions on them, that were not statues. This I did; and getting them removed and piled together, with those which were incrustated in the garden walls, I sent immediately letters to the Vice-Chancellor of what I had procured, and that if they esteemed it a service to the University (of which I had been a member), they should take order for their transportation.

This done, 21<sup>st</sup>, I accompanied Mr. Howard to his villa at Albury, where I designed for him the plot of his canal and garden, with a crypt<sup>a</sup> through the hill.

24<sup>th</sup> September. Returned to London, where I had orders to deliver the possession of Chelsæa College (used as my prison during the war with Holland for such as were sent from the fleet to London) to our Society, as a gift of his Majesty our founder.

8<sup>th</sup> October. Came to dine with me Dr. Bathurst, Dean of Wells, President of Trinity College, sent by the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, in the name both of him and the whole University, to thank me for procuring the Inscriptions, and to receive my directions what was to be done to show their gratitude to Mr. Howard.

11<sup>th</sup>. I went to see Lord Clarendon, late Lord Chancellor and greatest officer in England, in continual apprehension what the Parliament would determine concerning him.

17<sup>th</sup>. Came Dr. Barlow, Provost of Queen's College and Protobibliothecus of the Bodleian library, to take order about the transportation of the Marbles.

25<sup>th</sup>. There were delivered to me two letters from the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, with the Decree of the Convocation, attested by the Public Notary, ordering four Doctors of Divinity and Law to acknowledge the obligation the University had to me for procuring the *Marmora Arundeliana*, which was solemnly done by Dr. Barlow<sup>b</sup>, Dr. Jenkins<sup>c</sup>, Judge of the Admiralty, Dr. Lloyd, and Obadiah Walker<sup>d</sup>, of University College, who having made a large compliment from the University, delivered me the decree fairly written:

Gesta venerabili domo Convocationis Universitatis Oxon. . . . 17. 1667. Quo die retulit ad Senatum Academicum Dominus Vicecancellarius, quantum Universitas deberet singulari benevolentiæ Johannis Evelini Armigeri, qui pro eâ pietate quâ Almam Matrem prosequitur non solum Suasu et Consilio apud inclytum Heroem Henricum Howard, Ducis Norfolciæ hæredem, intercessit, et Universitati pretiosissimum eruditæ antiquitatis thesaurum Marmora Arundeliana largiretur; sed egregium insuper in ijs colligendis asservandisq; navavit operam: Quapropter unanimi suffragio Venerabilis Domûs decretum est, ut eidem publicæ gratiæ per delegatos ad Honoratissimum Dominum Henricum Howard propediem mittendos solemniter reddantur.

Concordant superscripta cum originali collatione factâ per me Ben. Cooper, Notarium Publicum et Registrarium Universitat. Oxon.

<sup>a</sup> Still in part remaining (1820), but stopped up at the further end.

<sup>b</sup> Bishop of Lincoln. <sup>c</sup> Afterwards Sir Leoline Jenkins, Secretary of State.

<sup>d</sup> Subsequently, head of that college.



SIR,

We intend also a noble inscription, in which also honourable mention shall be made of yourself ; but Mr. Vice-Chancellor commands me to tell you that that was not sufficient for your merits ; but, that if your occasions would permit you to come down at the Act (when we intend a dedication of our new Theatre), some other testimony should be given both of your own worth and affection to this your old Mother ; for we are all very sensible that this great addition of learning and reputation to the University is due as well to your industrious care for the University, and interest with my Lord Howard, as to his great nobleness and generosity of spirit.

I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

OBADIAH WALKER, Univ. Coll.

The Vice-Chancellor's letter to the same effect were too vainglorious to insert, with divers copies of verses that were also sent me. Their mentioning me in the inscription I totally declined, when I directed the titles of Mr. Howard, now made Lord, upon his Ambassage to Morocco.

These four doctors, having made me this compliment, desired me to carry and introduce them to Mr. Howard, at Arundel-House : which I did, Dr. Barlow (Provost of Queen's) after a short speech, delivering a larger letter of the University's thanks, which was written in Latin, expressing the great sense they had of the honour done them. After this compliment handsomely performed and as nobly received, Mr. Howard accompanied the Doctors to their coach. That evening, I supped with them.

*26th October.* My late Lord Chancellor was accused by Mr. Seymour in the House of Commons ; and, in the evening, I returned home.

*31st.* My birth-day—blessed be God for all his mercies ! I made the Royal Society a present of the Table of Veins, Arteries, and Nerves, which great curiosity I had caused to be made in Italy, out of the natural human bodies, by a learned physician, and the help of Veslingius (professor at Padua), from whence I brought them in 1646<sup>a</sup>. For this I received the public thanks of the Society ; and they are hanging up in their Repository with an inscription.

*9th December.* To visit the late Lord Chancellor<sup>b</sup>. I found him in his garden at his new-built palace, sitting in his gout wheel-chair, and seeing the gates setting up towards the north and the fields. He looked and spake very disconsolately. After some while deploring his condition to me, I took my leave. Next morning, I heard he was gone ; though I am persuaded that, had he gone sooner, though but to Cornbury, and there lain quiet, it would have satisfied the Parliament. That which exasperated them was his presuming to stay and contest the accusation as long as it was possible : and they were on the point of sending him to the Tower.

<sup>a</sup> See *ante*, p. 146.

<sup>b</sup> This entry of the 9th December, 1667, is a mistake. Evelyn could not have visited the 'late Lord Chancellor' on that day. Lord Clarendon fled on Saturday, the 29th of November, 1667, and his letter resigning the Chancellorship of the University of Oxford is dated from Calais on the 7th of December. That Evelyn's book is not, in every respect, strictly a diary, is shown by this and several similar passages already adverted to in the remarks prefixed to the present edition. If the entry of the 18th of August, 1683, is correct, the date of Evelyn's last visit to Lord Clarendon was the 28th of November, 1667.

10th December. I went to the funeral of Mrs. Heath, wife of my worthy friend and schoolfellow.

21st. I saw one Carr pilloried at Charing-cross for a libel, which was burnt before him by the hangman.

1667-8. 8th January. I saw deep and prodigious gaming at the Groom-Porter's, vast heaps of gold squandered away in a vain and profuse manner. This I looked on as a horrid vice, and unsuitable in a Christian Court.

9th. Went to see the revels at the Middle Temple, which is also an old riotous custom, and has relation neither to virtue nor policy.

10th. To visit Mr. Povey, where were divers great Lords to see his well-contrived cellar, and other elegancies.

24th. We went to stake out ground for building a college for the Royal Society at Arundel House, but did not finish it, which we shall repent of.

4th February. I saw the tragedy of *Horace* (written by the *virtuous* Mrs. Philips) acted before their Majesties. Betwixt each act a masque and antique dance. The excessive gallantry of the ladies was infinite, those especially on that . . . Castlemaine, esteemed at 40,000*l.* and more, far outshining the Queen.

15th. I saw the audience of the Swedish Ambassador Count Donna, in great state in the banqueting-house.

3rd March. Was launched at Deptford, that goodly vessel, The Charles. I was near his Majesty. She is longer than the Sovereign, and carries 110 brass cannon; she was built by old Shish, a plain honest carpenter, master-builder of this dock, but one who can give very little account of his art by discourse, and is hardly capable of reading<sup>a</sup>, yet of great ability in his calling. The family have been ship-carpenters in this yard above 300 years.

12th. Went to visit Sir John Cotton, who had me into his library, full of good MSS. Greek and Latin, but most famous for those of the Saxon and English Antiquities, collected by his grandfather.

2nd April. To the Royal Society, where I subscribed 50,000 bricks, towards building a college. Amongst other libertine libels, there was one now printed and thrown about, a bold petition of the poor w—s to Lady Castlemaine<sup>b</sup>.

9th. To London, about finishing my grand account of the sick and wounded, and prisoners at war, amounting to above £34,000.

I heard Sir R. Howard impeach Sir William Penn<sup>c</sup>, in the House of Lords, for breaking bulk, and taking away rich goods out of the East India prizes, formerly taken by Lord Sandwich.

28th. To London, about the purchase of Ravensbourne Mills, and land around it, in Upper Deptford, of one Mr. Becher.

30th. We sealed the deeds in Sir Edward Thurland's chambers in the Inner Temple. I pray God bless it to me, it being a dear pennyworth;

<sup>a</sup> The like was to be said of Mr. Brindley, who executed such great works for the Duke of Bridgewater towards the close of the eighteenth century.

<sup>b</sup> Evelyn has been supposed himself to have written this piece.

<sup>c</sup> Father of the Founder of Pennsylvania, whom Evelyn in a subsequent page accuses of having published 'a blasphemous book against the Deity of our blessed Lord.' Sir William Penn held the rank of Admiral, and had distinguished himself in the battle with the Dutch in 1664, which gained him the honour of knighthood. He was Governor of Kinsale, and died in 1670.



but the passion Sir R. Browne had for it, and that it was contiguous to our other grounds, engaged me !

13th May. Invited by that expert commander, Captain Cox, master of the lately built *Charles the Second*, now the best vessel of the fleet, designed for the Duke of York, I went to Erith, where we had a great dinner.

16th. Sir Richard Edgecombe, of Mount Edgecombe, by Plymouth, my relation, came to visit me ; very virtuous and worthy gentleman.

19th June. To a new play with several of my relations, *The Evening Lover*<sup>a</sup>, a foolish plot, and very profane ; it afflicted me to see how the stage was degenerated and polluted by the licentious times.

2nd July. Sir Samuel Tuke, Bart.<sup>b</sup>, and the lady he had married this day, came and bedded at night at my house, many friends accompanying the bride.

23rd. At the Royal Society, were presented divers *glossa petras*, and other natural curiosities, found in digging to build the fort at Sheerness. They were just the same as they bring from Malta, pretending them to be viper's teeth, whereas, in truth, they are of a shark, as we found by comparing them with one in our Repository.

3rd August. Mr. Bramstone, (son to Judge B.), my old fellow-traveller, now Reader at the Middle Temple, invited me to his feast, which was so very extravagant and great as the like had not been seen at any time. There were the Duke of Ormond, Privy Seal, Bedford, Belasis, Halifax, and a world more of Earls and Lords.

14th. His Majesty was pleased to grant me a lease of a slip of ground out of Brick Close, to enlarge my fore-court, for which I now gave him thanks ; then, entering into other discourse, he talked to me of a new varnish for ships, instead of pitch, and of the gilding with which his new yacht was beautified. I showed his Majesty the perpetual motion sent to me by Dr. Stokes, from Cologne ; and then came in Monsieur Colbert, the French Ambassador.

19th. I saw the magnificent entry of the French Ambassador Colbert, received in the Banqueting House. I had never seen a richer coach than that which he came in to Whitehall. Standing by his Majesty at dinner in the presence, there was of that rare fruit called the King-pine, growing in Barbadoes and the West Indies ; the first of them I had ever seen<sup>c</sup>. His Majesty having cut it up, was pleased to give me a piece off his own plate to taste of ; but, in my opinion, it falls short of those ravishing varieties of deliciousness described in Captain Ligon's *History*, and others ; but possibly it might, or certainly was, much impaired in coming so far ; it has yet a grateful acidity, but tastes more like the quince and melon than of any other fruit he mentions.

28th. Published my book of *The Perfection of Painting*<sup>d</sup>, dedicated to Mr. Howard.

<sup>a</sup> There is no play extant with this name ; and though the latter might be but a second title (for Evelyn frequently mentions only one name of a play that has two), it is next to certain that he here means Dryden's comedy of *An Evening's Love, or, The Mock Astrologer*, which is indeed sufficiently licentious. It was produced and printed in 1668, when Evelyn appears to have seen it.

<sup>b</sup> Evelyn's cousin, and a colonel in the army of Charles I. His seat was at Cressing Temple, Essex.

<sup>c</sup> See *ante*, as to the Queen-pine, p. 245.

<sup>d</sup> Reprinted in Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings*, pp. 553-562.

17th September. I entertained Signor Muccinigo, the Venetian Ambassador, of one of the noblest families of the State, this being the day of making his public entry, setting forth from my house with several gentlemen of Venice and others in a very glorious train. He staid with me till the Earl of Anglesea and Sir Charles Cotterell (Master of the Ceremonies) came with the King's barge to carry him to the Tower, where the guns were fired at his landing; he then entered his Majesty's coach, followed by many others of the nobility. I accompanied him to his house, where there was a most noble supper to all the company, of course. After the extraordinary compliments to me and my wife, for the civilities he received at my house, I took leave and returned. He is a very accomplished person. He is since Ambassador at Rome.

29th. I had much discourse with Signor Pietro Cisiij, a Persian gentleman, about the affairs of Turkey, to my great satisfaction. I went to see Sir Elias Leighton's<sup>a</sup> project of a cart with iron axle-trees.

8th November. Being at dinner, my sister Evelyn sent for me to come up to London to my continuing sick brother.

14th. To London, invited to the consecration of that excellent person, the Dean of Ripon, Dr. Wilkins, now made Bishop of Chester; it was at Ely-House, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Cosin Bishop of Durham, the Bishops of Ely, Salisbury, Rochester, and others officiating. Dr. Tillotson preached. Then, we went to a sumptuous dinner in the hall, where were the Duke of Buckingham, Judges, Secretaries of State, Lord-Keeper, Council, Noblemen, and innumerable other company, who were honourers of this incomparable man, universally beloved by all who knew him.

This being the Queen's birth-day, great was the gallantry at Whitehall, and the night celebrated with very fine fireworks.

My poor brother continuing ill, I went not from him till the 17th, when, dining at the Groom Porters, I heard Sir Edward Sutton play excellently on the Irish harp; he performs genteelly, but not approaching my worthy friend, Mr. Clark, a gentleman of Northumberland, who makes it execute lute, viol, and all the harmony an instrument is capable of; pity it is that it is not more in use; but, indeed, to play well, takes up the whole man, as Mr. Clark has assured me, who, though a gentleman of quality and parts, was yet brought up to that instrument from five years old, as I remember he told me.

25th. I waited on Lord Sandwich, who presented me with a Sembrador he brought out of Spain, showing me his two books of observations made during his embassy and stay at Madrid; in which were several rare things he promised to impart to me.

27th. I dined at my Lord Ashley's (since Earl of Shaftesbury), when the match of my niece<sup>b</sup> was proposed for his only son, in which my assistance was desired for my Lord.

<sup>a</sup> The Sir Ellis Layton of Pepys. He was secretary to the Prize Office, and to the Duke of York. 'A mad freaking fellow' (according to one authority), though a Doctor of Civil Law, and brother to the Bishop of Dunblane. According to another, 'for a speech of forty words the wittiest man that ever he knew,' and moreover 'one of the best companions at a meal in the world.'

<sup>b</sup> Probably the daughter of his Brother, Richard, of Epsom, but who married Mr. Montagu.



28th November. Dr. Patrick preached at Covent Garden, on *Acts* xvii, 31, the certainty of Christ's coming to judgment, it being Advent; a most suitable discourse.

19th December. I went to see the old play of *Cataline* acted, having been now forgotten almost forty years.

20th. I dined with my Lord Cornbury, at Clarendon-House, now bravely furnished, especially with the pictures of most of our ancient and modern wits, poets, philosophers, famous, and learned Englishmen; which collection of the Chancellor's I much commended, and gave his Lordship a catalogue of more to be added<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> It will be well to subjoin here what is said by Evelyn, in a letter to the Lord Chancellor, dated 18th March, 1666-7:

'My Lord, your Lordship inquires of me what pictures might be added to the Assembly of the Learned and Heroic Persons of England which your Lordship has already collected; the design of which I do infinitely more magnify than the most famous heads of foreigners, which do not concern the glory of our country; and it is my opinion the most honourable ornament, the most becoming and obliging, which your Lordship can think of to adorn your palace withal, such, therefore, as seem to be wanting, I shall range under these three heads:

#### THE LEARNED.

Sir Hen. Saville.	Wm. Hooker.	Ven. Bede,
Abp. of Armagh.	Dr. Sanderson.	Jo. Duns Scotus.
Dr. Harvey.	Wm. Oughtred.	Alcuinus.
Sir H. Wotton.	M. Philips.	Ridley, } martyrs.
Sir T. Bodley.	Rog. Bacon.	Latimer, }
G. Buchanan.	Geo. Ripley.	Roger Ascham.
Jo. Barclay.	Wm. of Occam.	Sir J. Checke.
Ed. Spencer.	Hadrian 4th.	Ladies { Eliz. Joan Weston <sup>1</sup> ,
Wm. Lily.	Alex. Ales.	{ Jane Grey.

#### POLITICIANS.

Sir Fra. Walsingham.	Sir W. Raleigh.	Sir T. Smith.
Earl of Leicester.	Card. Wolsey.	Card. Pole.

#### SOLDIERS.

Sir Fra. Drake.	Tho Cavendish.	Talbot.
Sir J. Hawkins.	Sir Ph. Sidney.	Sir F. Greville.
Sir Martin Frobisher.	Earl of Essex.	Hor. E. of Oxford.

Some of which, though difficult to procure originals of, yet haply copies might be found out upon diligent inquiries. The rest, I think, your Lordship has already in good proportion.'

Writing on the same subject to Pepys, in a letter dated 12th August, 1689, Evelyn tells him that the Lord Chancellor, Clarendon, had collected portraits of very many of our great men; and he proceeds to put them down, without order or arrangement, as he recollected them. He gives also there a list of Portraits which he recommended to be added, a little different from the list contained in the letter above-quoted; and he adds, that 'when Lord Clarendon's design of making this collection was known, everybody who had any of the portraits, or could purchase them at any price, strove to make their court by presenting them. By this means he got many excellent pieces of Vandyke, and other originals by Lely and other the best of our modern masters.'

<sup>1</sup> For an account of Lady Joan Weston, less known than her companion, see Ballard's *Learned Ladies*. There is a very scarce volume of *Latin Poems* by her, printed at Prague, 1606, and Evelyn specially mentions her in his *Numismata*. She is often celebrated by the writers of her time.

31st December. I entertained my kind neighbours, according to custom, giving Almighty God thanks for His gracious mercies to me the past year.

1668-9. 1st January. Imploring His blessing for the year entering, I went to church, where our Doctor preached on *Psalm* lxxv. 12, apposite to the season, and beginning a new year.

3rd. About this time one of Sir William Penn's sons had published a blasphemous book against the Deity of our Blessed Lord.

29th. I went to see a tall gigantic woman who measured 6 feet 10 inches high, at 21 years old, born in the Low Countries.

13th February. I presented his Majesty with my *History of the Four Impostors*<sup>a</sup>; he told me of other like cheats. I gave my book to Lord Arlington, to whom I dedicated it. It was now that he began to tempt me about writing 'the Dutch War.'

15th. Saw Mrs. Phillips' *Horace*<sup>b</sup> acted again.

18th. To the Royal Society, when Signor Malpighi<sup>c</sup>, an Italian physician and anatomist, sent this learned body the incomparable History of the Silkworm.

1st March. Dined at Lord Arlington's at Goring House, with the Bishop of Hereford.

4th. To the Council of the Royal Society, about disposing my Lord Howard's library, now given to us.

16th. To London, to place Mr. Christopher Wase about my Lord Arlington.

18th. I went with Lord Howard of Norfolk, to visit Sir William Ducie at Charlton, where we dined; the servants made our coachmen so drunk, that they both fell off their boxes on the heath, where we were fain to leave them, and were driven to London by two servants of my Lord's. This barbarous custom of making the masters welcome by intoxicating the servants, had now the second time happened to my coachman.

My son came finally from Oxford.

2nd April. Dined at Mr. Treasurer's, where was (with many noblemen) Colonel Titus of the bed-chamber, author of the famous piece against Cromwell, *Killing no Murder*.

I now placed Mr. Wase with Mr. Williamson, Secretary to the Secretary of State, and Clerk of the Papers.

14th. I dined with the Archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth, and saw the library, which was not very considerable.

19th May. At a Council of the Royal Society our grant was finished, in which his Majesty gives us Chelsea College, and some land about it. It was ordered that five should be a quorum for a Council. The Vice-President was then sworn for the first time, and it was proposed how we should receive the Prince of Tuscany, who desired to visit the Society.

20th. This evening, at 10 o'clock, was born my third daughter, who was baptised on the 25th by the name of Susannah.

3rd June. Went to take leave of Lord Howard, going Ambassador to

<sup>a</sup> Reprinted in Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings*, pp. 563-620.

<sup>b</sup> ante, 1668. Mrs. Phillips was a poetess of celebrity in her time, known as 'the matchless Orinda.' The work mentioned by Evelyn, was her translation of P. Corneille's *Horace*, which Pepys calls 'a silly tragedy.'

<sup>c</sup> Marcellus Malpighi was eminent for his discoveries respecting the economy of the liver and kidneys, and for his researches in vegetable physiology. He was born 1628, and died 1694.



Morocco. Dined at Lord Arlington's, where were the Earl of Berkshire, Lord Saint John, Sir Robert Howard, and Sir R. Holmes.

10th June. Came my Lord Cornbury, Sir William Pulteney<sup>a</sup>, and others to visit me. I went this evening to London, to carry Mr. Pepys to my brother Richard, now exceedingly afflicted with the stone, who had been successfully cut, and carried the stone as big as a tennis-ball to show him, and encourage his resolution to go through the operation.

30th. My wife went a journey of pleasure down the river as far as the sea, with Mrs. Howard and her daughter, the Maid of Honour, and others, amongst whom that excellent creature, Mrs. Blagg<sup>b</sup>.

7th July. I went towards Oxford; lay at Little Wycomb.

8th. Oxford.

9th. In the morning, was celebrated the Encœnia of the New Theatre, so magnificently built by the munificence of Dr. Gilbert Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, in which was spent £25,000, as Sir Christopher Wren, the architect (as I remember), told me; and yet it was never seen by the benefactor, my Lord Archbishop having told me that he never did or ever would see it. It is, in truth, a fabric comparable to any of this kind of former ages, and doubtless exceeding any of the present, as this University does for colleges, libraries, schools, students, and order, all the Universities in the world. To the theatre is added the famous Sheldonian printing-house. This being at the Act and the first time of opening the Theatre (Acts being formerly kept in St. Mary's church, which might be thought indecent, that being a place set apart for the immediate worship of God, and was the inducement for building this noble pile), it was now resolved to keep the present Act in it, and celebrate its dedication with the greatest splendour and formality that might be; and, therefore, drew a world of strangers, and other company, to the University, from all parts of the nation.

The Vice-Chancellor, Heads of Houses, and Doctors, being seated in magisterial seats, the Vice-Chancellor's chair and desk, Proctors, &c., covered with brocatelle (a kind of brocade) and cloth of gold; the University Registrar read the founder's grant and gift of it to the University for their scholastic exercises upon these solemn occasions. Then followed Dr. South<sup>c</sup>, the University's orator, in an eloquent speech, which was very long, and not without some malicious and indecent reflections on the Royal Society, as underminers of the University; which was very foolish and untrue, as well as unseasonable. But, to let that pass from an ill-natured man, the rest was in praise of the Archbishop and the ingenious architect. This ended, after loud music from the corridor above, where an organ was placed, there followed divers panegyric speeches, both in prose and verse, interchangeably pronounced by the young students placed in the rostrums, in Pindarics, Eclogues, Heroics, &c., mingled with excel-

<sup>a</sup> A distinguished Parliament man, grandfather of the first Earl of Bath. He was a Commissioner of the Privy Seal under William III, and died in 1671.

<sup>b</sup> Afterwards Mrs. Godolphin, whose life, written by Evelyn, has been published under the auspices of the Bishop of Oxford. The affecting circumstances of her death will be found recorded at p. 364 of the present volume.

<sup>c</sup> Robert South, D.D., prebendary of Westminster and Canon of Christ-church, one of the most eloquent preachers of the seventeenth century. Pepys alludes to his having been seized with a fainting fit in the pulpit while preaching before the King. He nevertheless lived to the age of eighty-three.

lent music, vocal and instrumental, to entertain the ladies and the rest of the company. A speech was then made in praise of academical learning. This lasted from eleven in the morning till seven at night, which was concluded with ringing of bells, and universal joy and feasting.

10th July. The next day began the more solemn lectures in all the faculties, which were performed in the several schools, where all the Inceptor-Doctors did their exercises, the Professors having first ended their reading. The assembly now returned to the Theatre, where the *Terræ filius* (the *University Buffoon*) entertained the auditory with a tedious, abusive, sarcastical rhapsody, most unbecoming the gravity of the University, and that so grossly, that unless it be suppressed, it will be of ill consequence, as I afterwards plainly expressed my sense of it both to the Vice-Chancellor and several Heads of Houses, who were perfectly ashamed of it, and resolved to take care of it in future. The old facetious way of rallying upon the questions was left off, falling wholly upon persons, so that it was rather licentious lying and railing than genuine and noble wit. In my life, I was never witness of so shameful entertainment.

After this ribaldry, the Proctors made their speeches. Then began the music art, vocal and instrumental, above in the balustrade corridor opposite to the Vice-Chancellor's seat. Then, Dr. Wallis, the mathematical Professor, made his oration, and created one Doctor of music according to the usual ceremonies of gown (which was of white damask), cap, ring, kiss, &c. Next followed the disputations of the Inceptor-Doctors in Medicine, the speech of their Professor, Dr. Hyde, and so in course their respective creations. Then disputed the Inceptors of Law, the speech of their Professor, and creation. Lastly, Inceptors of Theology: Dr. Compton (brother to the Earl of Northampton) being junior, began with great modesty and applause; so the rest. After which, Dr. Tillotson, Dr. Sprat, &c., and then Dr. Allestree's speech, the King's Professor, and their respective creations<sup>a</sup>. Last of all, the Vice-Chancellor, shutting up the whole in a panegyric oration, celebrating their benefactor and the rest, apposite to the occasion.

Thus was the Theatre dedicated by the scholastic exercises in all the Faculties with great solemnity; and the night, as the former, entertaining

<sup>a</sup> Thomas Hyde, D.D., Hebrew Reader, Keeper of the Bodleian Library, Prebend of Salisbury Cathedral, Regius Professor of Hebrew, and canon of Christchurch, Oxford; author of a Latin History of the Ancient Persians and Medes, and one of Walton's coadjutors in the great polyglot Bible. Born in 1638, and died in 1703.—Henry, son of Spencer Compton, Earl of Northampton, slain at the battle of Hopton Heath, commenced his career as a cornet of dragoons, but after a short time abandoned the army for the church, in which he raised himself by his talents to be Bishop of Oxford, and in 1675 was translated to the see of London. He was a zealous Protestant during the reign of James II, and not only was instrumental in bringing over William of Orange to this country, but placed the crown upon his head, on Archbishop Sancroft refusing to assist at the coronation. He wrote several works of a religious character, and a translation of the life of Donna Olympia Maldachina, from the Italian. He died in 1713.—Dr. Thomas Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, the biographer of Cowley, historian of the Royal Society, and author of sundry verses and sermons. Born in 1636, died 1713.—Richard Allestree was first designed for the church, but the Civil War forced him into the army. At the Restoration he returned to his original profession, in which he raised himself to considerable eminence. Born 1619, died 1680.



the new Doctor's friends in feasting and music. I was invited by Dr. Barlow, the worthy and learned Professor of Queen's College.

11th July. The Act sermon was this forenoon preached by Dr. Hall, in St. Mary's, in an honest practical discourse against Atheism. In the afternoon, the church was so crowded, that not coming early I could not approach to hear.

12th. Monday. Was held the Divinity Act in the Theatre again, when proceeded seventeen Doctors, in all Faculties some.

13th. I dined at the Vice-Chancellor's, and spent the afternoon in seeing the rarities of the public libraries, and visiting the noble marbles and inscriptions, now inserted in the walls that compass the area of the Theatre, which were 150 of the most ancient and worthy treasures of that kind in the learned world. Now, observing that people approach them too near, and some idle persons began to scratch and injure them, I advised that a hedge of holly should be planted at the foot of the wall, to be kept breast-high only to protect them; which the Vice-Chancellor promised to do the next season.

14th. Dr. Fell<sup>a</sup>, Dean of Christ-church and Vice-Chancellor, with Dr. Allestree, Professor, with beadles and maces before them, came to visit me at my lodging. I went to visit Lord Howard's sons at Magdalen College.

15th. Having two days before had notice that the University intended me the honour of Doctorship, I was this morning attended by the beadles belonging to the Law, who conducted me to the Theatre, where I found the Duke of Ormond (now Chancellor of the University) with the Earl of Chesterfield and Mr. Spencer (brother to the late Earl of Sunderland). Thence, we marched to the Convocation-House, a convocation having been called on purpose; here, being all of us robed in the porch, in scarlet with caps and hoods, we were led in by the Professor of Laws, and presented respectively by name, with a short eulogy, to the Vice-Chancellor, who sate in the chair, with all the Doctors and Heads of Houses and masters about the room, which was exceeding full. Then, began the Public Orator his speech, directed chiefly to the Duke of Ormond, the Chancellor; but in which I had my compliment, in course. This ended, we were called up, and created Doctors according to the form, and seated by the Vice-Chancellor amongst the Doctors, on his right hand; then, the Vice-Chancellor made a short speech, and so, saluting our brother Doctors, the pageantry concluded, and the convocation was dissolved. So formal a creation of honorary Doctors had seldom been seen, that a convocation should be called on purpose, and speeches made by the Orator; but they could do no less, their Chancellor being to receive, or rather do them, this honour. I should have been made Doctor with the rest at the public Act, but their expectation of their Chancellor made them defer it. I was then led with my brother Doctors to an extraordinary entertainment at Doctor Mewes', head of St. John's College, and, after abundance of feasting and compliments, having visited the Vice-Chancellor and other Doctors, and given them thanks for the honour done me, I went towards home the 16th, and got as far as Windsor, and so to my house the next day.

4th August. I was invited by Sir Henry Peckham to his reading-feast

<sup>a</sup> Afterwards Bishop of Oxford.

in the Middle Temple, a pompous entertainment, where were the Archbishop of Canterbury, all the great Earls and Lords, &c. I had much discourse with my Lord Winchelsea, a prodigious talker; and the Venetian Ambassador.

17th August. To London, spending almost the entire day in surveying what progress was made in re-building the ruinous City, which now began a little to revive after its sad calamity.

20th. I saw the splendid audience of the Danish Ambassador in the Banqueting-House at Whitehall.

23rd. I went to visit my most excellent and worthy neighbour, the Lord Bishop of Rochester, at Bromley, which he was now repairing, after the dilapidations of the late Rebellion.

2nd September. I was this day very ill of a pain in my limbs, which continued most of this week, and was increased by a visit I made to my old acquaintance, the Earl of Norwich, at his house in Epping Forest, where are many good pictures, put into the wainscot of the rooms, which Mr. Baker, his Lordship's predecessor there, brought out of Spain; especially the History of Joseph, a picture of the pious and learned Picus Mirandula, and an incomparable one of old Breugel. The gardens were well understood, I mean the *potager*. I returned late in the evening, ferrying over the water at Greenwich.

26th. To church, to give God thanks for my recovery.

3rd October. I received the Blessed Eucharist, to my unspeakable joy.

21st. To the Royal Society, meeting for the first time after a long recess, during vacation, according to custom; where was read a description of the prodigious eruption of Mount Etna; and our English itinerant presented an account of his autumnal peregrination about England, for which we hired him, bringing dried fowls, fish, plants, animals, &c.

26th. My dear brother continued extremely full of pain, the Lord be gracious to him!

3rd November. This being the day of meeting for the poor, we dined neighbourly together.

25th. I heard an excellent discourse by Dr. Patrick, on the Resurrection; and afterwards, visited the Countess of Kent, my kinswoman.

8th December. To London, upon the second edition of my *Sylva*, which I presented to the Royal Society.

1669-70. 6th February. Dr. John Breton, Master of Emmanuel College, in Cambridge (uncle to our vicar), preached on *John* i. 27; 'whose shoelatchet I am not worthy to unloose,' &c., describing the various fashions of shoes, or sandals, worn by the Jews, and other nations: of the ornaments of the feet: how great persons had servants that took them off when they came to their houses, and bare them after them: by which pointing the dignity of our Saviour, when such a person as St. John Baptist acknowledged his unworthiness even of that mean office. The lawfulness, decency, and necessity, of subordinate degrees and ranks of men and servants, as well in the Church as State: against the late levellers, and others of that dangerous rabble, who would have all alike.

3rd March. Finding my Brother [Richard] in such exceeding torture, and that he now began to fall into convulsion-fits, I solemnly set the next day apart to beg of God to mitigate his sufferings, and prosper the only means which yet remained for his recovery, he being not only much



wasted, but exceedingly and all along averse from being cut (for the stone); but, when he at last consented, and it came to the operation, and all things prepared, his spirit and resolution failed.

6th March. Dr. Patrick<sup>a</sup> preached in Covent Garden church. I participated of the Blessed Sacrament, recommending to God the deplorable condition of my dear brother, who was almost in the last agonies of death. I watched late with him this night. It pleased God to deliver him out of this miserable life, towards five o'clock this Monday morning, to my unspeakable grief. He was a brother whom I most dearly loved, for his many virtues; but two years younger than myself, a sober, prudent, worthy gentleman. He had married a great fortune, and left one only daughter, and a noble seat at Woodcot, near Epsom. His body was opened, and a stone taken out of his bladder, not much bigger than a nutmeg. I returned home on the 8th, full of sadness, and to bemoan my loss.

20th. A stranger preached at the Savoy French church; the Liturgy of the Church of England being now used altogether, as translated into French by Dr. Durell<sup>b</sup>.

21st. We all accompanied the corpse of my dear brother to Epsom church, where he was decently interred in the chapel belonging to Woodcot House. A great number of friends and gentlemen of the country attended, about twenty coaches and six horses, and innumerable people.

22nd. I went to Westminster, where in the House of Lords I saw his Majesty sit on his throne, but without his robes, all the peers sitting with their hats on; the business of the day being the divorce of my Lord Ross. Such an occasion and sight had not been seen in England since the time of Henry VIII<sup>c</sup>.

5th May. To London, concerning the office of Latin Secretary to his Majesty, a place of more honour and dignity than profit, the reversion of which he had promised me.

21st. Came to visit me Mr. Henry Saville, and Sir Charles Scarborough.

26th. Receiving a letter from Mr. Philip Howard, Lord Almoner to the Queen<sup>d</sup>, that Monsieur Evelin, first physician to Madame (who was now

<sup>a</sup> Simon Patrick, Prebendary of Westminster, Dean of Peterborough, Bishop of Chichester, thence removed to the see of Ely, and author of several religious works, in which he put himself forward as the champion of the Protestant party in the reign of James II. Born in 1626, died in 1707.

<sup>b</sup> John Durell, Dean of Windsor. He translated the Liturgy into the French and Latin languages, and was the author of a *Vindication of the Church of England against Schismatics*. Born 1626, died 1683.

<sup>c</sup> Evelyn subjoins in a note: 'When there was a project, 1669, for getting a divorce for the King, to facilitate it there was brought into the House of Lords a bill for dissolving the marriage of Lord Ross, on account of adultery, and to give him leave to marry again. This bill, after great debates, passed by the plurality of only two votes, and that by the great industry of the Lord's friends, as well as the Duke's enemies, who carried it on chiefly in hopes it might be a precedent and inducement for the King to enter the more easily into their late proposals: nor were they a little encouraged therein, when they saw the King countenance and drive on the Bill in Lord Ross's favour. Of eighteen Bishops that were in the House, only two voted for the bill, of which one voted through age, and one was reputed Socinian.'—The two bishops favourable to the bill were Dr. Cosin, Bishop of Durham, and Dr. Wilkins, Bishop of Chester.

<sup>d</sup> Afterwards created Cardinal.

come to Dover to visit the King her brother), was come to town, greatly desirous to see me ; but his stay so short, that he could not come to me, I went with my brother to meet him at the Tower, where he was seeing the magazines and other curiosities, having never before been in England : we renewed our alliance and friendship, with much regret on both sides that, he being to return towards Dover that evening, we could not enjoy one another any longer. How this French family, Ivelin, of Evelin, Normandy, a very ancient and noble house is grafted into our pedigree, see in the collection brought from Paris, 1650.

16th June. I went with some friends to the Bear Garden, where was cock-fighting, dog-fighting, bear and bull-baiting, it being a famous day for all these butcherly sports, or rather barbarous cruelties. The bulls did exceeding well, but the Irish wolf-dog exceeded, which was a tall greyhound, a stately creature indeed, who beat a cruel mastiff. One of the bulls tossed a dog full into a lady's lap as she sate in one of the boxes at a considerable height from the arena. Two poor dogs were killed, and so all ended with the ape on horseback, and I most heartily weary of the rude and dirty pastime, which I had not seen, I think, in twenty years before.

18th. Dined at Goring House, whither my Lord Arlington carried me from Whitehall, with the Marquis of Worcester ; there, we found Lord Sandwich, Viscount Stafford<sup>a</sup>, the Lieutenant of the Tower, and others. After dinner, my Lord communicated to me his Majesty's desire that I would engage to write the History of our late War with the Hollanders, which I had hitherto declined ; this I found was ill taken, and that I should disoblige his Majesty, who had made choice of me to do him this service, and, if I would undertake it, I should have all the assistance the Secretary's office and others could give me, with other encouragements, which I could not decently refuse.

Lord Stafford rose from table, in some disorder, because there were roses stuck about the fruit when the dessert was set on the table ; such an antipathy, it seems, he had to them as once Lady Selenger<sup>b</sup> also had, and to that degree that, as Sir Kenelm Digby tells us, laying but a rose upon her cheek when she was asleep, it raised a blister : but Sir Kenelm was a teller of strange things.

24th. Came the Earl of Huntingdon and Countess, with the Lord Sherard, to visit us.

29th. To London, in order to my niece's marriage, Mary, daughter to my late brother, Richard, of Woodcot, with the eldest son of Mr. Attorney Montague, which was celebrated at Southampton-House chapel, after which a magnificent entertainment, feast, and dancing, dinner and supper, in the great room there ; but the bride was bedded at my sister's lodging, in Drury-Lane.

6th July. Came to visit me Mr. Stanhope, Gentleman-Usher to her Majesty, and uncle to the Earl of Chesterfield, a very fine man, with my Lady Hutcheson.

19th. I accompanied my worthy friend, that excellent man, Sir Robert

<sup>a</sup> Sir William Howard, created in November, 1640, Viscount Stafford. In 1678 he was accused of complicity with the Popish Plot, and upon trial by his Peers in Westminster Hall, was found guilty, by a majority of twenty-four. He was beheaded, Dec. 29, 1680, on Tower Hill.

<sup>b</sup> St. Leger.



Murray, with Mr. Slingsby, Master of the Mint, to see the latter's Seat and estate at Burrow-Green, in Cambridgeshire, he desiring our advice for placing a new house, which he was resolved to build<sup>a</sup>. We set out in a coach and six horses with him and his lady, dined about midway at one Mr. Turner's, where we found a very noble dinner, venison, music, and a circle of country ladies and their gallants. After dinner, we proceeded, and came to Burrow-Green that night. This had been the ancient seat of the Cheekes (whose daughter Mr. Slingsby married), formerly tutor to King Henry VI. The old house large and ample, and built for ancient hospitality, ready to fall down with age, placed in a dirty hole, a stiff clay, no water, next an adjoining church-yard, and with other inconveniences. We pitched on a spot of rising ground, adorned with venerable woods, a dry and sweet prospect east and west, and fit for a park, but no running water; at a mile distant from the old house.

20th July. We went to dine at Lord Allington's<sup>b</sup>, who had newly built a house of great cost, I believe little less than £20,000<sup>c</sup>. His architect was Mr. Pratt. It is seated in a park, with a sweet prospect and stately avenue; but water still defective; the house has also its infirmities. Went back to Mr. Slingsby's.

22nd. We rode out to see the great mere, or level, of recovered fen land, not far off. In the way, we met Lord Arlington going to his house in Suffolk, accompanied with Count Ognati, the Spanish minister, and Sir Bernard Gascoigne; he was very importunate with me to go with him to Euston, being but fifteen miles distant; but, in regard of my company, I could not. So, passing through Newmarket, we alighted to see his Majesty's house there, now new-building; the arches of the cellars beneath are well turned by Mr. Samuel, the architect, the rest mean enough, and hardly fit for a hunting-house. Many of the rooms above had the chimneys in the angles and corners, a mode now introduced by his Majesty, which I do at no hand approve of. I predict it will spoil many noble houses and rooms, if followed. It does only well in very small and trifling rooms, but takes from the state of greater. Besides, this house is placed in a dirty street, without any court or avenue, like a common one, whereas it might, and ought to have been built at either end of the town, upon the very carpet where the sports are celebrated; but, it being the purchase of an old wretched house of my Lord Thomond's, his Majesty was persuaded to set it on that foundation, the most improper imaginable for a house of sport and pleasure<sup>d</sup>.

We went to see the stables and fine horses, of which many were here kept at a vast expense, with all the art and tenderness imaginable.

<sup>a</sup> It is probable that Slingsby did not build, and that after his misfortunes it was sold. Lysons tells us, in his *Magna Britannia*, that all which remains of an old brick mansion is now converted into a farm-house.

<sup>b</sup> Since Constable of the Tower. (Evelyn's Note.)

<sup>c</sup> At Horseheath. The Allingtons were seated here before 1239: Evelyn's friend, William, who built the house above referred to, had been created an Irish Peer by the title of Lord Allington. Lysons says the house cost 70,000*l.*, and with the estate was sold, in 1687, to Mr. John Bromley for 42,000*l.*, who expended 30,000*l.* more on the building. His grandson was created Lord Montford, in 1741. In 1776, the second Lord Montford sold the estate, the house being sold, in 1777, for the materials, to be pulled down. See *Lysons*, pp. 216, 217.

<sup>d</sup> Sold by the Crown in 1816,

Being arrived at some meres, we found Lord Wotton and Sir John Kiviet<sup>a</sup> about their draining-engines, having, it seems, undertaken to do wonders on a vast piece of marsh-ground they had hired of Sir Thomas Chicheley, (Master of the Ordnance). They much pleased themselves with the hopes of a rich harvest of hemp and cole-seed, which was the crop expected.

Here we visited the engines and mills both for wind and water, draining it through two rivers, or graffs, cut by hand, and capable of carrying considerable barges, which went thwart one the other, discharging the water into the sea. Such this spot had been the former winter; it was astonishing to see it now dry, and so rich that weeds grew on the banks, almost as high as a man and horse.\* Here, my Lord and his partner had built two or three rooms, with Flanders white bricks, very hard. One of the great engines was in the kitchen, where I saw the fish swim up, even to the very chimney-hearth, by a small cut through the room, and running within a foot of the very fire.

Having, after dinner, ridden about that vast level, pestered with heat and swarms of gnats, we returned over Newmarket Heath, the way being mostly a sweet turf and down, like Salisbury Plain, the jockeys breathing their fine barbs and racers, and giving them their heats.

23<sup>rd</sup> July. We returned from Burrow Green to London, staying some time at Audley End, to see that fine palace. It is indeed a cheerful piece of Gothic building, or rather *antico moderno*, but placed in an obscure bottom. The cellars and galleries are very stately. It has a river by it, a pretty avenue of limes, and in a park.

This is in Saffron Walden parish, famous for that useful plant, with which all the country is covered.

Dining at Bishop-Stortford, we came late to London.

5<sup>th</sup> August. There was sent me by a neighbour a servant-maid, who, in the last month, as she was sitting before her mistress at work, felt a stroke on her arm a little above the wrist for some height, the smart of which, as if struck by another hand, caused her to hold her arm awhile till somewhat mitigated; but it put her into a kind of convulsion, or rather hysteric fit. A gentleman coming casually in, looking on her arm, found that part powdered with red crosses, set in most exact and wonderful order, neither swelled nor depressed, about this shape,

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not seeming to be any way made by artifice, of a reddish colour, not so red as blood, the skin over them smooth, the rest of the arm livid and of a mortified hue, with certain prints as it were of the stroke of fingers. This had happened three several times in July, at about ten days' interval, the crosses beginning to wear out, but the successive ones set in other different, yet uniform order. The maid seemed very modest, and came from London to Deptford with her mistress, to avoid the discourse and importunity of

<sup>a</sup> *ante*, pp. 292, 293, 298.



curious people. She made no gain by it, pretended no religious fancies ; but seemed to be a plain, ordinary, silent, working wench, somewhat fat, short, and high-coloured. She told me divers divines and physicians had seen her, but were unsatisfied ; that she had taken some remedies against her fits, but they did her no good ; she had never before had any fits ; once since, she seemed in her sleep to hear one say to her that she should tamper no more with them, nor trouble herself with any thing that happened, but put her trust in the merits of Christ only.

This is the substance of what she told me, and what I saw and curiously examined. I was formerly acquainted with the impostorious nuns of Loudun, in France, which made such noise amongst the Papists ; I therefore thought this worth the notice. I remember Monsieur Monconys<sup>a</sup> (that curious traveller and a Roman Catholic) was by no means satisfied with the *stigmata* of those nuns, because they were so shy of letting him scrape the letters, which were Jesus, Maria, Joseph, (as I think,) observing they began to scale off with it, whereas this poor wench was willing to submit to any trial ; so that I profess I know not what to think of it, nor dare I pronounce it anything supernatural.

26th August. At Windsor I supped with the Duke of Monmouth ; and, the next day, invited by Lord Arlington, dined with the same Duke, and divers Lords. After dinner, my Lord and I had a conference of more than an hour alone in his bed-chamber, to engage me in the History. I showed him something that I had drawn up, to his great satisfaction, and he desired me to show it to the Treasurer.

28th. One of the Canons preached ; then followed the offering of the Knights of the Order, according to custom ; first the poor Knights, in procession, then, the Canons in their formalities, the Dean and Chancellor, then his Majesty (the Sovereign), the Duke of York, Prince Rupert ; and, lastly, the Earl of Oxford, being all the Knights that were then at Court.

I dined with the Treasurer, and consulted with him what pieces I was to add ; in the afternoon, the King took me aside into the balcony over the terrace, extremely pleased with what had been told him I had begun, in order to his commands, and enjoining me to proceed vigorously in it. He told me he had ordered the Secretaries of State to give me all necessary assistance of papers and particulars relating to it and enjoining me to make it a little *keen*, for that the Hollanders had very unhandsomely abused him in their pictures, books, and libels.

Windsor was now going to be repaired, being exceedingly ragged and ruinous. Prince Rupert, the Constable, had begun to trim up the keep or high round Tower, and handsomely adorned his hall with furniture of arms, which was very singular, by so disposing the pikes, muskets, pistols, bandoleers, holsters, drums, back, breast, and headpieces, as was very extraordinary. Thus, those huge steep stairs ascending to it had the walls invested with this martial furniture, all new and bright, so disposing the bandoleers, holsters, and drums, as to represent festoons, and that without any confusion, trophy-like. From the hall we went into his bed-chamber, and ample rooms hung with tapestry, curious and effeminate

<sup>a</sup> Balthasar de Monconys, a Frenchman, celebrated for his travels in the East, which he published in three volumes. His object was to discover vestiges of the philosophy of Trismegistus and Zoroaster ; in which, it is hardly necessary to add, he was not very successful.

pictures, so extremely different from the other, which presented nothing but war and horror.

The King passed most of his time in hunting the stag, and walking in the park, which he was now planting with rows of trees.

13th September. To visit Sir Richard Lashford, my kinsman, and Mr. Charles Howard, at his extraordinary garden, at Deepden.

15th. I went to visit Mr. Arthur Onslow, at West Clandon, a pretty dry seat on the Downs, where we dined in his great room.

17th. To visit Mr. Hussey<sup>a</sup>, who, being near Wotton, lives in a sweet valley, deliciously watered.

23rd. To Albury, to see how that garden proceeded, which I found exactly done to the design and plot I had made, with the crypta through the mountain in the park, thirty perches in length. Such a Pausilippe<sup>b</sup> is nowhere in England. The canal was now digging, and the vineyard planted.

14th October. I spent the whole afternoon in private with the Treasurer, who put into my hands those secret pieces and transactions concerning the Dutch war, and particularly the expedition of Bergen, in which he had himself the chief part, and gave me instructions, till the King arriving from Newmarket, we both went up into his bed-chamber.

21st. Dined with the Treasurer; and, after dinner, we were shut up together. I received other [further] advices, and ten paper-books of despatches and treaties; to return which again I gave a note under my hand to Mr. Joseph Williamson, Master of the Paper-office.

31st. I was this morning fifty years of age; the Lord teach me to number my days so as to apply them to his glory! Amen.

4th November. Saw the Prince of Orange, newly come to see the King, his uncle; he has a manly, courageous, wise countenance, resembling his mother and the Duke of Gloucester, both deceased.

I now also saw that famous beauty, but in my opinion of a childish, simple, and baby face, Mademoiselle Querouaille<sup>c</sup>, lately Maid of Honour to Madame, and now to be so to the Queen.

23rd. Dined with the Earl of Arlington, where was the Venetian Ambassador, of whom I now took solemn leave, now on his return. There were also Lords Howard, Wharton, Windsor, and divers other great persons.

24th. I dined with the Treasurer, where was the Earl of Rochester, a very profane wit.

15th December. It was the thickest and darkest fog on the Thames that was ever known in the memory of man, and I happened to be in the very midst of it. I supped with Monsieur Zulestein, late Governor to the late Prince of Orange.

1670-1. 10th January. Mr. Bohun, my son's tutor, had been five years

<sup>a</sup> At Sutton in Shere.

<sup>b</sup> A word adopted by Evelyn for a subterranean passage, from the famous grot of Pausilippo, at Naples.

<sup>c</sup> Henrietta, the King's sister, married to Philip, Duke of Orleans, was then on a visit here. Madame Querouaille came over in her train, on purpose to entice Charles into an union with Louis XIV; a design which unhappily succeeded but too well. She became the King's mistress, was made Duchess of Portsmouth, and was his favourite till his death.



in my house, and now Bachelor of Laws, and Fellow of New College, went from me to Oxford to reside there, having well and faithfully performed his charge.

18th January. This day, I first acquainted his Majesty with that incomparable young man, Gibbon<sup>a</sup>, whom I had lately met with in an obscure place by mere accident, as I was walking near a poor solitary thatched house in a field in our parish, near Sayes Court. I found him shut in; but looking in at the window, I perceived him carving that large cartoon, or crucifix, of Tintoretto, a copy of which I had myself brought from Venice, where the original painting remains. I asked if I might enter; he opened the door civilly to me, and I saw him about such a work as for the curiosity of handling, drawing, and studious exactness, I never had before seen in all my travels. I questioned him why he worked in such an obscure and lonesome place; he told me it was that he might apply himself to his

<sup>a</sup> Better known by the name of Grinling Gibbons; celebrated for his exquisite carving. Some of his most astonishing work is at Chatsworth and at Petworth. Walpole in his *Catalogue of Painters*, thus speaks of him (and see Cunningham's *Lives of Sculptors*, iii. 1-16).

'Grinling Gibbon. An original genius, a citizen of nature. There is no instance before him of a man who gave to wood the loose and airy lightness of flowers, and chained together the various productions of the elements with the free disorder natural to each species. It is uncertain whether he was born in Holland, or in England; it is said that he lived in Bell-Savage Court, Ludgate Hill, and was employed by Betterton, in decorating the Theatre, in Dorset Gardens. He lived afterwards at Deptford in the same house with a musician, where the beneficent and curious Mr. Evelyn found and patronized both. This gentleman, Sir P. Lely, and Bap. May, who was something of an architect himself, recommended Gibbon to Charles II, who was too indolent to search for genius, and too indiscriminate in his bounty to confine it to merit; but was always pleased when it was brought home to him. He gave the artist a place in the Board of Works, and employed his hand on ornaments of most taste in his palaces, particularly at Windsor. Gibbon, in gratitude, made a present of his own bust in wood to Mr. Evelyn, who kept it at his house in Dover-street. The piece that had struck so good a judge was a large carving, in wood, of St. Stephen stoned, long preserved in the sculptor's own house, and afterwards purchased and placed by the Duke of Chandos at Cannons.'

Walpole is not quite correct, however, in such portions of this account as relate to Evelyn. Gibbon, when young, was found by Evelyn, in a small house at Deptford, working on that famous piece from Tintoret here said to represent the stoning of St. Stephen, and which seems, from Evelyn's account, to have been his first performance of consequence. But it must have been afterwards that he lived in Belle-Sauvage Yard, and that he worked on the Theatre in Dorset Gardens. Evelyn does not mention a musician, and says there was only an old woman with him in the house at Deptford. It was Evelyn who recommended him to the King, to May the architect, and to Sir Christopher Wren. Of the bust nothing is known at Wotton.

Subjoined is an original Letter, addressed by Grinling Gibbon to Evelyn:

Honred Sr I wold beg the faver wen you see Sr Joseff Williams [Williamson] again you wold be pleased to speack to him that hee wold get mee to Carve his Ladis sons hous my Lord Kildare for I onderstand it will [be] verry considerabell ar If you haen Acquaintans wich my Lord to speack to him his sealf and I shall for Ev're be obliaged to You I wold speack to Sir Josef my sealf but I know it would do better from you

Sr youre Most umbell Sarvant

Lond. 23 Mar. 1682.

G. GIBBON.

Upon receipt of this, Evelyn wrote to Lord Kildare, recommending Gibbon; and to Gibbon, enclosing the letter.

profession without interruption, and wondered not a little how I found him out. I asked if he was unwilling to be made known to some great man, for that I believed it might turn to his profit; he answered, he was yet but a beginner, but would not be sorry to sell off that piece; on demanding the price, he said £100. In good earnest, the very frame was worth the money, there being nothing in nature so tender and delicate as the flowers and festoons about it, and yet the work was very strong; in the piece was more than one hundred figures of men, &c. I found he was likewise musical, and very civil, sober, and discreet in his discourse. There was only an old woman in the house. So, desiring leave to visit him sometimes, I went away.

Of this young artist, together with my manner of finding him out, I acquainted the King, and begged that he would give me leave to bring him and his work to Whitehall, for that I would adventure my reputation with his Majesty that he had never seen anything approach it, and that he would be exceedingly pleased, and employ him. The King said he would himself go see him. This was the first notice his Majesty ever had of Mr. Gibbon.

20th January. The King came to me in the Queen's withdrawing-room from the circle of ladies, to talk with me as to what advance I had made in the Dutch History. I dined with the Treasurer, and afterwards we went to the Secretary's Office, where we conferred about divers particulars.

21st. I was directed to go to Sir George Downing, who having been a public minister in Holland, at the beginning of the war, was to give me light in some material passages.

This year the weather was so wet, stormy, and unseasonable, as had not been known in many years.

9th February. I saw the great ball danced by the Queen and distinguished ladies at Whitehall Theatre. Next day, was acted there the famous play, called *The Siege of Granada*, two days acted successively; there were indeed very glorious scenes and perspectives, the work of Mr. Streeter, who well understands it<sup>a</sup>.

19th. This day dined with me Mr. Surveyor, Dr. Christopher Wren, and Mr. Pepys, Clerk of the Acts, two extraordinary, ingenious, and knowing persons, and other friends. I carried them to see the piece of carving which I had recommended to the King.

25th. Came to visit me one of the Lords Commissioners of Scotland for the Union.

28th. The Treasurer acquainted me that his Majesty was graciously pleased to nominate me one of the Council of Foreign Plantations, and give me a salary of £500 per annum, to encourage me.

29th. I went to thank the Treasurer, who was my great friend, and loved me; I dined with him and much company, and went thence to my Lord Arlington, Secretary of State, in whose favour I likewise was upon many occasions, though I cultivated neither of their friendships by any mean submissions. I kissed his Majesty's hand, on his making me one of that new-established Council.

<sup>a</sup> Evelyn here refers to Dryden's *Conquest of Granada*. Robert Streeter, an artist held in much esteem at this period, and enjoying the post of Serjeant Painter to the King, who was very fond of him, died in 1680. He is often mentioned by Evelyn.



*1st March.* I caused Mr. Gibbon to bring to Whitehall his excellent piece of carving, where being come, I advertised his Majesty, who asked me where it was ; I told him in Sir Richard Browne's (my father-in-law) chamber, and that if it pleased his Majesty to appoint whither it should be brought, being large and though of wood heavy, I would take care for it. 'No,' says the King, 'show me the way, I'll go to Sir Richard's chamber,' which he immediately did, walking along the entries after me ; as far as the ewry, till he came up into the room, where I also lay. No sooner was he entered and cast his eye on the work, but he was astonished at the curiosity of it ; and having considered it a long time, and discoursed with Mr. Gibbon, whom I brought to kiss his hand, he commanded it should be immediately carried to the Queen's side to show her. It was carried up into her bed-chamber, where she and the King looked on and admired it again ; the King, being called away, left us with the Queen, believing she would have bought it, it being a crucifix ; but, when his Majesty was gone, a French peddling woman, one Madame de Boord, who used to bring petticoats and fans, and baubles, out of France to the ladies, began to find fault with several things in the work, which she understood no more than an ass, or a monkey, so as in a kind of indignation, I caused the person who brought it to carry it back to the chamber, finding the Queen so much governed by an ignorant Frenchwoman, and this incomparable artist had his labour only for his pains, which not a little displeased me ; and he was fain to send it down to his cottage again ; he not long after sold it for 80*l.*, though well worth 100*l.*, without the frame, to Sir George Viner.

His Majesty's Surveyor, Mr. Wren, faithfully promised me to employ him<sup>a</sup>. I having also bespoke his Majesty for his work at Windsor, which my friend, Mr. May, the architect there, was going to alter, and repair universally ; for, on the next day, I had a fair opportunity of talking to his Majesty about it, in the lobby next the Queen's side, where I presented him with some sheets of my history. I thence walked with him through St. James's Park to the garden, where I both saw and heard a very familiar discourse between . . . and Mrs. Nelly<sup>b</sup>, as they called an impudent comedian, she looking out of her garden on a terrace at the top of the wall, and . . . standing on the green walk under it. I was heartily sorry at this scene. Thence the King walked to the Duchess of Cleveland, another lady of pleasure, and curse of our nation.

*5th.* I dined at Greenwich, to take leave of Sir Thomas Linch, going Governor of Jamaica.

*10th.* To London, about passing my patent as one of the standing Council for Plantations, a considerable honour, the others in the Council being chiefly noblemen and officers of state.

*2nd April.* To Sir Thomas Clifford, the Treasurer, to condole with him on the loss of his eldest son, who died at Florence.

*2nd May.* The French King, being now with a great army of 28,000 men about Dunkirk, divers of the grandees of that Court, and a vast number of gentlemen and cadets, in fantastical habits, came flocking over

<sup>a</sup> The carving in the Choir, &c., of St. Paul's Cathedral was executed by Gibbon.

<sup>b</sup> Nell Gwynne : there can be no doubt as to the name with which we are to fill up these blanks. This familiar interview of Nelly and the King has afforded a subject for painters.

to see our Court, and compliment his Majesty. I was present, when they first were conducted into the Queen's withdrawing-room, where saluted their Majesties the Dukes of Guise, Longueville, and many others of the first rank.

10th May. Dined at Mr. Treasurer's<sup>a</sup>, in company with Monsieur De Grammont and several French noblemen, and one Blood, that impudent bold fellow who had not long before attempted to steal the imperial crown itself out of the Tower, pretending only curiosity of seeing the regalia there, when stabbing the keeper, though not mortally, he boldly went away with it through all the guards, taken only by the accident of his horse falling down. How he came to be pardoned, and even received into favour, not only after this, but several other exploits almost as daring both in Ireland and here, I could never come to understand. Some believed he became a spy of several parties, being well with the Sectaries and Enthusiasts, and did his Majesty services that way, which none alive could do so well as he; but it was certainly the boldest attempt, so the only treason of this sort that was ever pardoned. This man had not only a daring but a villainous unmerciful look, a false countenance, but very well-spoken, and dangerously insinuating.

11th. I went to Eltham, to sit as one of the Commissioners about the Subsidy now given by Parliament to his Majesty.

17th. Dined at Mr. Treasurer's [Sir Thomas Clifford] with the Earl of Arlington, Carlingford, Lord Arundel of Wardour, Lord Almoner to the Queen, a French Count and two abbots, with several more of French nobility; and now by something I had lately observed of Mr. Treasurer's conversation on occasion, I suspected him a little warping to Rome.

25th. I dined at a feast made for me and my wife by the Trinity Company, for our passing a fine of the land which Sir R. Browne, my wife's father, freely gave to found and build their college, or Alms-houses on, at Deptford, it being my wife's after her father's decease. It was a good and charitable work and gift, but would have been better bestowed on the poor of that parish, than on the seamen's widows, the Trinity Company being very rich, and the rest of the poor of the parish exceedingly indigent.

26th. The Earl of Bristol's house in Queen's Street [Lincoln's Inn Fields] was taken for the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, and furnished with rich hangings of the King's. It consisted of seven rooms on a floor, with a long gallery, gardens, &c. This day we met; the Duke of Buckingham, Earl of Lauderdale, Lord Culpeper, Sir George Carteret, Vice-Chamberlain, and myself, had the oaths given us by the Earl of Sandwich, our President. It was to advise and counsel his Majesty, to the best of our abilities, for the well-governing of his Foreign Plantations, &c., the form very little differing from that given to the Privy Council.

<sup>a</sup> This entry of 10th May, 1671, so far as it relates to Blood, and the stealing of the crown, &c., is a mistake. Blood stole the crown on the 9th of May, 1671—the very day before; and the 'not long before' of Evelyn, and the circumstance of his being 'pardoned', which Evelyn also mentions, can hardly be said to relate to only the day before. This is another of the passages to which frequent reference has been made, and which are explained in the advertisement to the present edition of the Diary. The Monsieur de Grammont, who was one of the party at the Treasurer's, was Philebert, Comte de Grammont, so well known by the Memoirs he dictated to his brother-in-law, Anthony, Count Hamilton. He died in 1707.



We then took our places at the Board in the Council-Chamber, a very large room furnished with altases, maps, charts, globes, &c. Then came the Lord Keeper, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, Earl of Arlington, Secretary of State, Lord Ashley, Mr. Treasurer, Sir John Trevor, the other Secretary, Sir John Duncomb, Lord Allington, Mr. Grey, son to the Lord Grey, Mr. Henry Broncher, Sir Humphrey Winch, Sir John Finch, Mr. Waller, and Colonel Titus, of the Bed-chamber<sup>a</sup>, with Mr. Slingsby, Secretary to the Council, and two Clerks of the Council, who had all been sworn some days before. Being all set, our Patent was read, and then the additional Patent, in which was recited this new establishment ; then, was delivered to each a copy of the Patent, and of instructions : after which, we proceeded to business.

The first thing we did was, to settle the form of a circular letter to the Governors of all his Majesty's Plantations and Territories in the West Indies and Islands thereof, to give them notice to whom they should apply themselves on all occasions, and to render us an account of their present state and government ; but, what we most insisted on was, to know the condition of New England, which appearing to be very independent as to their regard to Old England, or his Majesty, rich and strong as they now were, there were great debates in what style to write to them ; for the condition of that Colony was such, that they were able to contest with all other Plantations about them, and there was fear of their breaking from all dependence on this nation ; his Majesty, therefore, commended this affair more expressly. We, therefore, thought fit, in the first place, to acquaint ourselves as well as we could of the state of that place, by some whom we heard of that were newly come from thence, and to be informed of their present posture and condition ; some of our Council were for sending them a menacing letter, which those who better understood the peevish and touchy humour of that Colony, were utterly against.

A letter was then read from Sir Thomas Modiford, Governor of Jamaica ; and then the Council brake up.

Having brought an action against one Cocke, for money which he had received for me, it had been referred to an arbitration by the recommendation of that excellent good man, the Chief Justice Hales<sup>b</sup> ; but, this not succeeding, I went to advise with that famous lawyer, Mr. Jones, of Gray's Inn, and, 27th May, had a trial before Lord Chief Justice Hales ; and, after the lawyers had wrangled sufficiently, it was referred to a new arbitration. This was the very first suit at law that ever I had with any creature, and oh, that it might be the last !

1st June. An installation at Windsor.

6th. I went to Council, where was produced a most exact and ample information of the state of Jamaica, and of the best expedients as to New England, on which there was a long debate ; but at length it was concluded that, if any, it should be only a conciliating paper at first, or civil letter, till we had better information of the present face of things, since we under-

<sup>a</sup> Silas Titus, author of *Killing no Murder*.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Matthew Hale, so famous as one of the justices of the bench in Cromwell's time. After the Restoration, he became Chief Baron of the Exchequer ; then Chief Justice of the King's Bench ; and died in 1676. The author of numerous works, not only on professional subjects, but on mathematics and philosophy.

stood they were a people almost upon the very brink of renouncing any dependence on the Crown.

*19th June.* To a splendid dinner at the great room in Deptford Trinity House, Sir Thomas Allen chosen Master, and succeeding the Earl of Craven.

*20th.* To carry Colonel Middleton<sup>a</sup> to Whitehall, to my Lord Sandwich, our President, for some information which he was able to give of the state of the Colony in New England.

*21st.* To Council again, when one Colonel Cartwright, a Nottinghamshire man, (formerly in commission with Colonel Nicholls) gave us a considerable relation of that country ; on which the Council concluded that in the first place a letter of amnesty should be despatched.

*24th.* Constantine Huygens, Seigneur of Zuylichem, that excellent learned man, poet, and musician, now near eighty years of age, a vigorous brisk man<sup>b</sup>, came to take leave of me before his return into Holland with the Prince, whose Secretary he was.

*26th.* To Council, where Lord Arlington acquainted us, that it was his Majesty's proposal we should, every one of us, contribute £20 towards building a Council-chamber and conveniences somewhere in Whitehall, that his Majesty might come and sit amongst us, and hear our debates ; the money we laid out to be reimbursed out of the contingent monies already set apart for us, viz. £1000 yearly. To this we unanimously consented. There came an uncertain bruit from Barbadoes of some disorder there. On my return home I stepped in at the theatre to see the new machines for the intended scenes, which were indeed very costly and magnificent.

*29th.* To Council, where were letters from Sir Thomas Modiford, of the expedition and exploit of Colonel Morgan, and others of Jamaica, on the Spanish Continent at Panama.

*4th July.* To Council, where we drew up and agreed to a letter to be sent to New England, and made some proposal to Mr. Gorges, for his interest in a plantation there.

*24th.* To Council. Mr. Surveyor brought us a plot for the building of our Council-chamber, to be erected at the end of the Privy-garden, in Whitehall.

*3rd August.* A full appearance at the Council. The matter in debate was, whether we should send a deputy to New England, requiring them of the Massachusetts to restore such to their limits and respective possessions, as had petitioned the Council ; this to be the open commission only ; but, in truth, with secret instructions to inform us of the condition of those Colonies, and whether they were of such power, as to be able to resist his Majesty and declare for themselves as independent of the Crown, which we were told, and which of late years made them refractory. Colonel Middleton,

<sup>a</sup> A coadjutor of Pepys at the Navy Board, and by him styled ' a most honest and understanding man.'

<sup>b</sup> He died in 1687, at the great age of 90 years and 6 months. Constantine and his son, Christian Huygens, were both eminent for scientific knowledge and classical attainments ; Christian particularly so ; for he was the inventor of the pendulum, made an improvement in the air-pump, first discovered the ring and one of the satellites of Saturn, and ascertained the laws of collision of elastic bodies. He died in 1695. Constantine, the father, was a person of influence and distinction in Holland, and held the post of Secretary to the Prince of Orange.



being called in, assured us they might be curbed by a few of his Majesty's first-rate frigates, to spoil their trade with the islands; but, though my Lord President was not satisfied, the rest were, and we did resolve to advise his Majesty to send Commissioners with a formal commission for adjusting boundaries, &c., with some other instructions.

*19th August.* To Council. The letters of Sir Thomas Modiford were read, giving relation of the exploit at Panama, which was very brave; they took, burnt, and pillaged the town of vast treasures, but the best of the booty had been shipped off, and lay at anchor in the South Sea, so that, after our men had ranged the country sixty miles about, they went back to Nombre de Dios, and embarked for Jamaica. Such an action had not been done since the famous Drake.

I dined at the Hamburgh Resident's, and, after dinner, went to the christening of Sir Samuel Tuke's son, Charles, at Somerset-House, by a Popish priest, and many odd ceremonies. The godfathers were the King, and Lord Arundel of Wardour, and godmother, the Countess of Huntingdon.

*29th.* To London, with some more papers of my progress in the Dutch War, delivered to the Treasurer.

*September 1st.* Dined with the Treasurer, in company with my Lord Arlington, Halifax, and Sir Thomas Strickland<sup>a</sup>; and, next day, went home, being the anniversary of the late dreadful fire of London.

*13th.* This night fell a dreadful tempest.

*15th.* In the afternoon at Council, where letters were read from Sir Charles Wheeler, concerning his resigning his government of St. Christopher's.

*21st.* I dined in the City, at the fraternity feast in Ironmongers' Hall<sup>b</sup>, where the four stewards chose their successors for the next year, with a solemn procession, garlands about their heads, and music playing before them; so, coming up to the upper tables where the gentlemen sat, they drank to the new stewards; and so we parted.

*22nd.* I dined at the Treasurer's, where I had discourse with Sir Henry Jones (now come over to raise a regiment of horse), concerning the French conquests in Lorraine; he told me the king sold all things to the soldiers, even to a handful of hay.

Lord Sunderland was now nominated Ambassador to Spain.

After dinner, the Treasurer carried me to Lincoln's Inn, to one of the Parliament Clerks, to obtain of him, that I might carry home and peruse, some of the Journals, which were accordingly delivered to me to examine about the late Dutch War. Returning home, I went on shore to see the Custom-House, now newly rebuilt since the dreadful conflagration<sup>c</sup>.

*9th and 10th October.* I went, after evening-service, to London, in order to a journey of refreshment with Mr. Treasurer, to Newmarket, where the King then was, in his coach with six brave horses, which we changed thrice,

<sup>a</sup> Made a baronet by Charles I on the field at Edgehill, where he commanded a regiment of infantry. After the Restoration he was member for the county of Westmoreland, and Privy Purse to Charles II. He was subsequently one of James II's Privy Council, and followed him into France, where he died in 1694.

<sup>b</sup> One of the grand court-days of that opulent Company, which is one of *twelve*.

<sup>c</sup> This new edifice was again destroyed by fire in 1718, and again rebuilt, was a third time destroyed by fire in February 1814.

first, at Bishop-Stortford, and last, at Chesterford ; so, by night, we got to Newmarket, where Mr. Henry Jermain (nephew to the Earl of St. Alban's) lodged me very civilly. We proceeded immediately to Court, the King and all the English gallants being there at their autumnal sports. Supped at the Lord Chamberlain's ; and, the next day, after dinner, I was on the heath, where I saw the great match run between Woodcock and Flatfoot, belonging to the King, and to Mr. Eliot, of the Bed-Chamber, many thousands being spectators ; a more signal race had not been run for many years.

This over, I went that night with Mr. Treasurer to Euston, a palace of Lord Arlington's, where we found Monsieur Colbert (the French Ambassador), and the famous new French Maid of Honour, Mademoiselle Querouaille, now coming to be in great favour with the King. Here was also the Countess of Sunderland, and several lords and ladies, who lodged in the house.

During my stay here with Lord Arlington, near a fortnight, his Majesty came almost every second day with the Duke, who commonly returned to Newmarket, but the King often lay here, during which time I had twice the honour to sit at dinner with him, with all freedom. It was universally reported that the fair lady — was bedded one of these nights, and the stocking flung, after the manner of a married bride ; I acknowledge she was for the most part in her undress all day, and that there was fondness and toying with that young wanton ; nay, it was said, I was at the former ceremony ; but it is utterly false ; I neither saw nor heard of any such thing whilst I was there, though I had been in her chamber, and all over that apartment late enough, and was myself observing all passages with much curiosity. However, it was with confidence believed she was first made *a Miss*, as they call these unhappy creatures, with solemnity at this time.

On Sunday, a young Cambridge Divine preached an excellent sermon in the chapel, the King and the Duke of York being present.

*16th October.* Came all the great men from Newmarket, and other parts both of Suffolk and Norfolk, to make their court, the whole house filled from one end to the other with lords, ladies, and gallants ; there was such a furnished table, as I had seldom seen, nor anything more splendid and free, so that for fifteen days there were entertained at least 200 people, and half as many horses, besides servants and guards, at infinite expense.

In the morning, we went hunting and hawking ; in the afternoon, till almost morning, to cards and dice, yet I must say without noise, swearing, quarrel, or confusion of any sort. I, who was no gamester, had often discourse with the French Ambassador, Colbert, and went sometimes abroad on horseback with the ladies to take the air, and now and then to hunting ; thus idly passing the time, but not without more often recess to my pretty apartment, where I was quite out of all this hurry, and had leisure when I would, to converse with books, for there is no man more hospitably easy to be withal than my Lord Arlington, of whose particular friendship and kindness I had ever a more than ordinary share. His house is a very noble pile, consisting of four pavilions after the French, beside a body of a large house, and, though not built altogether, but formed of additions to an old house (purchased by his Lordship of one Sir T. Rookwood) yet with a vast expense made not only capable and roomsome, but very mag-



nificent and commodious, as well within as without, nor less splendidly furnished. The staircase is very elegant, the garden handsome, the canal beautiful, but the soil dry, barren, and miserably sandy, which flies in drifts as the wind sits. Here my Lord was pleased to advise with me about ordering his plantations of firs, elms, limes, &c., up his park, and in all other places and avenues. I persuaded him to bring his park so near as to comprehend his house within it; which he resolved upon, it being now near a mile to it. The water furnishing the fountains, is raised by a pretty engine, on very slight plain wheels, which likewise serve to grind his corn, from a small cascade of the canal, the invention of Sir Samuel Morland. In my Lord's house, and especially above the staircase, in the great hall and some of the chambers and rooms of state, are paintings in fresco by Signor Verrio, being the first work which he did in England.

17th October. My Lord Henry Howard coming this night to visit my Lord Chamberlain, and staying a day, would needs have me go with him to Norwich, promising to convey me back, after a day or two; this, as I could not refuse, I was not hard to be persuaded to, having a desire to see that famous scholar and physician, Dr. T. Browne, author of the *Religio Medici* and *Vulgar Errors*, now lately knighted<sup>a</sup>. Thither, then, went my Lord and I alone, in his flying chariot with six horses; and, by the way, discoursing with me of several of his concerns, he acquainted me of his going to marry his eldest son to one of the King's natural daughters by the Duchess of Cleveland; by which he reckoned he should come into mighty favour. He also told me that, though he kept that idle creature, Mrs. B——, and would leave £200 a year to the son he had by her, he would never marry her<sup>b</sup>, and that the King himself had cautioned him against it. All the world knows how he kept his promise, and I was sorry at heart to hear what now he confessed to me; and that a person and a family which I so much honoured for the sake of that noble and illustrious friend of mine, his grandfather, should dishonour and pollute them both with those base and vicious courses he of late had taken since the death of Sir Samuel Tuke, and that of his own virtuous lady (my Lady Anne Somerset, sister to the Marquis); who, whilst they lived, preserved this gentleman by their example and advice from those many extravagances that impaired both his fortune and reputation.

Being come to the Ducal Palace, my Lord made very much of me; but I had little rest, so exceedingly desirous he was to show me the contrivance he had made for the entertainment of their Majesties, and the whole Court not long before, and which, though much of it was but temporary, apparently framed of boards only, was yet standing. As to the palace, it is an old wretched building, and that part of it newly built of brick, is very ill understood; so as I was of opinion it had been much better to have demolished all, and set it up in a better place, than to

<sup>a</sup> Beside the work mentioned by Evelyn, Sir Thomas Browne was the author of the famous treatise on *Urn Burial* and *The Garden of Cyrus*. He was born in 1605, and died in 1682.

<sup>b</sup> For the manner in which my Lord Howard, when Duke of Norfolk, kept his word in the matter of Mrs. B[ickerton], see *post*, p. 360; also p. 362. Evelyn's own reference to the text is another of the many evidences to which the reader's attention has been drawn, that his book partakes more of the character of *Memoirs* than a *Diary*, in the strict sense of that word. This title, indeed, is often given to it by himself.

proceed any farther ; for it stands in the very market-place, and, though near a river, yet a very narrow muddy one, without any extent.

Next morning, I went to see Sir Thomas Browne (with whom I had some time corresponded by letter, though I had never seen him before) ; his whole house and garden being a paradise and cabinet of rarities, and that of the best collection, especially medals, books, plants, and natural things. Amongst other curiosities, Sir Thomas had a collection of the eggs of all the fowl and birds he could procure, that country (especially the promontory of Norfolk) being frequented, as he said, by several kinds which seldom or never go farther into the land, as cranes, storks, eagles, and variety of water-fowl. He led me to see all the remarkable places of this ancient city, being one of the largest, and certainly, after London, one of the noblest of England, for its venerable cathedral, number of stately churches, cleanness of the streets, and buildings of flint so exquisitely headed and squared, as I was much astonished at ; but he told me they had lost the art of squaring flints, in which they so much excelled, and of which the churches, best houses, and walls, are built. The Castle is an antique extent of ground, which now they call Marsfield, and would have been a fitting area to have placed the Ducal Palace in. The suburbs are large, the prospects sweet, with other amenities, not omitting the flower-gardens, in which all the inhabitants excel. The fabric of stuffs brings a vast trade to this populous town.

Being returned to my Lord's, who had been with me all this morning, he advised with me concerning a plot to rebuild his house, having already, as he said, erected a front next the street, and a left wing, and now resolving to set up another wing and pavilion next the garden, and to convert the bowling-green into stables. My advice was, to desist from all, and to meditate wholly on rebuilding a handsome palace at Arundel House, in the Strand, before he proceeded farther here, and then to place this in the Castle, that ground belonging to his Lordship.

I observed that most of the church-yards (though some of them large enough) were filled up with earth, or rather the congestion of dead bodies one upon another, for want of earth, even to the very top of the walls, and some above the walls, so as the churches seemed to be built in pits.

*18th October.* I returned to Euston, in Lord Henry Howard's coach, leaving him at Norwich, in company with a very ingenious gentleman, Mr. White, whose father and mother (daughter to the late Lord Treasurer Weston, Earl of Portland) I knew at Rome, where this gentleman was born, and where his parents lived and died with much reputation, during their banishment in our civil broils.

*21st.* Quitting Euston, I lodged this night at Newmarket, where I found the jolly blades racing, dancing, feasting, and revelling, more resembling a luxurious and abandoned rout, than a Christian Court. The Duke of Buckingham was now in mighty favour, and had with him that impudent woman, the Countess of Shrewsbury, with his band of fiddlers, &c.

Next morning, in company with Sir Bernard Gascoyne, and Lord Hawley, I came in the Treasurer's coach to Bishop-Stortford, where he gave us a noble supper. The following day, to London, and so home.

*14th November.* To Council, where Sir Charles Wheeler, late Governor of the Leeward Islands, having been complained of for many indiscreet managements, it was resolved, on scanning many of the particulars, to



advise his Majesty to remove him ; and consult what was to be done, to prevent these inconveniences he had brought things to. This business staid me in London almost a week, being in Council, or Committee, every morning till the 25th.

27th November. We ordered that a proclamation should be presented to his Majesty to sign, against what Sir Charles Wheeler had done in St. Christopher's since the war, on the articles of peace at Breda. He was shortly afterwards recalled.

6th December. Came to visit me Sir William Haywood, a great pretender to English antiquities.

14th. Went to see the Duke of Buckingham's ridiculous farce and rhapsody, called *The Recital*<sup>a</sup>, buffooning all plays, yet profane enough.

23rd. The Councillors of the Board of Trade dined together at the Cock, in Suffolk Street.

1671-2. 12th January. His Majesty renewed us our lease of Sayes Court pastures for ninety-nine years, but ought, according to his solemn promise<sup>b</sup> (as I hope he will still perform), have passed them to us in fee-farm.

23rd. To London, in order to Sir Richard Browne, my father-in-law, resigning his place as Clerk of the Council to Joseph Williamson, Esq., who was admitted, and was knighted. This place his Majesty had promised to give me many years before ; but, upon consideration of the renewal of our lease and other reasons, I chose to part with it to Sir Joseph, who gave us and the rest of his brother-clerks a handsome supper at his house ; and, after supper, a concert of music.

3rd February. An extraordinary snow ; part of the week was taken up in consulting about the commission of prisoners of war, and instructions to our officers, in order to a second war with the Hollanders, his Majesty having made choice of the former Commissioners, and myself amongst them.

11th. In the afternoon, that famous proselyte, Monsieur Brevall, preached at the Abbey, in English, extremely well and with much eloquence. He had been a Capuchin, but much better learned than most of that Order.

12th. At the Council, we entered on enquiries about improving the Plantations by silks, galls, flax, senna, &c., and considered how nutmegs and cinnamon might be obtained, and brought to Jamaica, that soil and climate promising success. Dr. Worsley being called in, spake many considerable things to encourage it. We took order to send to the Plantations, that none of their ships should adventure homeward single, but stay for company and convoys. We also deliberated on some fit person to go as Commissioner to inspect their actions in New England, and, from time to time, report how that people stood affected.—In future, to meet at Whitehall.

20th. Dr. Parr, of Camberwell, preached a most pathetic funeral discourse and panegyric at the interment of our late pastor, Dr. Breton (who died on the 18th), on 'Happy is the servant whom when his Lord cometh' &c. This good man, among other expressions, professed that he had never been so touched and concerned at any loss as at this, unless at that of King Charles our Martyr, and Archbishop Usher, whose chaplain he

<sup>a</sup> The well-known play of *The Rehearsal* is meant.

<sup>b</sup> The King's engagement, under his hand, is now at Wotton.

had been. Dr. Breton had preached on the 28th and 30th of January : on the Friday, having fasted all day, making his provisionary sermon for the Sunday following, he went well to bed ; but was taken suddenly ill, and expired before help could come to him.

Never had a parish a greater loss, not only as he was an excellent preacher, and fitted for our great and vulgar auditory, but for his excellent life and charity, his meekness and obliging nature, industrious, helpful, and full of good works. He left near £400 to the poor in his will, and that what children of his should die in their minority, their portion should be so employed. I lost in particular a special friend, and one that had an extraordinary love to me and mine.

*25th February.* To London, to speak with the Bishop, and Sir John Cutler<sup>a</sup>, our patron, to present Mr. Frampton (afterwards Bishop of Gloucester).

*1st March.* A full Council of Plantations, on the danger of the Leeward Islands, threatened by the French, who had taken some of our ships, and began to interrupt our trade. Also in debate, whether the new Governor of St. Christopher's should be subordinate to the Governor of Barbadoes. The debate was serious and long.

*12th.* Now was the first blow given by us to the Dutch convoy of the Smyrna fleet, by Sir Robert Holmes and Lord Ossory, in which we received little save blows, and a worthy reproach for attacking our neighbours ere any war was proclaimed, and then pretending the occasion to be, that some time before, the Merlin yacht chancing to sail through the whole Dutch fleet, their Admiral did not strike to that trifling vessel. Surely, this was a quarrel slenderly grounded, and not becoming Christian neighbours. We are like to thrive, accordingly. Lord Ossory several times deplored to me his being engaged in it ; he had more justice and honour than in the least to approve of it, though he had been over-persuaded to the expedition. There is no doubt but we should have surprised this exceeding rich fleet, had not the avarice and ambition of Holmes and Spragge separated themselves, and wilfully divided our fleet, on presumption that either of them was strong enough to deal with the Dutch convoy without joining and mutual help ; but they so warmly plied our divided fleets, that whilst in conflict the merchants sailed away, and got safe into Holland.

A few days before this, the Treasurer of the Household, Sir Thomas Clifford<sup>b</sup>, hinted to me, as a confidant, that his Majesty would *shut up the*

<sup>a</sup> An eminent citizen of London, and member of the Grocers' Company, who have a statue of him in their hall. There is another in the College of Physicians. He is severely handled by Pope, as all poetical readers know, yet Pepys appears to have thought well of him.

<sup>b</sup> 'On the King's intention to have a Lord Treasurer (1672), instead of putting the Seals into Commission, the Duke of York desired Lord Arlington to join with him in proposing to the King the Lord Clifford for that considerable employment ; but he found Lord Arlington very cold in it, and endeavouring to persuade the Duke that the King did not intend the alteration ; and, the next day, he employed a friend to press the Duke to endeavour to get Sir Robert Car to be Commissioner, in the room of Lord Shaftesbury (then appointed Lord Chancellor).

Some few days after, the Duke proposed to his Majesty the Lord Clifford as Treasurer, which was well received, and he said he would do it, as thinking nobody fitter ; he also told the Duke that Lord Arlington had a mind to have that Staff, but he answered him that he had too much kindness for him to let him have it, for he knew he was not fit for the office ; and should he give it him, it would be his



*Exchequer* (and, accordingly, his Majesty made use of infinite treasure there, to prepare for an intended rupture); but, says he, it will soon be open again, and everybody satisfied; for this bold man, who had been the sole adviser of the King to invade that sacred stock (though some pretend it was Lord Ashley's counsel, then Chancellor of the Exchequer), was so over-confident of the success of this unworthy design against the Smyrna merchants, as to put his Majesty on an action which not only lost the hearts of his subjects, and ruined many widows and orphans, whose stocks were lent him, but the reputation of his Exchequer for ever, it being before in such credit, that he might have commanded half the wealth of the nation.

The credit of this bank being thus broken, did exceedingly discontent the people, and never did his Majesty's affairs prosper to any purpose after it, for as it did not supply the expense of the meditated war, so it melted away, I know not how.

To this succeeded the King's Declaration for an universal toleration; Papists, and swarms of Sectaries, now boldly showing themselves in their public meetings. This was imputed to the same council, Clifford warping to Rome as was believed, nor was Lord Arlington clear of suspicion, to gratify that party, but as since it has proved, and was then evidently foreseen, to the extreme weakening the Church of England and its Episcopal Government, as it was projected. I speak not this as my own sense, but what was the discourse and thoughts of others, who were lookers-on; for I think there might be some relaxations without the least prejudice to the present Establishment, discreetly limited, but to let go the reins in this manner, and then to imagine they could take them up again as easily, was a false policy, and greatly destructive. The truth is, our Bishops slipped the occasion; for, had they held a steady hand upon his Majesty's restoration, as they might easily have done, the Church of England had emerged and flourished, without interruption; but they were then remiss, and covetous after advantages of another kind, whilst his Majesty suffered them to come into a harvest, with which, without any injustice, he might have remunerated innumerable gallant gentlemen for their services, who had ruined themselves in the late rebellion<sup>a</sup>.

21st March. I visited the coasts in my district of Kent, and divers wounded and languishing poor men, that had been in the Smyrna conflict. I went over to see the new-begun Fort of Tilbury; a royal work, indeed,

ruin. A little after, the King told the Duke that he found Lord Arlington was angry with Lord Clifford, on knowing that he was to have the place; and desired the Duke to persuade Lord Arlington not to let the world see his discontent, and to endeavour to make them continue friends. They promised the Duke to live friendly together; but Lord Arlington kept not his word, and was ever after cold, if not worse, towards him.

'Christmas coming on, the King spake to Lord Clifford and Lord Arundel of Wardour, to persuade the Duke to receive the Sacrament with him at that time (which the Duke had forborne for several months before). They urged the King not to press it, and he then seemed satisfied: but the day before Christmas Eve, the King spoke again to Lord Clifford to represent to the Duke what he had before said, which the Lord Clifford did, but found the Duke was not to be moved in his resolution of not going against his conscience.'—*King James's Life, by himself*.

<sup>a</sup> Evelyn here alludes to the fines for renewals of leases not filled up during the interregnum, and now to be immediately applied for. Bishop Burnet says they were much misapplied. *Hist. of his own Times*, i, 304.

and such as will one day bridle a great city to the purpose, before they are aware.

*23rd March.* Captain Cox, one of the Commissioners of the Navy, furnishing me with a yacht, I sailed to Sheerness to see that fort also, now newly finished; several places on both sides the Swale and Medway to Gillingham and Upnore, being also provided with redoubts and batteries, to secure the station of our men-of-war at Chatham, and shut the door when the steeds were stolen.

*24th.* I saw the chirurgion cut off the leg of a wounded sailor, the stout and gallant man enduring it with incredible patience, without being bound to his chair, as usual on such painful occasions. I had hardly courage enough to be present. Not being cut off high enough, the gangrene prevailed, and the second operation cost the poor creature his life.

Lord! what miseries are mortal men subject to, and what confusion and mischief do the avarice, anger, and ambition of Princes, cause in the world!

*25th.* I proceeded to Canterbury, Dover, Deal, the Isle of Thanet, by Sandwich, and so to Margate. Here we had abundance of miserably wounded men, his Majesty sending his chief chirurgion, Sergeant Knight, to meet me, and Dr. Waldron had attended me all the journey. Having taken order for the accommodation of the wounded, I came back through a country the best cultivated of any that in my life I had anywhere seen, every field lying as even as a bowling-green, and the fences, plantations, and husbandry, in such admirable order, as infinitely delighted me, after the sad and afflicting spectacles and objects I was come from. Observing almost every tall tree to have a weathercock on the top bough, and some trees half-a-dozen, I learned that, on a certain holyday, the farmers feast their servants; at which solemnity, they set up these cocks, in a kind of triumph.

Being come back towards Rochester, I went to take order respecting the building a strong and high wall about a house I had hired of a gentleman, at a place called Hartlip, for a prison, paying £50 yearly rent. Here I settled a Provost-Marshal and other officers, returning by Feversham. On the 30th, heard a sermon in Rochester cathedral, and so got to Sayes Court on the first of April.

*4th April.* I went to see the fopperies of the Papists at Somerset-House and York-House, where now the French Ambassador had caused to be represented our Blessed Saviour at the Pascal Supper with his Disciples, in figures and puppets made as big as the life, of wax-work, curiously clad and sitting round a large table, the room nobly hung, and shining with innumerable lamps and candles: this was exposed to all the world; all the City came to see it. Such liberty had the Roman Catholics at this time obtained.

*16th.* Sat in Council, preparing Lord Willoughby's commission and instructions as Governor of Barbadoes and the Caribbee Islands.

*17th.* Sat on business in the Star Chamber.

*19th.* At Council, preparing instructions for Colonel Stapleton, now to go Governor of St. Christopher's; and heard the complaints of the Jamaica merchants against the Spaniards, for hindering them from cutting logwood on the main land, where they have no pretence.

*21st.* To my Lord of Canterbury, to entreat him to engage Sir John



Cutler, the patron, to provide us a grave and learned man, in opposition to a novice.

30th April. Congratulated Mr. Treasurer Clifford's new honour, being made a Baron.

2nd May. My son, John, was specially admitted of the Middle Temple by Sir Francis North, his Majesty's Solicitor-General, and since Chancellor. I pray God bless this beginning, my intention being that he should seriously apply himself to the study of the law.

10th. I was ordered, by letter from the Council, to repair forthwith to his Majesty, whom I found in the Pall-Mall, in St. James's Park, where his Majesty coming to me from the company, commanded me to go immediately to the sea-coast, and to observe the motion of the Dutch fleet and ours, the Duke and so many of the flower of our nation being now under sail, coming from Portsmouth, through the Downs, where it was believed there might be an encounter.

11th. Went to Chatham.—12th. Heard a sermon in Rochester Cathedral.

13th. To Canterbury; visited Dr. Bargrave<sup>a</sup>, my old fellow-traveller in Italy, and great virtuoso.

14th. To Dover; but the fleet did not appear till the 16th, when the Duke of York with his and the French squadron, in all 170 ships (of which above 100 were men-of-war), sailed by, after the Dutch, who were newly withdrawn. Such a gallant and formidable navy never, I think, spread sail upon the seas. It was a goodly yet terrible sight, to behold them as I did, passing eastward by the straits betwixt Dover and Calais in a glorious day. The wind was yet so high, that I could not well go aboard, and they were soon got out of sight. The next day, having visited our prisoners and the Castle, and saluted the Governor, I took horse for Margate. Here, from the North Foreland Lighthouse top (which is a Pharos, built of brick, and having on the top a cradle of iron, in which a man attends a great sea-coal fire all the year long, when the nights are dark, for the safeguard of sailors), we could see our fleet as they lay at anchor. The next morning, they weighed, and sailed out of sight of the N.E.

19th. Went to Margate; and, the following day, was carried to see a gallant widow, brought up a farmeress, and I think of gigantic race, rich, comely, and exceedingly industrious. She put me in mind of Deborah and Abigail, her house was so plentifully stored with all manner of country-provisions, all of her own growth, and all her conveniences so substantial, neat, and well understood; she herself so jolly and hospitable; and her land so trim and rarely husbanded, that it struck me with admiration at her economy.

This town much consists of brewers of a certain heady ale, and they deal much in malt, &c. For the rest, it is raggedly built, and has an ill haven, with a small fort of little concernment, nor is the island well disciplined; but as to the husbandry and rural part, far exceeding any part of England for the accurate culture of their ground, in which they exceed, even to curiosity and emulation.

We passed by Rickborough, and in sight of Reculvers, and so through a sweet garden, as it were, to Canterbury.

24th. To London, and gave his Majesty an account of my journey, and

<sup>a</sup> Dean of Canterbury, and a great benefactor to the Cathedral Library there. Todd, in his *Life of Milton*, furnishes some curious particulars concerning him.

that I had put all things in readiness upon all events, and so returned home sufficiently wearied.

31st May. I received another command to repair to the seaside ; so I went to Rochester, where I found many wounded, sick, and prisoners, newly put on shore after the engagement on the 28th, in which the Earl of Sandwich, that incomparable person and my particular friend, and divers more whom I loved, were lost. My Lord (who was Admiral of the Blue) was in the Prince, which was burnt, one of the best men-of-war that ever spread canvas on the sea. There were lost with this brave man, a son of Sir Charles Cotterell (Master of the Ceremonies), and a son of Sir Charles Harbord (his Majesty's Surveyor-General), two valiant and most accomplished youths, full of virtue and courage, who might have saved themselves ; but chose to perish with my Lord, whom they honoured and loved above their own lives.

Here, I cannot but make some reflections on things past. It was not above a day or two that going to Whitehall to take leave of his Lordship, who had his lodgings in the Privy-Garden, shaking me by the hand he bid me good-bye, and said he thought he should see me no more, and I saw, to my thinking, something boding in his countenance : ' No ', says he, ' they will not have me live. Had I lost a fleet (meaning on his return from Bergen when he took the East India prize) I should have fared better ; but, be as it pleases God—I must do something, I know not what, to save my reputation.' Something to this effect, he had hinted to me ; thus I took my leave. I well remember that the Duke of Albemarle, and my now Lord Clifford, had, I know not why, no great opinion of his courage, because, in former conflicts, being an able and experienced seaman (which neither of them were), he always brought off his Majesty's ships without loss, though not without as many marks of true courage as the stoutest of them ; and I am a witness that, in the late war, his own ship was pierced like a colander. But the business was, he was utterly against this war from the beginning, and abhorred the attacking of the Smyrna fleet ; he did not favour the heady expedition of Clifford at Bergen, nor was he so furious and confident as was the Duke of Albemarle, who believed he could vanquish the Hollanders with one squadron. My Lord Sandwich was prudent as well as valiant, and always governed his affairs with success and little loss ; he was for deliberation and reason, they for action and slaughter without either ; and for this, whispered as if my Lord Sandwich was not so gallant, because he was not so rash, and knew how fatal it was to lose a fleet, such as was that under his conduct, and for which these very persons would have censured him on the other side. This it was, I am confident, grieved him, and made him enter like a lion, and fight like one, too, in the midst of the hottest service, where the stoutest of the rest seeing him engaged, and so many ships upon him, durst not, or would not, come to his succour, as some of them, whom I know, might have done. Thus, this gallant person perished, to gratify the pride and envy of some I named.

Deplorable was the loss of one of the best accomplished persons, not only of this nation but of any other. He was learned in sea-affairs, in politics, in mathematics, and in music : he had been on divers embassies, was of a sweet and obliging temper, sober, chaste, very ingenious, a true nobleman, an ornament to the Court and his Prince ; nor has he left any behind him who approach his many virtues.



He had, I confess, served the tyrant Cromwell, when a young man, but it was without malice, as a soldier of fortune ; and he readily submitted, and that with joy, bringing an entire fleet with him from the Sound, at the first tidings of his Majesty's restoration. I verily believe him as faithful a subject as any that were not his friends. I am yet heartily grieved at this mighty loss, nor do I call it to my thoughts without emotion.

*2nd June.* Trinity-Sunday, I passed at Rochester ; and, on the 5th, there was buried in the Cathedral Monsieur Rabinière, Rear-Admiral of the French squadron, a gallant person, who died of the wounds he received in the fight. This ceremony lay on me, which I performed with all the decency I could, inviting the Mayor and Aldermen to come in their formalities. Sir Jonas Atkins was there with his guards ; and the Dean and Prebendaries : one of his countrymen pronouncing a funeral oration at the brink of his grave, which I caused to be dug in the choir. This is more at large described in the Gazette of that day ; Colonel Reymes, my colleague in commission, assisting, who was so kind as to accompany me from London, though it was not his district ; for indeed the stress of both these wars lay more on me by far than on any of my brethren, who had little to do in theirs.—I went to see Upnore Castle, which I found pretty well defended, but of no great moment.

Next day, I sailed to the fleet, now riding at the buoy of the Nore, where I met his Majesty, the Duke, Lord Arlington, and all the great men, in the Charles, lying miserably shattered ; but the loss of Lord Sandwich redoubled the loss to me, and showed the folly of hazarding so brave a fleet, and losing so many good men, for no provocation but that the Hollanders exceeded us in industry, and in all things but envy.

At Sheerness, I gave his Majesty and his Royal Highness an account of my charge, and returned to Queenborough ; next day, dined at Major Dorel's, Governor of Sheerness ; thence, to Rochester ; and the following day, home.

*12th.* To London to his Majesty, to solicit for money for the sick and wounded, which he promised me.

*19th.* To London again, to solicit the same.

*21st.* At a Council of Plantations. Most of this week busied with the sick and wounded.

*3rd July.* To Lord Sandwich's funeral, which was by water to Westminster, in solemn pomp.

*31st.* I entertained the Maids of Honour (among whom there was one I infinitely esteemed for her many and extraordinary virtues<sup>a</sup>) at a comedy this afternoon, and so went home.

*1st August.* I was at the marriage of Lord Arlington's only daughter (a sweet child if ever there was any<sup>b</sup>) to the Duke of Grafton, the King's natural son by the Duchess of Cleveland ; the Archbishop of Canterbury officiating, the King and all the grandees being present. I had a favour given me by my Lady ; but took no great joy at the thing for many reasons.

<sup>a</sup> Mrs. Blagg, whom Evelyn never tires of instancing and characterizing as a rare example of piety and virtue, in so rare a wit, beauty, and perfection, in a licentious court and depraved age. She was afterwards married to Mr. Godolphin, and her life, written by Evelyn, has been edited and published by the Bishop of Oxford.

<sup>b</sup> She was then only five years old.

18th August. Sir James Hayes, Secretary to Prince Rupert, dined with me: after dinner, I was sent for to Gravesend to dispose of no fewer than 800 sick men. That night, I got to the fleet at the buoy of the Nore, where I spake with the King and the Duke; and, after dinner next day, returned to Gravesend.

1st September. I spent this week in soliciting for moneys, and in reading to my Lord Clifford my papers relating to the first Holland war.—Now, our Council of Plantations met at Lord Shaftesbury's (Chancellor of the Exchequer) to read and reform the draught of our new Patent, joining the Council of Trade to our political capacities. After this, I returned home, in order to another excursion to the sea-side, to get as many as possible of the men who were recovered on board the fleet.

8th. I lay at Gravesend, thence to Rochester, returning on the 11th.

15th. Dr. Duport, Greek Professor of Cambridge, preached before the King on 1 *Timothy* vi. 6. No great preacher, but a very worthy and learned man.

25th. I dined at Lord John Berkeley's<sup>a</sup>, newly arrived out of Ireland, where he had been Deputy; it was in his new house<sup>b</sup>, or rather palace; for I am assured it stood him in near £30,000. It is very well built, and has many noble rooms, but they are not very convenient, consisting but of one *Corps de Logis*; they are all rooms of state, without closets. The staircase is of cedar, the furniture is princely: the kitchen and stables are ill-placed, and the corridor worse, having no report to the wings they join to. For the rest, the fore-court is noble, so are the stables; and, above all, the gardens, which are incomparable by reason of the inequality of the ground, and a pretty piscina. The holly hedges on the terrace I advised the planting of. The porticos are in imitation of a house described by Palladio; but it happens to be the worst of his book, though my good friend, Mr. Hugh May, his Lordship's architect, effected it.

26th. I carried with me to dinner my Lord H. Howard (now to be made Earl of Norwich and Earl Marshal of England) to Sir Robert Clayton's, now Sheriff of London, at his new house<sup>c</sup>, where we had a great feast; it is built indeed for a great magistrate, at excessive cost. The cedar dining-room is painted with the history of the Giants' War, incomparably done by Mr. Streeter<sup>d</sup>, but the figures are too near the eye.

6th October. Dr. Thistlethwait preached at Whitehall on *Rev.* v. 2,—a young, but good preacher. I received the blessed Communion, Dr. Blandford, Bishop of Worcester, and Dean of the Chapel, officiating.

<sup>a</sup> Lord Berkeley, of Stratton.

<sup>b</sup> Berkeley-House was burnt to the ground by accident. The site was on a farm called Hay-hill Farm, the names of which are preserved in Hay-street, Hill-street, and Farm-street. Devonshire House, Lansdowne House, Berkeley Square, &c., now occupy portions of the original estate.

<sup>c</sup> In the Old Jewry. Sir Robert built it to keep his shrievalty, which he did therein with great magnificence. Afterwards for some years it was the residence of Mr. Samuel Sharp, a famous surgeon in his time, and was then occupied (from 1806 to the close of the year 1811) by the London Institution, for their library and reading-rooms. This Institution, ultimately established by Charter, was finally settled in its present building on the north side of Moorfields, in 1818.

<sup>d</sup> Streeter's paintings have been long placed in the family seat of the Claytons, at Marden, near Godstone,<sup>1</sup>Surrey.



Dined at my Lord Clifford's, with Lord Mulgrave, Sir Gilbert Talbot, and Sir Robert Holmes.

8th October. I took leave of my Lady Sunderland, who was going to Paris to my Lord, now ambassador there. She made me stay dinner at Leicester-House<sup>a</sup>, and afterwards sent for Richardson, the famous fire-eater. He devoured brimstone on glowing coals before us, chewing and swallowing them; he melted a beer-glass and eat it quite up; then, taking a live coal on his tongue, he put on it a raw oyster, the coal was blown on with bellows till it flamed and sparkled in his mouth, and so remained till the oyster gaped and was quite boiled. Then, he melted pitch and wax with sulphur, which he drank down, as it flamed; I saw it flaming in his mouth, a good while; he also took up a thick piece of iron, such as laundresses use to put in their smoothing boxes, when it was fiery hot, held it between his teeth, then in his hand, and threw it about like a stone; but this I observed, he cared not to hold very long; then, he stood on a small pot; and, bending his body, took a glowing iron with his mouth from between his feet, without touching the pot, or ground, with his hands; with divers other prodigious feats.

13th. After sermon (being summoned before), I went to my Lord Keeper's, Sir Orlando Bridgeman, at Essex House<sup>b</sup>, where our new patent was opened and read, constituting us that were of the Council of Plantations, to be now of the Council of Trade also, both united. After the patent was read, we all took our oaths, and departed.

24th. Met in Council, the Earl of Shaftesbury, now our President, swearing our Secretary and his clerks, which was Mr. Locke<sup>c</sup>, an excellent learned gentleman, and student of Christ Church, Mr. Lloyd, and Mr. Frowde. We dispatched a letter to Sir Thomas Linch, Governor of Jamaica, giving him notice of a design of the Dutch on that island.

27th. I went to hear that famous preacher, Dr. Frampton, at St. Giles's, on *Psalms* xxxix. 6. This divine had been twice at Jerusalem, and was not only a very pious and holy man, but excellent in the pulpit for the moving affections.

8th November. At Council, we debated the business of the consulate of Leghorn. I was of the Committee with Sir Humphry Winch, the chairman, to examine the laws of his Majesty's several plantations and colonies in the West Indies, &c.

15th. Many merchants were summoned about the consulate of Venice; which caused great disputes; the most considerable thought it useless. This being the Queen-Consort's birth-day, there was an extraordinary appearance of gallantry, and a ball danced at Court.

30th. I was chosen Secretary to the Royal Society.

21st December. Settled the consulate of Venice.

1672-3. 1st January. After public prayers in the chapel at Whitehall,

<sup>a</sup> Then a handsome brick building, on the north side of Leicester-square, which many years later, in 1708, was occupied by the Imperial Ambassador, having been let to him by the Earl of Leicester.

<sup>b</sup> Which stood near St. Clement's Church in the Strand, and of which the site is still commemorated in Essex Street, Essex Place, Essex Court, and Devereux Court.

<sup>c</sup> The celebrated John Locke. When Lord Shaftesbury withdrew to Holland Locke followed him, for which he was deprived of his student's place by an order from the King.

when I gave God solemn thanks for all his mercies to me the year past, and my humble supplications to him for his blessing the year now entering, I returned home, having my poor deceased servant (Adams) to bury, who died of a pleurisy.

3rd January. My son now published his version of *Rapinus Hortorum*<sup>a</sup>.

28th. Visited Don Francisco de Melos, the Portugal Ambassador, who showed me his curious collection of books and pictures. He was a person of good parts, and a virtuous man.

6th February. To Council about reforming an abuse of the dyers with *saundus*, and other false drugs; examined divers of that trade.

23rd. The Bishop of Chichester<sup>b</sup> preached before the King on *Coloss.* ii. 14, 15, admirably well, as he can do nothing but what is well.

5th March. Our new vicar, Mr. Holden, preached in Whitehall chapel, on *Psalms* iv. 6, 7. This gentleman is a very excellent and universal scholar, a good and wise man; but he had not the popular way of preaching, nor is in any measure fit for our plain and vulgar auditory, as his predecessor was. There was, however, no comparison betwixt their parts for profound learning. But time and experience may form him to a more practical way than that he is in of University lectures and erudition; which is now universally left off for what is much more profitable.

15th. I heard the speech made to the Lords in their House by Sir Samuel Tuke, in behalf of the Papists, to take off the penal laws; and then dined with Colonel Norwood.

16th. Dr. Pearson, Bishop of Chester<sup>c</sup>, preached on *Hebrews* ix. 14; a most incomparable sermon from one of the most learned divines of our nation. I dined at my Lord Arlington's with the Duke and Duchess of Monmouth; she is one of the wisest and craftiest of her sex, and has much wit. Here was also the learned Isaac Vossius<sup>d</sup>.

During Lent, there is constantly the most excellent preaching by the most eminent bishops and divines of the nation.

26th. I was sworn a younger brother of the Trinity-House, with my most worthy and long acquainted noble friend, Lord Ossory (eldest son to the Duke of Ormond), Sir Richard Browne, my father-in-law, being now Master of that Society; after which there was a great collation.

29th. I carried my son to the Bishop of Chichester, that learned and pious man, Dr. Peter Gunning, to be instructed by him before he received the Holy Sacrament, when he gave him most excellent advice, which I pray God may influence and remain with him as long as he lives; and

<sup>a</sup> *Of Gardens. Four Books. First written in Latin verse, by Renatus Rapinus, and now made English.* By I. E. London, 1673. Dedicated to Henry, Earl of Arlington, &c. &c. &c. The Dedication is re-printed in Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings*, pp. 623-4.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. Peter Gunning, who held the Mastership of St. John's College, Cambridge, and afterwards the Bishopric of Ely. Burnet says of him that he was a man of great reading, a very honest, sincere man, but of no sound judgment. *Hist. of his own Times*, i., 297.

<sup>c</sup> Well known by his *Exposition of the Creed*.

<sup>d</sup> Born at Leyden, 1618. On coming to England, Charles II gave him a canonry at Windsor, and the University of Oxford conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws. It was said of him by the King, 'He is a strange man for a divine; there is nothing he refuses to believe, but the Bible.' He died in 1688.



O that I had been so blessed and instructed, when first I was admitted to that sacred ordinance !

30th *March*. Easter-Day. Myself and son received the blessed Communion, it being his first time, and with that whole week's more extraordinary preparation. I beseech God to make him a sincere good Christian, whilst I endeavour to instil into him the fear and love of God, and discharge the duty of a father.

At the sermon *coram Rege*, preached by Dr. Sparrow, Bishop of Exeter, to a most crowded auditory ; I staid to see whether, according to custom, the Duke of York received the Communion with the King ; but he did not, to the amazement of everybody. This being the second year he had forborne, and put it off, and within a day of the Parliament sitting, who had lately made so severe an Act against the increase of Popery, gave exceeding grief and scandal to the whole nation, that the heir of it, and the son of a martyr for the Protestant religion, should apostatize. What the consequence of this will be, God only knows, and wise men dread.

11th *April*. I dined with the plenipotentiaries designed for the treaty of Nimeguen.

17th. I carried Lady Tuke to thank the Countess of Arlington for speaking to his Majesty in her behalf, for being one of the Queen-Consort's women. She carried us up into her new dressing-room at Goring House, where was a bed, two glasses, silver jars, and vases, cabinets, and other so rich furniture as I had seldom seen ; to this excess of superfluity were we now arrived, and that not only at Court, but almost universally, even to wantonness and profusion.

Dr. Compton, brother to the Earl of Northampton, preached on 1 *Corinth*. v. 11—16, showing the Church's power in ordaining things indifferent ; this worthy person's talent is not preaching, but he is like to make a grave and serious good man<sup>a</sup>.

I saw her Majesty's rich toilet in her dressing-room, being all of massy gold, presented to her by the King, valued at £4000.

26th. Dr. Lamplugh preached at St. Martin's, the Holy Sacrament following, which I partook of, upon obligation of the late Act of Parliament, enjoining everybody in office, civil or military, under penalty of £500, to receive it within one month before two authentic witnesses ; being engrossed on parchment, to be afterwards produced in the Court of Chancery, or some other Court of Record ; which I did at the Chancery-bar, as being one of the Council of Plantations and Trade ; taking then also the oath of allegiance and supremacy, signing the clause in the said Act against Transubstantiation.

25th *May*. My son was made a younger brother of the Trinity-house. The new master was Sir J. Smith, one of the Commissioners of the Navy, a stout seaman, who had interposed and saved the Duke from perishing by a fire-ship in the late war.

28th. I carried one Withers, an ingenious shipwright, to the King, to show him some new method of building.

29th. I saw the Italian comedy at the Court, this afternoon.

<sup>a</sup> Henry, sixth son of the second Earl of Northampton, educated at Oxford, began life as a cornet in Lord Oxford's regiment of guards, but afterwards took orders, and was successively Bishop of Oxford and London ; in which last See he died, 1713, aged 81.

10th June. Came to visit and dine with me my Lord Viscount Cornbury and his Lady ; Lady Frances Hyde, sister to the Duchess of York ; and Mrs. Dorothy Howard, Maid of Honour. We went, after dinner, to see the formal and formidable camp on Blackheath, raised to invade Holland ; or, as others suspected, for another design. Thence, to the Italian glass-house at Greenwich, where glass was blown of finer metal than that of Murano, at Venice.

13th. Came to visit us, with other ladies of rank, Mrs. Sedley<sup>a</sup>, daughter to Sir Charles, who was none of the most virtuous, but a wit.

19th. Congratulated the new Lord Treasurer, Sir Thomas Osborne, a gentleman with whom I had been intimately acquainted at Paris, and who was every day at my father-in-law's house and table there ; on which account, I was too confident of succeeding in his favour, as I had done in his predecessor's ; but such a friend shall I never find, and I neglected my time, far from believing that my Lord Clifford would have so rashly laid down his staff, as he did, to the amazement of all the world, when it came to the test of his receiving the Communion, which I am confident he forbore more from some promise he had entered into to gratify the Duke, than from any prejudice to the Protestant religion, though I found him wavering a pretty while.

23rd. To London, to accompany our Council, who went in a body to congratulate the new Lord Treasurer, no friend to it, because promoted by my Lord Arlington, whom he hated.

26th. Came visitors from Court to dine with me and see the army still remaining encamped on Blackheath.

6th July. This evening I went to the funeral of my dear and excellent friend, that good man and accomplished gentleman, Sir Robert Murray<sup>b</sup>, Secretary of Scotland. He was buried by order of his Majesty in Westminster Abbey.

25th. I went to Tunbridge Wells, to visit my Lord Clifford, late Lord Treasurer, who was there to divert his mind more than his body ; it was believed that he had so engaged himself to the Duke, that rather than take the Test, without which he was not capable of holding any office, he would resign that great and honourable station. This, I am confident, grieved him to the heart, and at last broke it ; for, though he carried with him music and people to divert him, and, when I came to see him, lodged me in his own apartment, and would not let me go from him, I found he was struggling in his mind ; and, being of a rough and ambitious nature, he could not long brook the necessity he had brought on himself, of submission to this conjuncture. Besides, he saw the Dutch war, which was made much by his advice, as well as the shutting up of the Exchequer<sup>c</sup>, very unprosperous. These things his high spirit could not support.

<sup>a</sup> The Duke of York's mistress, afterwards created by him Countess of Dorchester.

<sup>b</sup> According to the testimony of his contemporaries, universally beloved and esteemed by men of all opinions, and the life and soul of the Royal Society. He delighted in every occasion of doing good, and Burnet refers enthusiastically to his superiority of genius and comprehension.

<sup>c</sup> Burnet, says the Earl of Shaftesbury, was the chief man in this advice. There is a story, among the gossip of that day, that Shaftesbury having formed the plan, Clifford got possession of it over a bottle of wine, and carried it to the King as his own.



Having staid here two or three days, I obtained leave of my Lord to return.

In my way, I saw my Lord of Dorset's house at Knowle, near Sevenoaks, a great old-fashioned house.

30th July. To Council, where the business of transporting wool was brought before us.

31st. I went to see the pictures of all the judges and eminent men of the Long Robe, newly painted by Mr. Wright<sup>a</sup>, and set up in Guildhall, costing the City £1000. Most of them are very like the persons they represent, though I never took Wright to be any considerable artist.

13th August. I rode to Durdans, where I dined at my Lord Berkeley's of Berkeley-Castle, my old and noble friend, it being his wedding-anniversary, where I found the Duchess of Albemarle, and other company, and returned home on that evening, late.

15th. Came to visit me my Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Shaftesbury.

18th. My Lord Clifford, being about this time returned from Tunbridge, and preparing for Devonshire, I went to take my leave of him at Wallingford-House; he was packing up pictures, most of which were of hunting wild beasts, and vast pieces of bull-baiting, bear-baiting, &c. I found him in his study, and restored to him several papers of state, and others of importance, which he had furnished me with, on engaging me to write the History of the Holland War, with other private letters of his acknowledgments to my Lord Arlington, who from a private gentleman of a very noble family, but inconsiderable fortune, had advanced him from almost nothing. The first thing was his being in Parliament, then knighted, then made one of the Commissioners of sick and wounded, on which occasion, we sate long together; then, on the death of Hugh Pollard, he was made Comptroller of the Household and Privy Councillor, yet still my brother Commissioner; after the death of Lord Fitz-Harding, Treasurer of the Household, he, by letters to Lord Arlington, which that Lord showed me, begged of his Lordship to obtain it for him as the very height of his ambition. These were written with such submissions and professions of his patronage, as I had never seen any more acknowledging. The Earl of Southampton then dying, he was made one of the Commissioners of the Treasury. His Majesty inclining to put it into one hand, my Lord Clifford, under pretence of making all his interest for his patron, my Lord Arlington, cut the grass under his feet, and procured it for himself, assuring the King that Lord Arlington did not desire it. Indeed, my Lord Arlington protested to me that his confidence in Lord Clifford made him so remiss, and his affection to him was so particular, that he was absolutely minded to devolve it on Lord Clifford, all the world knowing how he himself affected ease and quiet, now growing into years, yet little thinking of this go-by. This was the only great ingratitude Lord Clifford showed, keeping my Lord Arlington in ignorance, continually assuring him he was pursuing his interest, which was the Duke's, into whose great favour Lord Clifford was now gotten; but which certainly cost him the loss of all, namely, his going so irrevocably far in his interest.

For the rest, my Lord Clifford was a valiant incorrupt gentleman, ambitious, not covetous; generous, passionate, a most constant sincere

<sup>a</sup> Michael Wright was a fashionable portrait-painter of the day, but not comparable to Lely.

friend, to me in particular, so as when he laid down his office, I was at the end of all my hopes and endeavours. These were not for high matters, but to obtain what his Majesty was really indebted to my father-in-law, which was the utmost of my ambition, and which I had undoubtedly obtained, if this friend had stood. Sir Thomas Osborne, who succeeded him, though much more obliged to my father-in-law and his family, and my long and old acquaintance, being of a more haughty and far less obliging nature, I could hope for little ; a man of excellent natural parts ; but nothing of generous or grateful.

Taking leave of my Lord Clifford, he wrung me by the hand, and, looking earnestly on me, bid me God-bye, adding, ' Mr. Evelyn, I shall never see thee more.' ' No !' said I, ' my Lord, what's the meaning of this ? I hope I shall see you often, and as great a person again.' ' No, Mr. Evelyn, do not expect it ; I will never see this place, this City, or Court again ', or words of this sound. In this manner, not without almost mutual tears, I parted from him ; nor was it long after but the news was that he was dead, and I have heard from some who I believe knew, he made himself away, after an extraordinary melancholy. This is not confidently affirmed, but a servant who lived in the house, and afterwards with Sir Robert Clayton, Lord Mayor, did, as well as others, report it ; and when I hinted some such thing to Mr. Prideaux, one of his trustees, he was not willing to enter into that discourse.

It was reported with these particulars, that, causing his servant to leave him unusually one morning, locking himself in, he strangled himself with his cravat upon the bed-tester ; his servant, not liking the manner of dismissing him, and looking through the key-hole (as I remember), and seeing his master hanging, brake in before he was quite dead, and taking him down, vomiting a great deal of blood, he was heard to utter these words, ' Well ; let men say what they will, there is a God, a just God above ' ; after which he spake no more. This, if true, is dismal. Really, he was the chief occasion of the Dutch war, and of all that blood which was lost at Bergen in attacking the Smyrna fleet, and that whole quarrel.

This leads me to call to mind what my Lord Chancellor Shaftesbury affirmed, not to me only, but to all my brethren the Council of Foreign Plantations, when not long after, this accident being mentioned as we were one day sitting in Council, his Lordship told us this remarkable passage : that, being one day discoursing with him when he was only Sir Thomas Clifford, speaking of men's advancement to great charges in the nation, ' Well ', says he, ' my Lord, I shall be one of the greatest men in England. Don't impute what I say either to fancy, or vanity ; I am certain that I shall be a mighty man ; but it will not last long ; I shall not hold it, but die a bloody death.' ' What ', says my Lord, ' your horoscope tells you so ?' ' No matter for that, it will be as I tell you.' ' Well ', says my Lord Chancellor Shaftesbury, ' if I were of that opinion, I either would not be a great man, but decline preferment, or prevent my danger.'

This my Lord affirmed in my hearing, before several gentlemen and noblemen sitting in council at Whitehall. And I the rather am confident of it, remembering what Sir Edward Walker (Garter King-at-Arms<sup>a</sup>) had

<sup>a</sup> Celebrated for his knowledge of heraldry. He attended Charles II into exile, and after the Restoration he became first Clerk of the Privy Council, and subsequently Garter King-at-Arms. Author, among other things, of *Iter Carolinum*,



likewise affirmed to me a long time before, even when he was first made a Lord ; that carrying his pedigree to Lord Clifford on his being created a peer, and, finding him busy, he bade him go into his study, and divert himself there till he was at leisure to discourse with him about some things relating to his family ; there lay, said Sir Edward, on his table, his horoscope and nativity calculated, with some writing under it, where he read that he should be advanced to the highest degree in the state that could be conferred upon him, but that he should not long enjoy it, but should die, or expressions to that sense ; and I think, (but cannot confidently say) a bloody death. This Sir Edward affirmed both to me and Sir Richard Browne ; nor could I forbear to note this extraordinary passage in these memoirs.

14th September. Dr. Creighton, son to the late eloquent Bishop of Bath and Wells, preached to the Household on *Isaiah* lvii. 8.

15th. I procured £4000 of the Lords of the Treasury, and rectified divers matters about the sick and wounded.

16th. To Council, about choosing a new Secretary.

17th. I went with some friends to visit Mr. Bernard Grenville, at Abs Court in Surrey ; an old house in a pretty park<sup>a</sup>.

23rd. I went to see Paradise, a room in Hatton-Garden, furnished with a representation of all sorts of animals handsomely painted on boards, or cloth, and so cut out and made to stand, move, fly, crawl, roar, and make their several cries. The man who showed it, made us laugh heartily at his formal poetry.

15th October. To Council, and swore in Mr. Locke, secretary, Dr. Worsley being dead.

27th. To Council, about sending succours to recover New York : and then we read the commission and instructions to Sir Jonathan Atkins, the new Governor of Barbadoes.

5th November. This night the youths of the City burnt the Pope in effigy, after they had made procession with it in great triumph, they being displeased at the Duke for altering his religion, and marrying an Italian lady<sup>b</sup>.

30th. On St. Andrew's day, I first saw the new Duchess of York, and the Duchess of Modena, her mother.

1st December. To Gresham College, whither the City had invited the Royal Society by many of their chief aldermen and magistrates, who gave us a collation, to welcome us to our first place of assembly, from whence we had been driven to give place to the City, on their making it their Exchange, on the dreadful conflagration, till their new Exchange was finished, which it now was. The Society having till now been entertained and having met at Arundel House<sup>c</sup>.

2nd. I dined with some friends, and visited the sick : thence, to an

or an account of the Marches, &c., of King Charles I, *Military Discoveries, Historical Discoveries, &c.* He died in 1677. Pepys describes his bringing the Garter to the Earl of Sandwich, and his officiating at the coronation of Charles II.

<sup>a</sup> At Walton-on-Thames.

<sup>b</sup> The Princess Mary Beatrice D'Este, daughter of the Duke of Modena.

<sup>c</sup> One of the great houses by the Strand. It was pulled down at the end of the 17th century, but the family names and titles are retained in the streets which arose on its site, Howard, Norfolk, Arundel, and Surrey.

alms-house, where was prayers and relief, some very ill and miserable. It was one of the best days I ever spent in my life.

*3rd December.* There was at dinner my Lord Lockhart, designed ambassador for France, a gallant and a sober person.

*9th.* I saw again the Italian Duchess and her brother, the Prince Reynaldo.

*20th.* I had some discourse with certain strangers, not unlearned, who had been born not far from Old Nineveh; they assured me of the ruins being still extant, and vast and wonderful were the buildings, vaults, pillars, and magnificent fragments<sup>a</sup>; but they could say little of the Tower of Babel that satisfied me. But the description of the amenity and fragrancy of the country for health and cheerfulness, delighted me; so sensibly they spake of the excellent air and climate in respect of our cloudy and splenetic country.

*24th.* Visited the prisoners at Ludgate, taking orders about the releasing of some.

*30th.* I gave Almighty God thanks for His infinite goodness to me the year past, and begged His mercy and protection the year following: afterwards, invited my neighbours to spend the day with me.

*1673-4. 5th January.* I saw an Italian opera in music, the first that had been in England of this kind.

*9th.* Sent for by his Majesty to write something against the Hollanders about the duty of the Flag and Fishery. Returned with some papers.

*25th March.* I dined at Knightsbridge, with the Bishops of Salisbury, Chester, and Lincoln, my old friends.

*29th May.* His Majesty's birth-day and Restoration. Mr. Demalhoy, Roger L'Estrange, and several of my friends, came to dine with me on the happy occasion.

*27th June.* Mr. Dryden, the famous poet and now laureate, came to give me a visit. It was the anniversary of my marriage, and the first day I went into my new little cell and cabinet, which I built below towards the south court, at the east end of the parlour.

*9th July.* Paid 36*l.* for purchase of Dr. Jacombe's son's share in the mill and land at Deptford, which I bought of the Beechers.

*22nd.* I went to Windsor with my wife and son to see my daughter Mary, who was there with my Lady Tuke, and to do my duty to his Majesty. Next day, to a great entertainment at Sir Robert Holmes's at Cranbourne Lodge, in the Forest; there were his Majesty, the Queen, Duke, Duchess, and all the Court. I returned in the evening with Sir Joseph Williamson, now declared Secretary of State. He was son of a poor clergyman somewhere in Cumberland, brought up at Queen's College, Oxford, of which he came to be a fellow; then travelled with . . . and returning when the King was restored, was received as a Clerk under Mr. Secretary Nicholas. Sir Henry Bennett (now Lord Arlington) succeeding, Williamson is transferred to him, who loving his ease more than business (though sufficiently able had he applied himself to it) remitted all to his man Williamson; and, in a short time, let him so into the secret of affairs, that (as his Lordship himself told me) there was a kind of necessity to advance him; and so, by his subtlety, dexterity, and insinuations

<sup>a</sup> The remarkable discoveries of Mr. Layard give now a curious interest to this notice by Evelyn.



he got now to be principal Secretary ; absolutely Lord Arlington's creature, and ungrateful enough. It has been the fate of this obliging favourite to advance those who soon forgot their original. Sir Joseph was a musician, could play at *Jeu de Gobelts*, exceeding formal, a severe master to his servants, but so inward with my Lord O'Brien, that after a few months of that gentleman's death, he married his widow<sup>a</sup>, who, being sister and heir of the Duke of Richmond, brought him a noble fortune. It was thought they lived not so kindly after marriage as they did before. She was much censured for marrying so meanly, being herself allied to the Royal family.

6th August. I went to Groombridge, to see my old friend, Mr. Packer ; the house built within a moat, in a woody valley. The old house had been the place of confinement of the Duke of Orleans, taken by one Waller (whose house it then was) at the battle of Agincourt, now demolished, and a new one built in its place, though a far better situation had been on the south of the wood, on a graceful ascent. At some small distance, is a large chapel, not long since built by Mr. Packer's father, on a vow he made to do it on the return of King Charles I out of Spain, 1625, and dedicated to St. Charles ; but what saint there was then of that name I am to seek, for, being a Protestant, I conceive it was not Borromeo.

I went to see my farm at Ripe, near Lewes.

19th. His Majesty told me how exceedingly the Dutch were displeased at my treatise of the *History of Commerce*<sup>b</sup> ; that the Holland Ambassador had complained to him of what I had touched of the Flags and Fishery, &c., and desired the book might be called in ; whilst, on the other side, he assured me he was exceedingly pleased with what I had done, and gave me many thanks. However, it being just upon conclusion of the treaty of Breda (indeed it was designed to have been published some months before and when we were at defiance), his Majesty told me he must recall it formally ; but gave order that what copies should be publicly seized to pacify the Ambassador, should immediately be restored to the printer, and that neither he nor the vender should be molested. The truth is, that which touched the Hollander was much less than what the King himself furnished me with, and obliged me to publish, having caused it to be read to him before it went to the press ; but the error was, it should have been published before the peace was proclaimed. The noise of this book's suppression made it presently be bought up, and turned much to the stationer's advantage. It was no other than the Preface prepared to be prefixed to my History of the whole War ; which I now pursued no further.

21st. In one of the meadows at the foot of the long Terrace below the

<sup>a</sup> Lady Catherine Stuart, sister and heir to Charles Stuart, Duke of Richmond and Lennox, the husband of Mrs. Frances Stuart, one of the most admired beauties of the Court, with whom Charles the Second was so deeply in love that he never forgave the Duke for marrying her, having already, it is thought, formed some similar intention himself. He took the first opportunity of sending the Duke into an honourable exile, as Ambassador to Denmark, where he shortly after died, leaving no issue by the Duchess.

<sup>b</sup> Entitled *Navigation and Commerce, their Original and Progress, &c.* By J. Evelyn, Esq., S.R.S. 8vo., 1674. Dedicated to the King. It was, in fact, only the introduction to the intended *History of the Dutch War*, and is reprinted in his *Miscellaneous Writings*, pp. 625-686.

Castle [Windsor], works were thrown up to show the King a representation of the City of Maestricht, newly taken by the French. Bastions, bulwarks, ramparts, palisadoes, graffs, horn-works, counter-scarps, &c., were constructed. It was attacked by the Duke of Monmouth (newly come from the real siege) and the Duke of York, with a little army, to show their skill in tactics. On Saturday night, they made their approaches, opened trenches, raised batteries, took the counter-scarp and ravelin, after a stout defence; great guns fired on both sides, grenadoes shot, mines sprung, parties sent out, attempts of raising the siege, prisoners taken, parleys; and, in short, all the circumstances of a formal siege, to appearance, and, what is most strange, all without disorder, or ill accident, to the great satisfaction of a thousand spectators. Being night, it made a formidable show. The siege being over, I went with Mr. Pepys back to London, where we arrived about three in the morning.

15th September. To Council, about fetching away the English left at Surinam, &c., since our reconciliation with Holland.

21st. I went to see the great loss that Lord Arlington had sustained by fire at Goring House, this night consumed to the ground, with exceeding loss of hangings, plate, rare pictures, and cabinets; hardly anything was saved of the best and most princely furniture that any subject had in England. My lord and lady were both absent at the Bath.

6th October. The Lord Chief Baron Turner, and Serjeant Wild, Recorder of London<sup>a</sup>, came to visit me.

20th. At Lord Berkeley's, I discoursed with Sir Thomas Modiford, late Governor of Jamaica, and with Colonel Morgan, who undertook that gallant exploit from Nombre de Dios to Panama, on the Continent of America; he told me 10,000 men would easily conquer all the Spanish Indies, they were so secure. They took great booty, and much greater had been taken, had they not been betrayed and so discovered before their approach, by which the Spaniards had time to carry their vast treasure on board ships that put off to sea in sight of our men, who had no boats to follow. They set fire to Panama, and ravaged the country sixty miles about. The Spaniards were so supine and unexercised, that they were afraid to fire a great gun.

31st. My birth-day, 54th year of my life. Blessed be God! It was also preparation-day for the Holy Sacrament, in which I participated the next day, imploring God's protection for the year following, and confirming my resolutions of a more holy life, even upon the Holy Book. The Lord assist and be gracious unto me! Amen.

15th November. The anniversary of my baptism: I first heard that famous and excellent preacher, Dr. Burnet (author of the *History of the Reformation*) on *Colossians* iii. 10, with such flow of eloquence and fulness of matter, as showed him to be a person of extraordinary parts.

Being her Majesty's birth-day, the Court was exceeding splendid in clothes and jewels, to the height of excess.

17th. To Council, on the business of Surinam, where the Dutch had detained some English in prison, ever since the first war, 1665.

19th. I heard that stupendous violin, Signor Nicholao (with other rare

<sup>a</sup> Sir Edward Turner, Speaker of the House of Commons, subsequently Solicitor-General, and Lord Chief Baron, died in 1675. Serjeant, afterwards Sir William Wild, was Member for the City of London, and Recorder.



musicians), whom I never heard mortal man exceed on that instrument. He had a stroke so sweet, and made it speak like the voice of a man, and, when he pleased, like a concert of several instruments. He did wonders upon a note, and was an excellent composer. Here was also that rare lutanist, Dr. Wallgrave; but nothing approached the violin in Nicholao's hand. He played such ravishing things as astonished us all.

2nd December. At Mr. Slingsby's, Master of the Mint, my worthy friend, a great lover of music. Heard Signor Francisco on the harpsichord, esteemed one of the most excellent masters in Europe on that instrument; then, came Nicholao with his violin, and struck all mute, but Mrs. Knight, who sung incomparably, and doubtless has the greatest reach of any English woman; she had been lately roaming in Italy, and was much improved in that quality.

15th. Saw a comedy<sup>a</sup> at night, at Court, acted by the ladies only, amongst them Lady Mary and Ann, his Royal Highness's two daughters, and my dear friend, Mrs. Blagg, who, having the principal part, performed it to admiration. They were all covered with jewels.

22nd. Was at the repetition of *The Pastoral*, on which occasion Mrs. Blagg had about her near £20,000<sup>b</sup> worth of jewels, of which she lost one worth about £80, borrowed of the Countess of Suffolk. The press was so great, that it is a wonder she lost no more. The Duke made it good.

1674-5. 20th January. Went to see Mr. Streeter, that excellent painter of perspective and landscape, to comfort and encourage him to be cut for the stone, with which that honest man was exceedingly afflicted<sup>b</sup>.

22nd March. Supped at Sir William Petty's, with the Bishop of Salisbury, and divers honourable persons. We had a noble entertainment in a house gloriously furnished; the master and mistress of it were extraordinary persons. Sir William was the son of a mean man somewhere in Sussex, and sent from school to Oxford, where he studied Philosophy, but was most eminent in Mathematics and Mechanics; proceeded Doctor of Physic, and was grown famous, as for his learning so for his recovering a poor wench that had been hanged for felony; and her body having been begged (as the custom is) for the anatomy lecture, he bled her, put her to bed to a warm woman, and, with spirits and other means, restored her to life<sup>c</sup>. The young scholars joined and made a little portion, and

<sup>a</sup> This was the Masque of *Calisto, or the Chaste Nymph*, by John Crowne. The performers in the piece were, the two daughters of the Duke of York, Lady Henrietta Wentworth (afterwards mistress to the Duke of Monmouth), Countess of Sussex, Lady Mary Mordaunt, Mrs. Blagg, who had been Maid of Honour to the Queen, and Mrs. Jennings, then Maid of Honour to the Duchess of York, and afterwards the celebrated Duchess of Marlborough. The Duke of Monmouth, Lord Dumblaine, Lord Daincourt, were among the dancers; and Mrs. Davis, Mrs. Knight, Mrs. Butler, and other celebrated comedians of the day, also acted and sung in the performance. The Masque was printed (1675) in 4to.

<sup>b</sup> The King, who had a great regard for this artist, is said to have sent for a famous surgeon from Paris, on purpose to perform the operation.

<sup>c</sup> A full account of this event was given in a published pamphlet at the time, entitled *Newes from the Dead, or a true and exact Narration of the miraculous Deliverance of Anne Greene, who being executed at Oxford, Dec. 14, 1650, afterwards revived; and by the care of certain Physicians there, is now perfectly recovered*. Oxford, the second Impression, with Additions, 4to. 1651. Added to the Narrative are several copies of Verses in Latin, English, and French, by Gentlemen of the University, commemorative of the event; amongst others, by Joseph William-

married her to a man who had several children by her, she living fifteen years after, as I have been assured. Sir William came from Oxford to be tutor to a neighbour of mine; thence, when the rebels were dividing their conquests in Ireland, he was employed by them to measure and set out the land, which he did on an easy contract, so much per acre. This he effected so exactly, that it not only furnished him with a great sum of money; but enabled him to purchase an estate worth £4000 a year. He afterwards married the daughter of Sir Hardress Waller; she was an extraordinary wit as well as beauty, and a prudent woman.

Sir William, amongst other inventions, was author of the double-bottomed ship<sup>a</sup>, which perished, and he was censured for rashness, being lost in the Bay of Biscay in a storm, when, I think, fifteen other vessels miscarried. This vessel was flat-bottomed, of exceeding use to put into shallow ports, and ride over small depths of water. It consisted of two distinct keels cramped together with huge timbers, &c., so as that a violent stream ran between; it bore a monstrous broad sail, and he still persists that it is practicable, and of exceeding use; and he has often told me he would adventure himself in such another, could he procure sailors, and his Majesty's permission to make a second Experiment; which name the King gave the vessel at the launching.

The Map of Ireland made by Sir William Petty is believed to be the most exact that ever yet was made of any country. He did promise to publish it; and I am told it has cost him near £1000 to have it engraved at Amsterdam. There is not a better Latin poet living, when he gives himself that diversion; nor is his excellence less in Council and prudent matters of state; but he is so exceeding nice in sifting and examining all possible contingencies, that he adventures at nothing which is not demonstration. There was not in the whole world his equal for a superintendent of manufacture and improvement of trade, or to govern a plantation. If I were a Prince, I should make him my second Counsellor, at least. There is nothing difficult to him. He is, besides, courageous; on which account, I cannot but note a true story of him, that when Sir Aleyne Brodrick sent him a challenge upon a difference betwixt them in Ireland, Sir William, though exceedingly purblind, accepted the challenge, and it being his part to propound the weapon, desired his antagonist to meet him with a hatchet, or axe, in a dark cellar; which the other, of course, refused.

Sir William was, with all this, facetious and of easy conversation, friendly and courteous, and had such a faculty of imitating others, that he would take a text and preach, now like a grave orthodox divine, then falling into the Presbyterian way, then to the fanatical, the Quaker, the monk and friar, the Popish priest, with such admirable action, and alteration of voice and tone, as it was not possible to abstain from wonder, and one would swear to hear several persons, or forbear to think he was not in good earnest an enthusiast and almost beside himself; then, he would fall out of it into a serious discourse; but it was very rarely he would be prevailed on to oblige the company with this faculty, and that only

son, afterwards Secretary of State, by Christopher Wren, the famous architect, then of Wadham College, by Walter Pope, Dr. Ralph Bathurst (the last under other names), and many more. The pamphlet was reprinted, but very negligently, from the first and worst edition, in Morgan's *Phœnix Britannicus*, 4to.

<sup>a</sup> See *ante*, pp. 263, 269.



amongst most intimate friends. My Lord Duke of Ormond once obtained it of him, and was almost ravished with admiration; but by-and-bye, he fell upon a serious reprimand of the faults and miscarriages of some Princes and Governors, which, though he named none, did so sensibly touch the Duke, who was then Lieutenant of Ireland, that he began to be very uneasy, and wished the spirit laid which he had raised, for he was neither able to endure such truths, nor could he but be delighted. At last, he melted his discourse to a ridiculous subject, and came down from the joint stool on which he had stood; but my lord would not have him preach any more. He never could get favour at Court, because he outwitted all the projectors that came near him. Having never known such another genius, I cannot but mention these particulars, amongst a multitude of others which I could produce. When I, who knew him in mean circumstances, have been in his splendid palace, he would himself be in admiration how he arrived at it; nor was it his value or inclination for splendid furniture and the curiosities of the age, but his elegant lady could endure nothing mean, or that was not magnificent. He was very negligent himself, and rather so of his person, and of a philosophic temper. 'What a to-do is here!' would he say, 'I can lie in straw with as much satisfaction.'

He is author of the ingenious deductions from the bills of mortality, which go under the name of Mr. Graunt; also of that useful discourse of the manufacture of wool, and several others in the register of the Royal Society. He was also author of that paraphrase on the 104th *Psalm* in Latin verse, which goes about in MS., and is inimitable. In a word, there is nothing impenetrable to him.

26th March. Dr. Brideoak was elected Bishop of Chichester, on the translation of Dr. Gunning to Ely.

30th. Dr. Allestree preached on *Romans* vi. 3, the necessity of those who are baptized to die to sin; a very excellent discourse from an excellent preacher.

25th April. Dr. Barrow<sup>a</sup>, that excellent, pious, and most learned man, divine, mathematician, poet, traveller, and most humble person, preached at Whitehall to the household, on *Luke* xx. 27, of love and charity to our neighbours.

29th. I read my first discourse *Of Earth and Vegetation* before the Royal Society as a lecture in course, after Sir Robert Southwell<sup>b</sup> had read his the week before *On Water*. I was commanded by our President, and the suffrage of the Society, to print it.

16th May. This day was my dear friend, Mrs. Blagg, married at the Temple Church to my friend, Mr. Sidney Godolphin, Groom of the Bed-chamber to his Majesty.

18th. I went to visit one Mr. Bathurst, a Spanish merchant, my neighbour.

31st. I went with Lord Ossory to Deptford, where we chose him Master of the Trinity Company.

<sup>a</sup> Master of Trinity College, Cambridge; in which he succeeded Dr. John Pearson, made Bishop of Chester.

<sup>b</sup> Sent Envoy Extraordinary to Portugal, in 1665, and in the same capacity to Brussels, in 1671. He was subsequently Clerk of the Privy Council, and having shown much taste for learned and scientific researches, was five times elected President of the Royal Society. He died in 1702. His son Edward became Secretary of State.

2<sup>nd</sup> June. I was at a conference of the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber, on a difference about imprisoning some of their members ; and, on the 3<sup>rd</sup>, at another conference, when the Lords accused the Commons for their transcendant misbehaviour, breach of privilege, Magna Charta, subversion of government, and other high, provoking, and diminishing expressions, showing what duties and subjection they owed to the Lords in Parliament, by record of Henry IV. This was likely to create a notable disturbance.

15<sup>th</sup>. This afternoon came Monsieur Querouaille and his lady, parents to the famous beauty and \* \* \* favourite at Court, to see Sir R. Browne, with whom they were intimately acquainted in Bretagne, at the time Sir Richard was sent to Brest to supervise his Majesty's sea-affairs, during the later part of the King's banishment. This gentleman's house was not a mile from Brest ; Sir Richard made an acquaintance there, and, being used very civilly, was obliged to return it here, which we did. He seemed a soldierly person and a good fellow, as the Bretons generally are ; his lady had been very handsome, and seemed a shrewd understanding woman. Conversing with him in our garden, I found several words of the Breton language the same with our Welch. His daughter was now made Duchess of Portsmouth, and in the height of favour ; but he never made any use of it.

27<sup>th</sup>. At Ely House, I went to the consecration of my worthy friend, the learned Dr. Barlow, Warden of Queen's College, Oxford, now made Bishop of Lincoln. After it, succeeded a magnificent feast, where were the Duke of Ormond, Earl of Lauderdale, the Lord Treasurer, Lord Keeper, &c.

8<sup>th</sup> July. I went with Mrs. Howard and her two daughters towards Northampton Assizes, about a trial at law, in which I was concerned for them as a trustee. We lay this night at Henley-on-the-Thames, at our attorney, Mr. Stephens's, who entertained us very handsomely. Next day, dining at Shotover, at Sir Timothy Tyrill's, a sweet place, we lay at Oxford, where it was the time of the Act. Mr. Robert Spencer, uncle to the Earl of Sunderland, and my old acquaintance in France, entertained us at his apartment in Christ Church, with exceeding generosity.

10<sup>th</sup>. The Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Bathurst (who had formerly taken particular care of my son), President of Trinity College, invited me to dinner, and did me great honour all the time of my stay. The next day, he invited me and all my company, though strangers to him, to a very noble feast I was at all the academic exercises.—Sunday, at St. Mary's, preached a Fellow of Brasen-nose, not a little magnifying the dignity of Churchmen.

11<sup>th</sup>. We heard the speeches, and saw the ceremony of creating Doctors in Divinity, Law, and Physic. I had, early in the morning, heard Dr. Morison, Botanic Professor, read on divers plants in the Physic Garden : and saw that rare collection of natural curiosities of Dr. Plot's, of Magdalen Hall, author of *The Natural History of Oxfordshire*, all of them collected in that shire, and indeed extraordinary, that in one county there should be found such variety of plants, shells, stones, minerals, marcasites, fowls, insects, models of works, crystals, agates and marbles. He was now intending to visit Staffordshire, and, as he had of Oxfordshire, to give us the natural, topical, political, and mechanical history. Pity it is that more of this industrious man's genius were not employed so to describe



every county of England ; it would be one of the most useful and illustrious works that was ever produced in any age or nation<sup>a</sup>.

I visited also the Bodleian Library, and my old friend, the learned Obadiah Walker, head of University College, which he had now almost re-built, or repaired. We then proceeded to Northampton, where we arrived the next day.

In this journey, went part of the way Mr. James Graham (since Privy Purse to the Duke), a young gentleman exceedingly in love with Mrs. Dorothy Howard, one of the Maids of Honour in our company<sup>b</sup>. I could not but pity them both, the mother not much favouring it. This lady was not only a great beauty, but a most virtuous and excellent creature, and worthy to have been wife to the best of men. My advice was required, and I spake to the advantage of the young gentleman, more out of pity than that she deserved no better match ; for, though he was a gentleman of good family, yet there was great inequality.

14<sup>th</sup> July. I went to see my Lord Sunderland's Seat at Althorpe, four miles from the ragged town of Northampton (since burnt, and well re-built). It is placed in a pretty open bottom, very finely watered and flanked with stately woods and groves in a park, with a canal, but the water is not running, which is a defect. The house, a kind of modern building, of freestone, within most nobly furnished ; the apartments very commodious, a gallery and noble hall ; but the kitchen being in the body of the house, and chapel too small, were defects. There is an old yet honourable gate-house standing awry, and out-housing mean, but designed to be taken away. It was moated round, after the old manner, but it is now dry, and turfed with a beautiful carpet. Above all, are admirable and magnificent the several ample gardens furnished with the choicest fruit, and exquisitely kept. Great plenty of oranges, and other curiosities. The park full of fowl, especially herns, and from it a prospect to Holmby House, which being demolished in the late civil wars, shows like a Roman ruin, shaded by the trees about it, a stately, solemn, and pleasing view.

15<sup>th</sup>. Our cause was pleaded in behalf of the mother, Mrs. Howard<sup>c</sup> and her daughters, before Baron Thurland, who had formerly been steward of Courts for me ; we carried our cause, as there was reason, for here was an imprudent as well as disobedient son against his mother, by instiga-

<sup>a</sup> Robert Morrison, Physician to Charles II., Regius Professor of Botany at Oxford, and author of *Præludeum Botanicum* and of the fragment of a *Historia Plantarum*, which he left unfinished when he died, in 1683. Robert Plot, Doctor of Laws, one of the Secretaries of the Royal Society, Royal Historiographer, Keeper of the Archives of the Heralds' College ; celebrated for his *Natural Histories of Oxfordshire and Staffordshire*. He died in 1696.

<sup>b</sup> He afterwards married her. See the next note.

<sup>c</sup> Mrs. Howard was widow of William, fourth son of the first Earl of Berkshire, being the daughter of Lord Dundas, a Scottish peer. They had one son, Craven Howard, and two daughters, Dorothy, who married Colonel James Graham, of Levens, in Westmoreland ; and Anne, who married Sir Gabriel Sylvius, Knt. Craven married two wives, the first of whom was Annie Ogle, of the family of the Ogles of Pinchbeck, in the county of Lincoln. She was Maid of honour to Queen Catherine at the time. The two daughters are the ladies mentioned by Evelyn in the text ; but he is not correct in calling Craven heir-apparent of the Earl of Berks, since, besides the uncle then in possession of the title, there was another uncle before him, who in fact inherited it, and did not die till many years after.

tion, doubtless, of his wife, one Mrs. Ogle, (an ancient maid), whom he had clandestinely married, and who brought him no fortune, he being heir-apparent to the Earl of Berkshire. We lay at Brickhill, in Bedfordshire, and came late the next day to our journey's end.

This was a journey of adventures and knight-errantry. One of the lady's servants being as desperately in love with Mrs. Howard's woman, as Mr. Graham was with her daughter, and she riding on horseback behind his rival, the amorous and jealous youth having a little drink in his pate, had here killed himself had he not been prevented; for, alighting from his horse, and drawing his sword, he endeavoured twice or thrice to fall on it, but was interrupted by our coachman, and a stranger passing by. After this, running to his rival, and snatching his sword from his side (for we had beaten his own out of his hand), and on the sudden pulling down his mistress, would have run both of them through; we parted them, not without some blood. This miserable creature poisoned himself for her not many days after they came to London.

19th July. The Lord Treasurer's Chaplain preached at Wallingford-House.

9th August. Dr. Sprat, prebend of Westminster, and Chaplain to the Duke of Buckingham, preached on the 3rd *Epistle of Jude*, showing what the primitive faith was, how near it and how excellent that of the Church of England, also the danger of departing from it.

27th. I visited the Bishop of Rochester, at Bromley, and dined at Sir Philip Warwick's, at Frogpoole [Frognall].

2nd September. I went to see Dulwich College, being the pious foundation of one Alleyn, a famous comedian, in King James's time. The chapel is pretty, the rest of the hospital very ill contrived; it yet maintains divers poor of both sexes. It is in a melancholy part of Camberwell parish. I came back by certain medicinal Spa waters, at a place called Sydenham Wells, in Lewisham parish, much frequented in summer.

10th. I was casually showed the Duchess of Portsmouth's splendid apartment at Whitehall, luxuriously furnished, and with ten times the richness and glory beyond the Queen's; such massy pieces of plate, whole tables, and stands of incredible value.

29th. I saw the Italian Scaramuccio act before the King at Whitehall, people giving money to come in, which was very scandalous, and never so before at Court-diversions. Having seen him act before in Italy, many years past, I was not averse from seeing the most excellent of that kind of folly.

14th October. Dined at Kensington with my old acquaintance, Mr. Henshaw, newly returned from Denmark, where he had been left resident after the death of the Duke of Richmond, who died there Ambassador.

15th. I got an extreme cold, such as was afterwards so epidemical, as not only to afflict us in this island, but was rife over all Europe, like a plague. It was after an exceeding dry summer and autumn.

I settled affairs, my Son being to go into France with my Lord Berkeley, designed Ambassador-extraordinary for France and Plenipotentiary for the general treaty of peace at Nimeguen.

24th. Dined at Lord Chamberlain's with the Holland Ambassador L. Duras, a valiant gentleman whom his Majesty made an English Baron, of a cadet, and gave him his seat of Holmby, in Northamptonshire<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Since Earl of Faversham. See Baker's *Northamptonshire*, vol. i., p. 197.



*27th October.* Lord Berkeley coming into Council, fell down in the gallery at Whitehall, in a fit of apoplexy, and being carried into my Lord Chamberlain's lodgings, several famous doctors were employed all that night, and with much ado he was at last recovered to some sense, by applying hot fire-pans and spirit of amber to his head ; but nothing was found so effectual as cupping him on the shoulders. It was almost a miraculous restoration. The next day he was carried to Berkeley-House. This stopped his journey for the present, and caused my stay in town. He had put all his affairs and his whole estate in England into my hands during his intended absence, which though I was very unfit to undertake, in regard of many businesses which then took me up, yet, upon the great importunity of my lady and Mr. Godolphin (to whom I could refuse nothing) I did take it on me. It seems when he was Deputy in Ireland, not long before, he had been much wronged by one he left in trust with his affairs, and therefore wished for some unmercenary friend who would take that trouble on him ; this was to receive his rents, look after his houses and tenants, solicit supplies from the Lord Treasurer, and correspond weekly with him, more than enough to employ any drudge in England ; but what will not friendship and love make one do ?

*31st.* Dined at my Lord Chamberlain's, with my Son. There were the learned Isaac Vossius, and Spanhemius<sup>a</sup>, son of the famous man of Heidelberg ; nor was this gentleman less learned, being a general scholar. Amongst other pieces, he was author of an excellent treatise on Medals.

*10th November.* Being the day appointed for my Lord Ambassador to set out, I met them with my coach at New Cross. There were with him my Lady his wife, and my dear friend, Mrs. Godolphin, who, out of an extraordinary friendship, would needs accompany my lady to Paris, and stay with her some time, which was the chief inducement for permitting my Son to travel, but I knew him safe under her inspection, and in regard my Lord himself had promised to take him into his special favour, he having intrusted all he had to my care.

Thus, we set out, three coaches (besides mine), three waggons, and about forty horse. It being late, and my Lord as yet but valetudinary, we got but to Dartford, the first day, the next to Sittingbourne.

At Rochester, the major, Mr. Cony, then an officer of mine for the sick and wounded of that place, gave the ladies a handsome refreshment as we came by his house.

*12th.* We came to Canterbury : and, next morning, to Dover.

There was in my Lady Ambassador's company my Lady Hamilton, a sprightly young lady, much in the good graces of the family, wife of that valiant and worthy gentleman George Hamilton, not long after slain in the wars. She had been a maid of honour to the Duchess, and now turned Papist.

*14th.* Being Sunday, my Lord having before delivered to me his letter of attorney, keys, seal, and his Will, we took solemn leave of one another upon the beach, the coaches carrying them into the sea to the boats,

<sup>a</sup> Ezekiel Spanheim was born at Geneva in 1629. The Elector Palatine, Charles Louis, to whose son he had been tutor, sent him, after the peace of Ryswicke, ambassador to France, and thence to England, where he died in 1710. He was a learned author, as well as a celebrated diplomatist.

which delivered them to Captain Gunman's yacht, the *Mary*. Being under sail, the castle gave them seventeen guns, which Captain Gunman answered with eleven. Hence, I went to church, to beg a blessing on their voyage.

2<sup>nd</sup> December. Being returned home, I visited Lady Mordaunt at Parson's Green, my Lord her son being sick. This pious woman delivered to me £100 to bestow as I thought fit for the release of poor prisoners, and other charitable uses.

21<sup>st</sup>. Visited her Ladyship again, where I found the Bishop of Winchester, whom I had long known in France; he invited me to his house at Chelsea.

23<sup>rd</sup>. Lady Sunderland gave me ten guineas, to bestow in charities.

1675-6. 20<sup>th</sup> February. Dr. Gunning, Bishop of Ely, preached before the King from *St. John* xx. 21, 22, 23, chiefly against an anonymous book, called *Naked Truth*, a famous and popular treatise against the corruption in the Clergy, but not sound as to its quotations, supposed to have been the Bishop of Hereford's<sup>a</sup>, and was answered by Dr. Turner, it endeavouring to prove an equality of order of Bishop and Presbyter.

27<sup>th</sup>. Dr. Pritchard, Bishop of Gloucester, preached at Whitehall, on *Isaiah* v. 5, very allegorically, according to his manner, yet very gravely and wittily.

29<sup>th</sup>. I dined with Mr. Povey, one of the Masters of Requests, a nice contriver of all elegancies, and exceedingly formal. Supped with Sir J. Williamson, where were of our Society Mr. Robert Boyle, Sir Christopher Wren, Sir William Petty, Dr. Holden, sub-dean of his Majesty's Chapel, Sir James Shaen, Dr. Whistler<sup>b</sup>, and our Secretary, Mr. Oldenburg.

4<sup>th</sup> March. Sir Thomas Linch was returned from his government of Jamaica.

16<sup>th</sup>. The Countess of Sunderland and I went by water to Parson's-green, to visit my Lady Mordaunt, and to consult with her about my Lord's monument. We returned by coach.

19<sup>th</sup>. Dr. Lloyd, late Curate of Deptford, but now Bishop of Llandaff, preached before the King, on 1 *Cor.* xv. 57, that though sin subjects us to death, yet through Christ we become his conquerors.

23<sup>rd</sup>. To Twickenham Park, Lord Berkeley's country-seat, to examine how the bailiffs and servants ordered matters.

24<sup>th</sup>. Dr. Brideoake<sup>c</sup>, Bishop of Chichester, preached a mean discourse for a Bishop. I also heard Dr. Fleetwood, Bishop of Worcester, on *Matt.* xxvi. 38, of the sorrows of Christ, a deadly sorrow caused by our sins; he was no great preacher.

30<sup>th</sup>. Dining with my Lady Sunderland, I saw a fellow swallow a knife, and divers great pebble stones, which would make a plain rattling one against another. The knife was in a sheath of horn.

Dr. North, son of my Lord North, preached before the King, on *Isaiah* liii. 57, a very young but learned and excellent person. Note.

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Herbert Croft.

<sup>b</sup> President of the College of Physicians. He accompanied Bulstrode Whitelock in his embassy to Sweden, and died in 1684. Pepys says that he found him 'good company, and a very ingenious man.'

<sup>c</sup> *Ante*, p. 346. Ralph Brideoake, Dean of Salisbury, succeeded Bishop Gunning in this see.



This was the first time the Duke appeared no more in chapel, to the infinite grief and threatened ruin of this poor nation.

2nd April. I had now notice that my dear friend, Mrs. Godolphin, was returning from Paris. On the 6th, she arrived to my great joy, whom I most heartily welcomed.

28th. My wife entertained her Majesty at Deptford, for which the Queen gave me thanks in the withdrawing-room at Whitehall.

The University of Oxford presented me with the *Marmora Oxiensia Arundeliana*; the Bishop of Oxford writing to desire that I would introduce Mr. Prideaux<sup>a</sup>, the editor (a young man most learned in antiquities) to the Duke of Norfolk, to present another dedicated to his Grace, which I did, and we dined with the Duke at Arundel House, and supped at the Bishop of Rochester's with Isaac Vossius.

7th May. I spoke to the Duke of York about my Lord Berkeley's going to Nimeguen. Thence, to the Queen's Council at Somerset House, about Mrs. Godolphin's lease of Spalding, in Lincolnshire.

11th. I dined with Mr. Charleton, and went to see Mr. Montague's new palace near Bloomsbury, built by Mr. Hooke, of our Society, after the French manner<sup>b</sup>.

13th. Returned home, and found my son returned from France; praised be God!

22nd. Trinity Monday. A chaplain of my Lord Ossory's preached, after which we took barge to Trinity House in London. Mr. Pepys (Secretary of the Admiralty) succeeded my Lord as Master.

2nd June. I went with my Lord Chamberlain to see a garden<sup>c</sup>, at Enfield town; thence, to Mr. Secretary Coventry's lodge in the Chase. It is a very pretty place, the house commodious, the gardens handsome, and our entertainment very free, there being none but my Lord and myself. That which I most wondered at was, that, in the compass of twenty-five miles, yet within fourteen of London, there is not a house, barn, church, or building, besides three lodges<sup>d</sup>. To this Lodge are three great ponds, and some few inclosures, the rest a solitary desert, yet stored with not less than 3000 deer. There are pretty retreats for gentlemen, especially for those who are studious and lovers of privacy.

We returned in the evening by Hampstead, to see Lord Wotton's house and garden (Bellsiz House<sup>e</sup>), built with vast expense by Mr. O'Neale, an Irish gentleman who married Lord Wotton's mother, Lady Stanhope. The furniture is very particular for Indian cabinets, porcelain, and other solid and noble moveables. The gallery very fine, the gardens very large, but ill-kept, yet woody and chargeable. The soil a cold weeping clay, not answering the expense.

12th. I went to Sir Thomas Bond's new and fine house by Peckham;

<sup>a</sup> The copy of Prideaux's book thus presented to Evelyn is still in the library at Wotton. Humphrey Prideaux was born in 1648, and became Dean of Norwich. He was the author of *The Connection of the History of the Old and New Testament*, *The Life of Mahomet*, and other works. He died in 1724.

<sup>b</sup> Now the British Museum.

<sup>c</sup> Probably Dr. Robert Uvedale's. See an account of it in *Archæologia*, vol. xii., p. 188, and Robinson's *History of Enfield*, vol. i., p. 111.

<sup>d</sup> Enfield Chase was divided in 1777.

<sup>e</sup> In Park's *History of Hampstead* will be found notices of this house.

it is on a flat, but has a fine garden and prospect through the meadows to London.

2nd July. Dr. Castillion, Prebend of Canterbury, preached before the King, on *John* xv. 22, at Whitehall.

19th. Went to the funeral of Sir William Sanderson, husband to the Mother of the Maids<sup>a</sup>, and author of two large but mean histories of King James and King Charles the First. He was buried at Westminster.

1st August. In the afternoon, after prayers at St. James's Chapel, was christened a daughter of Dr. Leake's, the Duke's Chaplain: godmothers were Lady Mary, daughter of the Duke of York, and the Duchess of Monmouth: godfather, the Earl of Bath.

15th. Came to dine with me my Lord Halifax, Sir Thomas Meeres, one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, Sir John Clayton, Mr. Slingsby, Mr. Henshaw, and Mr. Bridgeman.

25th. Dined with Sir John Banks at his house in Lincoln's Inn Fields, on recommending Mr. Upman to be tutor to his son going into France. This Sir John Banks was a merchant of small beginning, but had amassed £100,000.

26th. I dined at the Admiralty with Secretary Pepys, and supped at the Lord Chamberlain's. Here was Captain Baker, who had been lately on the attempt of the North-west passage. He reported prodigious depth of ice, blue as a sapphire, and as transparent. The thick mists were their chief impediment, and cause of their return.

2nd September. I paid £1700 to the Marquis de Sissac, which he had lent to my Lord Berkeley, and which I heard the Marquis lost at play in a night or two.

The Dean of Chichester preached before the King, on *Acts* xxiv. 16; and Dr. Crichton preached the second sermon before him on *Psalms* xc. 12, of wisely numbering our days, and well employing our time.

3rd. Dined at Captain Graham's, where I became acquainted with Dr. Compton (brother to the Earl of Northampton), now Bishop of London, and Mr. North, son to the Lord North, brother to the Lord Chief Justice and Clerk of the Closet, a most hopeful young man. The Bishop had once been a soldier, had also travelled Italy, and became a most sober, grave, and excellent prelate.

6th. Supped at the Lord Chamberlain's, where also supped the famous beauty and errant lady, the Duchess of Mazarine (all the world knows her story), the Duke of Monmouth, Countess of Sussex (both natural children of the King by the Duchess of Cleveland<sup>b</sup>), and the Countess of Derby, a virtuous lady, daughter to my best friend, the Earl of Ossory.

<sup>a</sup> The author of a *History of Mary Queen of Scots*, and of *Histories of James and Charles I.* He held the post of Gentleman of the Chamber, and his wife that of 'Mother of the Maids.'

<sup>b</sup> Evelyn makes a slip here. The Duke of Monmouth's mother was, it is well known, Lucy Walters, sometimes called Mrs. Barlow, and heretofore mentioned in the Diary. Nor is he more correct as to the Countess of Sussex. Lady Anne Fitzroy, as she is called in the Peerage books, was married to Lennard Dacre, Earl of Sussex, by whom she left a daughter only, who succeeded on her father's death to the Barony of Dacre. On the other hand, the Duke of Southampton, the Duke of Grafton, and the Duke of Northumberland, were all of them children of Charles the Second by the Duchess of Cleveland.



10th *September*. Dined with me Mr. Flamsted, the learned astrologer and mathematician<sup>a</sup>, whom his Majesty had established in the new Observatory in Greenwich Park, furnished with the choicest instruments. An honest, sincere man.

12th. To London, to take order about the building of a house, or rather an apartment, which had all the conveniences of a house, for my dear friend, Mr. Godolphin and lady, which I undertook to contrive and survey, and employ workmen until it should be quite finished: it being just over-against his Majesty's wood-yard by the Thames side, leading to Scotland-yard.

19th. To Lambeth, to that rare magazine of marble, to take order for chimney-pieces, &c., for Mr. Godolphin's house. The owner of the works had built for himself a pretty dwelling-house; this Dutchman had contracted with the Genoese for all their marble. We also saw the Duke of Buckingham's glass-work, where they made huge vases of metal as clear, ponderous, and thick as crystal; also looking-glasses far larger and better than any that come from Venice.

9th *October*. I went with Mrs. Godolphin and my wife to Blackwall, to see some Indian curiosities; the streets being slippery, I fell against a piece of timber with such violence that I could not speak nor fetch my breath for some space: being carried into a house and let blood, I was removed to the water-side and so home, where, after a day's rest, I recovered. This being one of my greatest deliverances, the Lord Jesus make me ever mindful and thankful!

31st. Being my birth-day, and fifty-six years old, I spent the morning in devotion and imploring God's protection, with solemn thanksgiving for all His signal mercies to me, especially for that escape which concerned me this month at Blackwall. Dined with Mrs. Godolphin, and returned home through a prodigious and dangerous mist.

9th *November*. Finished the lease of Spalding, for Mr. Godolphin.

16th. My Son and I dining at my Lord Chamberlain's, he showed us amongst others that incomparable piece of Raphael's, being a Minister of State dictating to Guicciardini, the earnestness of whose face looking up in expectation of what he was next to write, is so to the life, and so natural, as I esteem it one of the choicest pieces of that admirable artist. There was a Woman's head of Leonardo da Vinci; a Madonna of old Palma, and two of Vandyke's, of which one was his own picture at length, when young, in a leaning posture; the other, an eunuch, singing. Rare pieces indeed!

4th *December*. I saw the great ball danced by all the gallants and ladies at the Duchess of York's.

10th. There fell so deep a snow, as hindered us from church.

12th. To London, in so great a snow, as I remember not to have seen the like.

17th. More snow falling, I was not able to get to church.

1676-7. 8th *February*. I went to Roehampton, with my lady Duchess of Ormond. The garden and perspective is pretty, the prospect most agreeable.

15th *May*. Came the Earl of Peterborough, to desire me to be a trustee

<sup>a</sup> John Flamstead, author of *Historia Cælestis Britannica* and other works. A distinguished astronomer; and in the comprehensiveness of his scientific knowledge, second only to Sir Isaac Newton. He died in 1719.

for Lord Viscount Mordaunt and the Countess, for the sale of certain lands set out by Act of Parliament, to pay debts.

12th June. I went to London, to give the Lord Ambassador Berkeley (now returned from the treaty at Nimeguen) an account of the great trust reposed in me during his absence, I having received and remitted to him no less than £20,000 to my no small trouble and loss of time, that during his absence, and when the Lord Treasurer was no great friend [of his] I yet procured him great sums, very often soliciting his Majesty in his behalf; looking after the rest of his estates and concerns entirely, without once accepting any kind of acknowledgment, purely upon the request of my dear friend, Mr. Godolphin. I returned with abundance of thanks and professions from my Lord Berkeley and my Lady.

29th. This business being now at an end, and myself delivered from that intolerable servitude and correspondence, I had leisure to be somewhat more at home and to myself.

3rd July. I sealed the deeds of sale of the manor of Blechingley to Sir Robert Clayton, for payment of Lord Peterborough's debts, according to the trust of the Act of Parliament.

16th. I went to Wotton.—22nd. Mr. Evans, curate of Abinger, preached an excellent sermon on *Matt. v. 12*. In the afternoon, Mr. Higham at Wotton catechised.

26th. I dined at Mr. Duncomb's, at Sheere, whose house stands environed with very sweet and quick streams.

29th. Mr. Bohun, my Son's late tutor, preached at Abinger, on *Phil. iv. 8*, very elegantly and practically.

5th August. I went to visit my Lord Brounker, now taking the waters at Dulwich.

9th. Dined at the Earl of Peterborough's the day after the marriage of my Lord of Arundel to Lady Mary Mordaunt, daughter to the Earl of Peterborough.

28th. To visit my Lord Chamberlain, in Suffolk; he sent his coach and six to meet and bring me from St. Edmund's Bury to Euston.

29th. We hunted in the Park and killed a very fat buck.—31st. I went a-hawking.

4th September. I went to visit my Lord Crofts, now dying at St. Edmunds Bury, and took the opportunity to see this ancient town, and the remains of that famous monastery and abbey. There is little standing entire, save the gatehouse; it has been a vast and magnificent Gothic structure, and of great extent. The gates are wood, but quite plated over with iron. There are also two stately churches, one especially.

5th. I went to Thetford, to the borough-town, where stand the ruins of a religious house: there is a round mountain artificially raised, either for some castle, or monument, which makes a pretty landscape. As we went and returned, a tumbler showed his extraordinary address in the Warren. I also saw the Decoy; much pleased with the stratagem.

7th. There dined this day at my Lord's one Sir John Gaudy, a very handsome person, but quite dumb, yet very intelligent by signs, and a very fine painter; he was so civil and well bred, as it was not possible to discern any imperfection in him. His lady and children were also there, and he was at church in the morning with us.

9th. A stranger preached at Euston Church, and fell into a handsome



panegyric on my Lord's new building the church, which indeed for its elegance and cheerfulness, is one of the prettiest country churches in England. My Lord told me his heart smote him that, after he had bestowed so much on his magnificent palace there, he should see God's House in the ruin it lay in. He has also re-built the parsonage-house, all of stone, very neat and ample.

10th September. To divert me, my Lord would needs carry me to see Ipswich, when we dined with one Mr. Mann by the way, who was Recorder of the town. There were in our company my Lord Huntingtower, son to the Duchess of Lauderdale, Sir Edward Bacon, a learned gentleman of the family of the great Chancellor Verulam, and Sir John Felton, with some other Knights and Gentlemen. After dinner, came the Bailiff and Magistrates in their formalities with their maces to compliment my Lord, and invite him to the town-house, where they presented us a collation of dried sweetmeats and wine, the bells ringing, &c. Then, we went to see the town, and first, the Lord Viscount Hereford's house, which stands in a park near the town, like that at Brussels, in Flanders; the house not great, yet pretty, especially the hall. The stews for fish succeed one another, and feed one the other, all paved at bottom. There is a good picture of the Blesed Virgin in one of the parlours, seeming to be of Holbein or some good master. Then we saw the Haven, seven miles from Harwich. The tide runs out every day, but the bedding being soft mud, it is safe for shipping and a station. The trade of Ipswich is for the most part Newcastle coals, with which they supply London; but it was formerly a clothing town. There is not any beggar asks alms in the whole place, a thing very extraordinary, so ordered by the prudence of the Magistrates. It has in it fourteen or fifteen beautiful churches: in a word, it is for building, cleanness, and good order, one of the best towns in England. Cardinal Wolsey was a butcher's son of Ipswich, but there is little of that magnificent Prelate's foundation here, besides a school and I think a library, which I did not see. His intentions were to build some great thing. We returned late to Euston, having travelled about fifty miles this day.

Since first I was at this place, I found things exceedingly improved. It is seated in a bottom between two graceful swellings, the main building being now in the figure of a Greek II with four pavilions, two at each corner, and a break in the front, railed and balustred at the top, where I caused huge jars to be placed full of earth to keep them steady upon their pedestals between the statues, which make as good a show as if they were of stone, and, though the building be of brick, and but two stories besides cellars, and garrets covered with blue slate, yet there is room enough for a full court, the offices and outhouses being so ample and well disposed. The King's apartment is painted *al fresco*, and magnificently furnished. There are many excellent pictures of the great masters. The gallery is a pleasant, noble room: in the break, or middle, is a billiard-table, but the wainscot, being of fir, and painted, does not please me so well as Spanish oak without paint. The chapel is pretty, the porch descending to the gardens. The orange-garden is very fine, and leads into the green-house, at the end of which is a hall to eat in, and the conservatory some hundred feet long, adorned with maps, as the other side is with the heads of the Cæsars, ill cut in alabaster; above are several apartments for my Lord,

Lady, and Duchess<sup>a</sup>, with kitchens and other offices below, in a lesser form ; lodgings for servants, all distinct, for them to retire to when they please, and would be in private, and have no communication with the palace, which he tells me he will wholly resign to his son-in-law and daughter, that charming young creature.

The canal running under my Lady's dressing-room chamber window, is full of carps and fowl, which come and are fed there. The cascade at the end of the canal turns a corn-mill, that provides the family, and raises water for the fountains and offices. To pass this canal into the opposite meadows, Sir Samuel Morland has invented a screw-bridge, which, being turned with a key, lands you fifty feet distant at the entrance of an ascending walk of trees, a mile in length, as it is also on the front into the park, of four rows of ash-trees, and reaches to the park-pale, which is nine miles in compass, and the best for riding and meeting the game that I ever saw. There were now of red and fallow deer almost a thousand, with good covert, but the soil barren and flying sand, in which nothing will grow kindly. The tufts of fir, and much of the other wood, were planted by my direction, some years before. This seat is admirably placed for field-sports, hawking, hunting, or racing. The mutton is small, but sweet. The stables hold thirty horses and four coaches. The out-offices make two large quadrangles, so as servants never lived with more ease and convenience ; never master more civil. Strangers are attended and accommodated as at their home, in pretty apartments furnished with all manner of conveniences and privacy.

There is a library full of excellent books ; bathing-rooms, laboratory, dispensary, a decoy, and places to keep and fat fowl in. He had now in his new church (near the garden) built a dormitory, or vault, with several repositories, in which to bury his family.

In the expense of this pious structure, the church is most laudable, most of the Houses of God in this country resembling rather stables and thatched cottages than temples in which to serve the Most High. He has built a lodge in the park for the keeper, which is a neat dwelling, and might become any gentleman. The same has he done for the parson, little deserving it for murmuring that my Lord put him some time out of his wretched hovel, whilst it was building. He has also erected a fair inn at some distance from his palace, with a bridge of stone over a river near it, and repaired all the tenants' houses, so as there is nothing but neatness and accommodations about his estate, which I yet think is not above 1500*l.* a year. I believe he had now in his family one hundred domestic servants.

His lady (being one of the Brederode's daughters, grandchild to a natural son of Henry Frederick, Prince of Orange) is a good-natured and obliging woman. They love fine things, and to live easily, pompously, and hospitably ; but, with so vast expense, as plunges my Lord into debts exceedingly. My Lord himself is given into no expensive vice but building, and to have all things rich, polite, and princely. He never plays, but reads much, having the Latin, French, and Spanish tongues in perfection. He has travelled much, and is the best-bred and courtly person his Majesty has about him, so as the public Ministers more frequent him than any of the rest of the Nobility. Whilst he was Secretary of State and Prime

<sup>a</sup> His daughter, wife of the Duke of Grafton.



Minister, he had gotten vastly, but spent it as hastily, even before he had established a fund to maintain his greatness ; and now beginning to decline in favour (the Duke being no great friend of his), he knows not how to retrench. He was son of a Doctor of Laws, whom I have seen, and, being sent from Westminster School to Oxford, with intention to be a divine, and parson of Arlington<sup>a</sup>, a village near Brentford, when Master of Arts, the Rebellion falling out, he followed the King's Army, and receiving an *honourable wound in the face*<sup>b</sup>, grew into favour, and was advanced from a mean fortune, at his Majesty's restoration, to be an Earl and Knight of the Garter, Lord Chamberlain of the Household, and first favourite for a long time, during which the King married his natural son, the Duke of Grafton, to his only daughter and heiress, as before mentioned, worthy for her beauty and virtue of the greatest Prince in Christendom. My Lord is, besides this, a prudent and understanding person in business, and speaks well ; unfortunate yet in those he has advanced, most of them proving ungrateful. The many obligations and civilities I have received from this noble gentleman, extracts from me this character, and I am sorry he is in no better circumstances.

Having now passed near three weeks at Euston, to my great satisfaction, with much difficulty he suffered me to look homeward, being very earnest with me to stay longer ; and, to engage me, would himself have carried me to Lynn-Regis, a town of important traffic, about twenty miles beyond, which I had never seen ; as also, the Travelling Sands about ten miles wide of Euston, that have so damaged the country, rolling from place to place, and, like the Sands in the Deserts of Lybia, quite overwhelmed some gentlemen's whole estates, as the relation extant in print, and brought to our Society, describes at large.

13th September. My Lord's coach conveyed me to Bury, and thence baiting at Newmarket, stepping in at Audley-End to see that house again, I slept at Bishop-Stortford ; and, the next day, home. I was accompanied in my journey by Major Fairfax, of a younger house of the Lord Fairfax, a soldier, a traveller, an excellent musician, a good-natured well-bred gentleman.

18th. I preferred Mr. Phillips (nephew of Milton) to the service of my Lord Chamberlain, who wanted a scholar to read to and entertain him sometimes.

12th October. With Sir Robert Clayton to Marden, an estate he had bought lately of my kinsman, Sir John Evelyn, of Godstone, in Surrey, which from a despicable farm-house Sir Robert had erected into a seat with extraordinary expense. It is in such a solitude among hills, as, being not above sixteen miles from London, seems almost incredible, the ways up to it are so winding and intricate. The gardens are large, and well-walled, and the husbandry part made very convenient and perfectly understood. The barns, the stacks of corn, the stalls for cattle, pigeon-house, &c., of most laudable example. Innumerable are the plantations of trees, especially walnuts. The orangery and gardens are very curious.

<sup>a</sup> In Lord Clarendon's *Continuation of his Life* will be found the mention of a curious circumstance relating to Sir Henry Bennett's taking his title, when first created a Baron, from this place.

<sup>b</sup> A deep cut across his nose. He was obliged always to wear a black patch upon it, and so is represented in his portraits.

In the house are large and noble rooms. He and his lady (who is very curious in distillery) entertained me three or four days very freely. I earnestly suggested to him the repairing of an old desolate dilapidated church, standing on the hill above the house<sup>a</sup>, which I left him in good disposition to do, and endow it better; there not being above four or five houses in the parish, besides that of this prodigious rich Scrivener<sup>b</sup>. This place is exceeding sharp in the winter, by reason of the serpentine of the hills: and it wants running water; but the solitude much pleased me. All the ground is so full of wild thyme, marjoram, and other sweet plants, that it cannot be overstocked with bees; I think he had near forty hives of that industrious insect.

14th October. I went to church at Godstone, and to see old Sir John Evelyn's *dormitory*, joining to the church, paved with marble, where he and his lady lie on a very stately monument at length; he in armour of white marble<sup>c</sup>. The inscription is only an account of his particular branch of the family, on black marble.

15th. Returned to London; in the evening, I saw the Prince of Orange, and supped with Lord Ossory.

23rd. Saw again the Prince of Orange; his marriage with the Lady Mary, eldest daughter to the Duke of York, by Mrs. Hyde, the late Duchess, was now declared.

11th November. I was all this week composing matters between old Mrs. Howard and Sir Gabriel Sylvius, upon his long and earnest addresses to Mrs. Anne, her second daughter, Maid of Honour to the Queen. My friend, Mrs. Godolphin (who exceedingly loved the young lady) was most industrious in it, out of pity to the languishing knight; so as though there were great differences in their years, it was at last effected, and they were married the 13th, in Henry VII's Chapel, by the Bishop of Rochester<sup>d</sup>, there being besides my wife and Mrs. Graham, her sister, Mrs. Godolphin, and very few more. We dined at the old lady's, and supped at Mr. Graham's at St. James's.

<sup>a</sup> Woldingham. The Church consisted of one room about thirty feet long and twenty-one wide, without any tower, spire, or bell. It was considered as a Donative, not subject to the Bishop; and service was performed therein once a month. No churchwarden; two farm-houses, four cottages; and by the Population Return, even as late as 1811, the number of inhabitants was only fifty-eight. That disposition in Sir Robert Clayton which Evelyn fancied he saw, appears to have subsided; the church remained, some quarter of a century ago, as it was in Evelyn's time.

<sup>b</sup> The last member of the Company called Scriveners, named Ellis, died at the age of more than 90. Dr. Johnson speaks well of him. Their business comprehended that of a Banker, and what is now called a Conveyancer: they had money deposited with them for the purpose of making purchases, or lending on mortgage, and it was they who prepared the deeds. In the time of King Charles I and during the civil wars and commonwealth, a gentleman of the name of Abbot in the City had a very great share of this business, and he had two clerks, named Clayton and Morris, who jointly succeeded to his interest in it, from which they acquired a great estate. Mr. Morris died first, and, having no children, left his property to his friend, who became Sir Robert Clayton. The first Editor of Evelyn's *Diary* had seen a deed attested by Mr. Abbot, as Scrivener, and by Mr. Morris and Mr. Clayton, as his *servants*.

<sup>c</sup> It is a very fine monument, in perfect preservation.

<sup>d</sup> Dr. John Dolben, also Dean of Westminster, translated afterwards to York.



15th November. The Queen's birthday, a great Ball at Court, where the Prince of Orange and his new Princess danced.

19th. They went away, and I saw embarked my Lady Sylvius, who went into Holland with her husband, made Hoffmaester to the Prince, a considerable employment. We parted with great sorrow, for the great respect and honour I bore her, a most pious and virtuous lady.

27th. Dined at the Lord Treasurer's with Prince Rupert, Viscount Falkenburg, Earl of Bath, Lord O'Brien, Sir John Lowther, Sir Christopher Wren, Dr. Grew<sup>a</sup>, and other learned men.

30th. Sir Joseph Williamson, Principal Secretary of State, was chosen President of the Royal Society, after my Lord Viscount Brounker had possessed the chair now sixteen years successively, and therefore now thought fit to *change*, that prescription might not prejudice.

4th December. Being the first day of his taking the chair, he gave us a magnificent supper.

20th. Carried to my Lord Treasurer an account of the Earl of Bristol's Library at Wimbledon, which my Lord thought of purchasing, till I acquainted him that it was a very broken collection, consisting much in books of judicial astrology, romances, and trifles<sup>b</sup>.

25th. I gave my Son an office, with instructions how to govern his youth; I pray God give him the grace to make a right use of it!

1677-8. 23rd January. Dined with the Duke of Norfolk, being the first time I had seen him since the death of his elder brother, who died at Padua in Italy, where he had resided above thirty years. The Duke had now newly declared his marriage to his concubine, whom he promised me he never would marry<sup>c</sup>. I went with him to see the Duke of Buckingham, thence to my Lord Sunderland, now Secretary of State, to show him that rare piece of Vosterman's (son of old Vosterman), which was a view, or landscape of my Lord's palace, &c., at Althorpe, in Northamptonshire.

8th February. Supping at my Lord Chamberlain's I had a long discourse with the Count de Castel Mellor, lately Prime Minister in Portugal, who, taking part with his master, King Alphonso, was banished by his brother, Don Pedro, now Regent; but had behaved himself so uncorruptly in all his ministry that, though he was acquitted, and his estate restored, yet would they not suffer him to return. He is a very intelligent and worthy gentleman.

18th. My Lord Treasurer sent for me to accompany him to Wimbledon, which he had lately purchased of the Earl of Bristol; so breaking fast with him privately in his chamber, I accompanied him with two of his daughters, my Lord Conway, and Sir Bernard Gascoyne; and, having surveyed his gardens and alterations, returned late at night.

22nd. Dr. Pierce preached at Whitehall, on 2 *Thessalonians* iii. 6,

<sup>a</sup> Nehemiah Grew, a physician, who directed his researches towards botany, and one of the first who advocated the theory of different sexes in plants. Born 1628, died 1711.

<sup>b</sup> Yet who can doubt that a library of this description, a 'very broken collection' though it might then be considered, would now-a-days be deemed a curious collection, and an object of much competition? *Habent sua fata libelli!*

<sup>c</sup> The Duke had now taken his second wife, Mrs. Jane Bickerton, daughter of a Scotch gentleman, Mr. Robert Bickerton, who was Gentleman of the Wine-Cellar to King Charles II.

against our late schismatics, in a rational discourse, but a little over-sharp, and not at all proper for the auditory there.

22nd March. Dr. South preached *coram Rege*, an incomparable discourse on this text, 'A wounded spirit who can bear!' Note: Now was our Communion-table placed altar-wise; the church steeple, clock, and other reparations finished.

16th April. I showed Don Emmanuel de Lyra (Portugal Ambassador) and the Count de Castel Mellor, the Repository of the Royal Society, and the College of Physicians.

18th. I went to see new Bedlam Hospital, magnificently built<sup>a</sup>, and most sweetly placed in Moorfields, since the dreadful fire in London.

28th June. I went to Windsor with my Lord Chamberlain (the castle now repairing with exceeding cost) to see the rare work of Verrio, an incomparable carving of Gibbons.

29th. Returned with my Lord by Hounslow Heath, where we saw the new-raised army encamped, designed against France, in pretence, at least; but which gave umbrage to the Parliament. His Majesty and a world of company were in the field, and the whole army in battalia; a very glorious sight. Now were brought into service a new sort of soldiers, called *Grenadiers*, who were dexterous in flinging hand grenados, every one having a pouch full; they had furred caps with coped crowns like Janizaries, which made them look very fierce, and some had long hoods hanging down behind, as we picture fools. Their clothing being likewise piebald, yellow and red.

8th July. Came to dine with me my Lord Longford, Treasurer of Ireland, nephew to that learned gentleman, my Lord Aungier, with whom I was long since acquainted: also the Lady Stidolph, and other company.

19th. The Earl of Ossory came to take his leave of me, going into Holland to command the English forces.

20th. I went to the Tower to try a metal at the Assay-master's, which only proved sulphur; then saw Monsieur Rotière, that excellent graver belonging to the Mint, who emulates even the ancients, in both metal and stone<sup>b</sup>; he was now moulding a horse for the King's statue, to be cast in silver, of a yard high. I dined with Mr. Slingsby, Master of the Mint.

23rd. Went to see Mr. Elias Ashmole's library and curiosities, at Lambeth. He has divers MSS., but most of them astrological, to which study he is addicted, though I believe not learned, but very industrious, as his History of the order of the Garter proves. He showed me a toad included in amber. The prospect from a turret is very fine, it being so near London, and yet not discovering any house about the country. The famous John Tradescant bequeathed his Repository to this gentleman,

<sup>a</sup> Taken down in 1814, and a new one erected on the Surrey side of the Thames, in the road leading from St. George's Fields to Lambeth. On pulling it down, the foundations were found to be very bad, it having been built on part of the Town-ditch, and on a soil very unfit for the erection of so large a building. The patients were removed to the new building in August 1815.

<sup>b</sup> Doubtless Philip Rotière, who introduced the figure of Britannia into the coinage, taking for his model the King's favourite, Frances Stewart, Duchess of Richmond.



who has given them to the University of Oxford, and erected a lecture on them, over the laboratory, in imitation of the Royal Society<sup>a</sup>.

Mr. Godolphin was made Master of the Robes to the King.

25<sup>th</sup> July. There was sent me £70; from whom I knew not, to be by me distributed among poor people; I afterwards found it was from that dear friend (Mrs. Godolphin), who had frequently given me large sums to bestow on charities.

16<sup>th</sup> August. I went to Lady Mordaunt, who put £100 into my hand to dispose of for pious uses, relief of prisoners, poor, &c. Many a sum had she sent me on similar occasions; a blessed creature she was, and one that loved and feared God exemplarily.

23<sup>rd</sup>. Upon Sir Robert Reading's importunity, I went to visit the Duke of Norfolk, at his new Palace at Weybridge<sup>b</sup>, where he has laid out in building near £10,000, on a copyhold, and in a miserable, barren, sandy place by the street-side; never in my life had I seen such expense to so small purpose. The rooms are wainscotted, and some of them richly pargeted with cedar, yew, cypress, &c. There are some good pictures, especially that incomparable painting of Holbein's, where the Duke of Norfolk, Charles Brandon, and Henry VIII, are dancing with the three ladies, with most amorous countenances, and sprightly motion exquisitely expressed. It is a thousand pities, (as I told my Lord of Arundel his son) that that jewel should be given away.

24<sup>th</sup>. I went to see my Lord of St. Alban's house, at Byfleet, an old large building. Thence, to the paper-mills, where I found them making a coarse white paper. They cull the rags which are linen for white paper, woollen for brown; then they stamp them in troughs to a pap, with pestles, or hammers, like the powder-mills, then put it into a vessel of water, in which they dip a frame closely wired with wire as small as a hair and as close as a weaver's reed; on this they take up the pap, the superfluous water draining through the wire; this they dexterously turning, shake out like a pancake on a smooth board between two pieces of flannel, then press it between a great press, the flannel sucking out the moisture; then, taking it out, they ply and dry it on strings, as they dry linen in the laundry; then dip it in alum-water, lastly, polish and make it up in quires. They put some gum in the water in which they macerate the rags. The mark we find on the sheets is formed in the wire.

25<sup>th</sup>. After evening prayer, visited Mr. Sheldon, (nephew to the late Archbishop of Canterbury) and his pretty melancholy garden; I took notice of the largest *arbor thuyris* I had ever seen. The place is finely watered, and there are many curiosities of India, shown in the house.

<sup>a</sup> The donation took effect in 1677, and a suitable building was erected by Sir Christopher Wren, bearing the name of the 'Ashmolean Museum.' This was the first public institution for the reception of Rarities in Art or Nature, established in England; and it possessed what, in the infancy of the study of Natural History in this country, might fairly be regarded as a valuable and superior collection. In the Museum are preserved good portraits of Ashmole, and of the Tradescant family, by Dobson, from which very poor and ill-executed engravings have been taken.

<sup>b</sup> This house was the property of Mrs. Bickerton, whom the Duke married. After his death, she married Mr. Maxwell, and they, together with Lord George Howard (her eldest son by the Duke), sold it to Mrs. Sedley, afterwards Countess of Dorchester, mistress to James II. The Countess, who bore a daughter to James II, afterwards married David Collyer, Earl of Portmore.

There was at Weybridge the Duchess of Norfolk, Lord Thomas Howard, (a worthy and virtuous gentleman, with whom my son was sometime bred in Arundel House) who was newly come from Rome, where he had been some time ; also one of the Duke's daughters, by his first lady. My Lord leading me about the house made no scruple of showing me all the hiding-places for the Popish priests, and where they said mass, for he was no bigoted Papist. He told me he never trusted them with any secret, and used Protestants only in all businesses of importance.

I went this evening with my Lord Duke to Windsor, where was a magnificent Court, it being the first time of his Majesty removing thither since it was repaired.

*27th August.* I took leave of the Duke, and dined at Mr. Henry Bruncker's, at the Abbey of Sheene, formerly a Monastery of Carthusians, there yet remaining one of their solitary cells with a cross. Within this ample enclosure are several pretty villas and fine gardens of the most excellent fruits, especially Sir William Temple's (lately Ambassador into Holland), and the Lord Lisle's, son to the Earl of Leicester, who has divers rare pictures, above all, that of Sir Brian Tuke, by Holbein.

After dinner, I walked to Ham, to see the house and garden of the Duke of Lauderdale, which is indeed inferior to few of the best villas in Italy itself ; the house furnished like a great Prince's ; the parterres, flower-gardens, orangeries, groves, avenues, courts, statues, perspectives, fountains, aviaries, and all this at the banks of the sweetest river in the world, must needs be admirable.

Hence, I went to my worthy friend, Sir Henry Capel, [at Kew] brother to the Earl of Essex ; it is an old timber-house ; but his garden has the choicest fruit of any plantation in England, as he is the most industrious and understanding in it.

*29th.* I was called to London to wait upon the Duke of Norfolk, who having at my sole request bestowed the Arundelian Library on the Royal Society, sent to me to take charge of the books, and remove them, only stipulating that I would suffer the Herald's chief officer, Sir William Dugdale, to have such of them as concerned Heraldry and the Marshal's office, books of Armory and Genealogies, the Duke being Earl Marshal of England. I procured for our Society, besides printed books, near one hundred MSS., some in Greek of great concernment. The printed books being of the oldest impressions, are not the less valuable ; I esteem them almost equal to MSS. Amongst them, are most of the Fathers, printed at Basil, before the Jesuits abused them with their expurgatory Indexes ; there is a noble MS. of Vitruvius. Many of these books had been presented by Popes, Cardinals, and great persons, to the Earls of Arundel and Dukes of Norfolk ; and the late magnificent Earl of Arundel bought a noble library in Germany, which is in this collection. I should not, for the honour I bear the family, have persuaded the Duke to part with these, had I not seen how negligent he was of them, suffering the priests and everybody to carry away and dispose of what they pleased ; so that abundance of rare things are irrecoverably gone.

Having taken order here, I went to the Royal Society to give them an account of what I had procured, that they might call a Council and appoint a day to wait on the Duke to thank him for this munificent gift.

*3rd September.* I went to London, to dine with Mrs. Godolphin, and



found her in labour ; she was brought to bed of a son, who was baptised in the chamber, by the name of Francis, the susceptors being Sir William Godolphin (head of the family), Mr. John Hervey, Treasurer to the Queen, and Mrs. Boscawen, sister to Sir William and the father.

*8th September.* Whilst I was at church came a letter from Mr. Godolphin, that my dear friend his lady was exceedingly ill, and desiring my prayers and assistance. My wife and I took boat immediately, and went to Whitehall, where, to my inexpressible sorrow, I found she had been attacked with a new fever, then reigning this excessive hot autumn, and which was so violent, that it was not thought she could last many hours.

*9th.* She died in the 26th year of her age, to the inexpressible affliction of her dear husband, and all her relations, but of none in the world more than of myself, who lost the most excellent and inestimable friend that ever lived. Never was a more virtuous and inviolable friendship ; never a more religious, discreet, and admirable creature, beloved of all, admired of all, for all possible perfections of her sex. She is gone to receive the reward of her signal charity, and all other her Christian graces, too blessed a creature to converse with mortals, fitted as she was, by a most holy life, to be received into the mansions above. She was for wit, beauty, goodness, fidelity, discretion, and all accomplishments, the most incomparable person. How shall I ever repay the obligations to her for the infinite good offices she did my soul by so often engaging me to make religion the terms and tie of the friendship there was between us ! She was the best wife, the best mistress, the best friend, that ever husband had. But it is not here that I pretend to give her character, *having designed to consecrate her worthy life to posterity.*

Her husband, struck with unspeakable affliction, fell down as dead. The King himself, and all the Court, expressed their sorrow. To the poor and miserable, her loss was irreparable ; for there was no degree but had some obligation to her memory. So careful and provident was she to be prepared for all possible accidents, that (as if she foresaw her end) she received the heavenly viaticum but the Sunday before, after a most solemn recollection. She put all her domestic concerns into the exactest order, and left a letter directed to her husband, to be opened in case she died in child-bed, in which with the most pathetic and endearing expressions of the most loyal and virtuous wife, she begs his kindness to her memory might be continued by his care and esteem of those she left behind, even to her domestic servants, to the meanest of which she left considerable legacies, as well as to the poor. It was now seven years since she was Maid of Honour to the Queen, that she regarded me as a father, a brother, and what is more, a friend. We often prayed, visited the sick and miserable, received, read, discoursed, and communicated in all holy offices together. She was most dear to my wife, and affectionate to my children. But she is gone ! This only is my comfort, that she is happy in Christ, and I shall shortly behold her again<sup>a</sup> ! She desired to be buried in the

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Godolphin (afterwards Lord Godolphin) continued the steady friend of Mr. Evelyn, whose grandson married into his family. The infant now mentioned as born, carried on through a long life the friendly family intercourse thus earnestly begun ; and Evelyn, in redemption of the promise in the text, wrote Mrs. Godolphin's Life, which has lately been published under the auspices of the Bishop of Oxford.

dormitory of his family, near three hundred miles from all her other friends. So afflicted was her husband at this severe loss, that the entire care of her funeral was committed to me. Having closed the eyes, and dropped a tear upon the cheek of my dear departed friend, lovely even in death, I caused her corpse to be embalmed and wrapped in lead, a plate of brass soldered thereon, with an inscription, and other circumstances due to her worth, with as much diligence and care as my grieved heart would permit me; I then retired home for two days, which were spent in solitude and sad reflection.

17th September. She was, accordingly, carried to Godolphin, in Cornwall, in a hearse with six horses, attended by two coaches of as many, with about thirty of her relations and servants. There accompanied the hearse her husband's brother, Sir William, two more of his brothers, and three sisters: her husband was so overcome with grief, that he was wholly unfit to travel so long a journey, till he was more composed. I went as far as Hounslow with a sad heart; but was obliged to return upon some indispensable affairs. The corpse was ordered to be taken out of the hearse every night, and decently placed in the house, with tapers about it, and her servants attending, to Cornwall; and then was honourably interred in the parish church of Godolphin. This funeral cost not much less than £1000.

With Mr. Godolphin, I looked over and sorted his lady's papers, most of which consisted of Prayers, Meditations, Sermon-notes, Discourses, and Collections on several religious subjects, and many of her own happy composing, and so pertinently digested, as if she had been all her life a student in divinity. We found a diary of her solemn resolutions, tending to practical virtue, with letters from select friends, all put into exact method. It astonished us to see what she had read and written, her youth considered.

1st October. The Parliament and the whole Nation were alarmed about a conspiracy of some eminent Papists for the destruction of the King and introduction of Popery, discovered by one Oates and Dr. Tongue<sup>a</sup>, which

<sup>a</sup> Ezrael Tonge was bred in University College, Oxford, and being puritanically inclined, quitted the University; but in 1648 returned, and was made a Fellow. He had the living of Pluckley, in Kent, which he resigned in consequence of quarrels with his parishioners and Quakers. In 1657, he was made Fellow of the newly-erected College at Durham, and that being dissolved in 1660, he taught school at Islington. He then went with Colonel Edward Harley to Dunkirk, and subsequently took a small living in Herefordshire (Lentwardine): but quitted it for St. Mary Stayning, in London, which, after the fire in 1666, was united to St. Michael, Wood Street. These he held till his death, in 1680. He was a great opponent of the Roman Catholics. Wood mentions several publications of his, among which are, *The Jesuits unmasked*, 1678; *Jesuitical Aphorisms*, 1678; and *The Jesuits' Morals*, 1680 (1670); the two latter translated from the French. (Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*, vol. ii, p. 502.) Evelyn speaks of the last of these translations as having been executed by his desire: and it figures in a notable passage of Oates's testimony. Oates said, for example, 'that Thomas Whitbread, a priest, on 13th June, 16... did tell the rector of St. Omer's that a Minister of the Church of England had scandalously put out the *Jesuits' Morals* in English, and had endeavoured to render them odious, and had asked the Rector whether he thought Oates might know him? and the Rector called the deponent, who heard these words as he stood at the chamber-door, and when he went into the chamber of the Provincial, he asked him "If he knew the author of the *Jesuits' Morals*?"



*last I knew, being the translator of the ' Jesuits' Morals' ;* I went to see and converse with him at Whitehall, with Mr. Oates, one that was lately an apostate to the church of Rome, and now returned again with this discovery. He seemed to be a bold man, and, in my thoughts, furiously indiscreet ; but everybody believed what he said ; and it quite changed the genius and motions of the Parliament, growing now corrupt and interested with long sitting and Court practices ; but, with all this, Popery would not go down. This discovery turned them all as one man against it, and nothing was done but to find out the depth of this. Oates was encouraged, and everything he affirmed taken for gospel—the truth is, the Roman Catholics were exceeding bold and busy everywhere, since the Duke forbore to go any longer to the chapel.

16th October. Mr. Godolphin requested me to continue the trust his wife had reposed in me, in behalf of his little son, conjuring me to transfer the friendship I had for his dear wife, on him and his.

21st. The murder of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, found strangled about this time, as was manifest, by the Papists, he being the Justice of the Peace, and one who knew much of their practices, as conversant with Coleman (a servant of the . . . now accused), put the whole nation into a new ferment against them.

31st. Being my 58th of my age, required my humble addresses to Almighty God, and that He would take off His heavy hand, still on my family ; and restore comforts to us after the loss of my excellent friend.

5th November. Dr. Tillotson preached before the Commons at St. Margaret's. He said the Papists were now arrived at that impudence, as to deny that there ever was any such as the gunpowder-conspiracy ; but he affirmed that he himself had several letters written by Sir Everard Digby (one of the traitors), in which he gloried that he was to suffer for it ; and that it was so contrived, that of the Papists not above two or three should have been blown up, and they, such as were not worth saving.

15th. The Queen's birthday. I never saw the Court more brave, nor the nation in more apprehension and consternation. Coleman and one Staly had now been tried, condemned, and executed. On this, Oates grew so presumptuous, as to accuse the Queen of intending to poison the King ; which certainly that pious and virtuous lady abhorred the thoughts of, and Oates's circumstances made it utterly unlikely in my opinion. He probably thought to gratify some who would have been glad his Majesty should have married a fruitful lady ; but the King was too kind a husband to let any of these make impression on him. However, divers of the Popish peers were sent to the Tower, accused by Oates ; and all the Roman Catholic lords were by a new Act for ever excluded the Parliament ; which was a mighty blow. The King's, Queen's, and Duke's servants, were banished, and a test to be taken by everybody who pretended to enjoy any office of public trust, and who would not be suspected of Popery. I went with Sir William Godolphin, a member of the Commons' House, to the Bishop of Ely (Dr. Peter Gunning), to be resolved whether masses were idolatry, as the text expressed it, which was so worded

deponent answered, " His person but not his name." Whitbread then demanded, whether he would undertake to poison, or assassinate the author ; which deponent undertook, having £50 reward promised him, and appointed to return to England.'

that several good Protestants scrupled, and Sir William, though a learned man and excellent divine himself, had some doubts about it. The Bishop's opinion was, that he might take it, though he wished it had been otherwise worded in the text.

1678-9. 15th January. I went with my Lady Sunderland to Chelsea, and dined with the Countess of Bristol [her mother] in the great house, formerly the Duke of Buckingham's, a spacious and excellent place for the extent of ground and situation in a good air<sup>a</sup>. The house is large, but ill-contrived, though my Lord of Bristol who purchased it after he sold Wimbledon to my Lord Treasurer, expended much money on it. There were divers pictures of Titian and Vandyke, and some of Bassano, very excellent, especially an Adonis and Venus, a Duke of Venice, a butcher in his shambles selling meat to a Swiss; and of Vandyke, my Lord of Bristol's picture, with the Earl of Bedford's at length, in the same table. There was in the garden a rare collection of orange-trees, of which she was pleased to bestow some upon me.

16th. I supped this night with Mr. Secretary at one Mr. Houblon's, a French merchant, who had his house furnished *en Prince*, and gave us a splendid entertainment<sup>b</sup>.

25th. The Long Parliament, which had sat ever since the Restoration, was dissolved by persuasion of the Lord Treasurer, though divers of them were believed to be his pensioners. At this, all the politicians were at a stand, they being very eager in pursuit of the late plot of the Papists.

30th. Dr. Cudworth preached before the King at Whitehall, on 2 Timothy iii. 5, reckoning up the perils of the last times, in which, amongst other wickedness, treasons should be one of the greatest, applying it to the occasion, as committed under a form of reformation and godliness; concluding that the prophecy did intend more particularly the present age, as one of the last times; the sins there enumerated, more abundantly reigning than ever.

2nd February. Dr. Durell, Dean of Windsor, preached to the household at Whitehall, on 1 Cor. xvi. 22; he read the whole sermon out of his notes, which I had never before seen a Frenchman do, he being of Jersey, and bred at Paris.

4th. Dr. Pierce, Dean of Salisbury, preached on 1 John iv. 1, 'Try the Spirits, there being so many delusory ones gone forth of late into the world'; he inveighed against the pernicious doctrines of Mr. Hobbes.

<sup>a</sup> This mansion stood at the north end of Beaufort Row, extending westward about 100 yards from the water-side. It was originally called Buckingham-House: but in January 1682 was sold by Lady Anne Russell, daughter of Francis, Earl of Bedford, to Henry, Marquis of Worcester, created Duke of Beaufort in the same year; after whom it was known by the title of Beaufort-House. It continued to be the residence of this family till, about the year 1720, when, having stood empty for several years, it was purchased by Sir Hans Sloane, in 1738, and was pulled down in 1740.—Faulkner's *History of Chelsea*.

<sup>b</sup> One of the most eminent of the merchants of London at this period. Two of James Houblon's sons obtained the honour of knighthood. Sir James became one of the members for the city, in 1648; Sir John was Lord Mayor, one of the Commissioners of the Admiralty, and Governor of the Bank of England. From the former descend the Houblons of Hallingbury-place, Essex, and of Culverthorpe, Lincoln. Pepys mentions 'five brothers Houblon', and he adds, 'mighty fine gentlemen they are all, and used me mighty respectfully.'



My Brother, Evelyn, was now chosen Knight for the County of Surrey, carrying it against my Lord Longford and Sir Adam Brown, of Bechworth Castle. The country coming in to give him their suffrages were so many, that I believe they eat and drank him out near £2000, by a most abominable custom.

1st April. My friend, Mr. Godolphin, was now made one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and of the Privy Council.

4th. The Bishop of Gloucester preached in a manner very like Bishop Andrews, full of divisions, and scholastical, and that with much quickness. The holy Communion followed.

20th. Easter-day. Our vicar preached exceeding well on 1 Cor. v. 7. The holy Communion followed, at which I and my daughter, Mary (now about fourteen years old), received for the first time. The Lord Jesus continue His grace unto her, and improve this blessed beginning!

24th. The Duke of York, voted against by the Commons for his recusancy, went over to Flanders; which made much discourse.

4th June. I dined with Mr. Pepys in the Tower, he having been committed by the House of Commons for misdemeanors in the Admiralty when he was Secretary; I believe he was unjustly charged<sup>a</sup>. Here I saluted my Lords Stafford and Petre, who were committed for the Popish plot.

7th. I saw the magnificent cavalcade and entry of the Portugal ambassador.

17th. I was godfather to a son of Sir Christopher Wren, surveyor of his Majesty's buildings, that most excellent and learned person, with Sir William Fermor, and my Lady Viscountess Newport, wife of the Treasurer of the Household.

Thence to Chelsea, to Sir Stephen Fox, and my lady, in order to the purchase of the Countess of Bristol's house there, which she desired me to procure a chapman for.

19th. I dined at Sir Robert Clayton's with Sir Robert Viner<sup>b</sup>, the great banker.

22nd. There were now divers Jesuits executed about the plot, and a rebellion in Scotland of the fanatics, so that there was a sad prospect of public affairs.

25th. The new Commissioners of the Admiralty came to visit me, viz., Sir Henry Capell, brother to the Earl of Essex, Mr. Finch, eldest son to the Lord Chancellor, Sir Humphry Winch, Sir Thomas Meeres, Mr. Hales, with some of the Commissioners of the Navy. I went with them to London.

<sup>a</sup> Pepys was concerned in a contested election in 1684, and his opponent having accused him of being a Papist, the House of Commons proceeded to make inquiry into the charge, but failed in the proof. By Grey's *Debates* (vol. vii, 303-15). it would seem that another accusation brought against Pepys was the having sent information to the French court of the state of the English Navy—a charge which has been properly scouted as incredible.

<sup>b</sup> A very wealthy banker, whom Pepys describes as living in great state at Swakely House, Ickenham, Middlesex. When Lord Mayor, he entertained Charles II at Guildhall; and on his Majesty retiring, urged him to 'return and take t'other bottle.' He was created a Baronet. The crown was indebted to Sir Robert Viner, at the shutting of the Exchequer, nearly half a million of money, for which he was awarded 25,000*l.* 9*s.* 4*d.* per annum, out of the excise.

1st July. I dined at Sir William Godolphin's, and with that learned gentleman went to take the air in Hyde-Park, where was a glorious *cortège*.

3rd. Sending a piece of venison to Mr. Pepys, still a prisoner, I went and dined with him.

6th. Now were there papers, speeches, and libels, publicly cried in the streets against the Dukes of York and Lauderdale, &c., obnoxious to the Parliament, with too much and indeed too shameful a liberty; but the people and Parliament had gotten head by reason of the vices of the great ones.

There was now brought up to London a child, son of one Mr. Wotton<sup>a</sup>, formerly amanuensis to Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Winton, who both read and perfectly understood Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Syriac, and most of the modern languages; disputed in divinity, law, and all the sciences; was skilful in history, both ecclesiastical and profane; in politics; in a word, so universally and solidly learned at eleven years of age, that he was looked on as a miracle. Dr. Lloyd, one of the most deep learned divines of this nation in all sorts of literature, with Dr. Burnet, who had severely examined him, came away astonished, and they told me they did not believe there had the like appeared in the world. He had only

<sup>a</sup> The Rev. Henry Wotton, minister of Wrentham, in Suffolk. This son was afterwards the celebrated William Wotton, the friend and defender of Dr. Bentley, and the antagonist of Sir William Temple, in the great Controversy about Ancient and Modern Learning. His early and extraordinary proficiency in letters, and general knowledge of every kind, was commemorated by his father in a pamphlet *On the Education of Children*, addressed to King Charles II, and reprinted in 1753, with the attestations of several learned men who had examined him, to the truth of his uncommon abilities and wonderful acquisitions in the different languages, both ancient and modern. Nevertheless these eminent qualifications did not advance him in the line of his profession beyond a Fellowship at Cambridge, and the country parsonage of Milton, in Buckinghamshire, which was given him by the Earl of Nottingham, to whom he had been chaplain. Sir Philip Skippon, who lived at Wrentham, in Suffolk, in a letter to Mr. John Ray, Sept. 18, 1671, writes: 'I shall somewhat surprise you with what I have seen in a little boy, William Wotton, five years old last month, son of Mr. Wotton, minister of this parish, who hath instructed his child within the last three quarters of a year in the reading the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew languages, which he can read almost as well as English, and that tongue he could read at four years and three months old, as well as most lads of twice his age.' Sir Philip left also a draft of a longer letter to Mr. Ray, in which he adds, 'He is not yet able to parse any language, but what he performs in turning the three learned tongues into English is done by strength of memory, so that he is ready to mistake when some words of different signification have near the same sound. His father hath taught him by no rules but only uses his memory in remembering words.'—He was admitted of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, April, 1676, some months before he was ten years old. He took the degree of B.A. when only twelve years and five months old. Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Sarum, recommended him to Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, who took him as an assistant in making a catalogue of his books, and carried him to St. Asaph, and gave him the sinecure of Llandrillo, in Denbighshire. Swift laughed at him, but this he drew upon himself by having attacked the author of the *Tale of a Tub*. He published, as is well known, an answer to that great satire. He also compiled *Memoirs of the Cathedral Churches of St. David and St. Asaph*, which Browne Willis published. When very young, he remembered almost the whole of any discourse he had heard, and on a certain occasion he repeated to Bishop Lloyd one of his own sermons. He died in 1726, aged 61, and was buried at Buxted, in Sussex.



been instructed by his father, who being himself a learned person, confessed that his son knew all that he himself knew. But, what was more admirable than his vast memory, was his judgment and invention, he being tried with divers hard questions, which required maturity of thought and experience. He was also dexterous in chronology, antiquities, mathematics. In sum, an *intellectus universalis*, beyond all that we read of Picus Mirandula, and other precocious wits, and yet withal a very humble child.

14th July. I went to see how things stood at Parson's Green, my Lady Viscountess Mordaunt (now sick in Paris, whither she went for health) having made me a trustee for her children, an office I could not refuse to this most excellent, pious, and virtuous lady, my long acquaintance.

15th. I dined with Mr. Sidney Godolphin, now one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury.

18th. I went early to the Old Bailey Sessions-house, to the famous trial of Sir George Wakeman, one of the Queen's physicians, and three Benedictine monks<sup>a</sup>; the first (whom I was well acquainted with, and take to be a worthy gentleman abhorring such a fact) for intending to poison the King; the others as accomplices to carry on the plot, to subvert the government, and introduce Popery. The Bench was crowded with the Judges, Lord Mayor, Justices, and innumerable spectators. The chief accusers, Dr. Oates (as he called himself), and one Bedlow, a man of inferior note. Their testimonies were not so pregnant, and I fear much of it from hearsay, but swearing positively to some particulars, which drew suspicion upon their truth; nor did circumstances so agree, as to give either the Bench, or Jury, so entire satisfaction as was expected. After, therefore, a long and tedious trial of nine hours, the Jury brought them in not guilty, to the extraordinary triumph of the Papists, and without sufficient disadvantage and reflections on witnesses, especially Oates and Bedlow.

This was a happy day for the Lords in the Tower, who expecting their trial, had this gone against the prisoners at the bar, would all have been in the utmost hazard. For my part, I look on Oates as a vain, insolent man, puffed up with the favour of the Commons for having discovered something really true, more especially as detecting the dangerous intrigue of Coleman, proved out of his own letters, and of a general design which the Jesuited party of the Papists ever had and still have, to ruin the Church of England; but that he was trusted with those great secrets he pretended, or had any solid ground for what he accused divers noblemen of, I have many reasons to induce my contrary belief. That among so many commissions as he affirmed to have delivered to them from P. Oliva<sup>b</sup> and the Pope,—he who made no scruple of opening all other papers, letters, and secrets, should not only not open any of those pretended commissions, but not so much as take any copy or witness of any one of them, is almost miraculous. But the commons (some leading persons I mean of them) had so exalted him, that they took all he said for Gospel, and without more ado ruined all whom he named to be conspirators; nor did he spare

<sup>a</sup> William Marshal, William Rumley, and James Corker.—See *State Trials*, fol., vol. ii, p. 918.

<sup>b</sup> Padrè Oliva, General of the Order of Jesuits.

whoever came in his way. But indeed the murder of Sir Edmundbury Godfrey, suspected to have been compassed by the Jesuits' party for his intimacy with Coleman (a busy person whom I also knew), and the fear they had that he was able to have discovered things to their prejudice, did so exasperate not only the Commons but all the nation, that much of these sharpnesses against the more honest Roman Catholics who lived peaceably, is to be imputed to that horrid fact.

The sessions ended, I dined or rather supped (so late it was) with the Judges<sup>a</sup> in the large room annexed to the place, and so returned home. Though it was not my custom or delight to be often present at any capital trials, we having them commonly so exactly published by those who take them in short-hand, yet I was inclined to be at this signal one, that by the ocular view of the carriages and other circumstances of the managers and parties concerned, I might inform myself, and regulate my opinion of a cause that had so alarmed the whole nation.

22nd July. Dined at Clapham, at Sir D. Gauden's; went thence with him to Windsor, to assist him in a business with his Majesty. I lay that night at Eton College, the Provost's lodgings (Dr. Craddock), where I was courteously entertained.

23rd. To Court: after dinner, I visited that excellent painter, Verrio, whose works in *fresco* in the King's palace, at Windsor, will celebrate his name as long as those walls last. He showed us his pretty garden, choice flowers, and curiosities, he himself being a skilful gardener.

I went to Clifden, that stupendous natural rock, wood, and prospect, of the Duke of Buckingham's<sup>b</sup>, and buildings of extraordinary expense. The grotts in the chalky rocks are pretty: it is a romantic object, and the place altogether answers the most poetical description that can be made of solitude, precipice, prospect, or whatever can contribute to a thing so very like their imaginations. The stand, somewhat like Frascati as to its front, and on the platform is a circular view to the utmost verge of the horizon, which, with the serpentine of the Thames, is admirable. The staircase is for its materials singular; the cloisters, descents, gardens, and avenue through the wood, august and stately; but the land all about wretchedly barren, and producing nothing but fern. Indeed, as I told his Majesty that evening (asking me how I liked Clifden) without flattery, that it did not please me so well as Windsor for the prospect and park, which is without compare; there being but one only opening, and that narrow, which led one to any variety, whereas that of Windsor is everywhere great and unconfined.

Returning, I called at my cousin Evelyn's, who has a very pretty seat in the forest, two miles by hither Clifden, on a flat, with gardens exquisitely kept, though large, and the house a staunch good old building, and what was singular, some of the rooms floored dove-tail-wise without a nail

<sup>a</sup> The Judges were Lord Chief Justice North, Mr. Justice Atkins, Mr. Justice Windham, Mr. Justice Pemberton, and Mr. Justice Dolben.

<sup>b</sup> ————— Clifden's proud alcove,  
The bower of wanton Shrewsbury and Love.—POPE.

—The same Countess of Shrewsbury, who, when her husband challenged the Duke, her paramour, is said to have held the horse of the latter, in the habit of a page, while they fought.



exactly close. One of the closets is pargetted with plain deal, set in diamond, exceeding staunch and pretty.

*7th August.* Dined at the Sheriffs, when, the Company of Drapers and their wives being invited, there was a sumptuous entertainment, according to the forms of the city, with music, &c., comparable to any Prince's service in Europe.

*8th.* I went this morning to show my Lord Chamberlain his Lady, and the Duchess of Grafton, the incomparable work of Mr. Gibbon, the carver, whom I first recommended to his Majesty, his house being furnished like a cabinet, not only with his own work, but divers excellent paintings of the best hands. Thence, to Sir Stephen Fox's, where we spent the day.

*31st.* After evening service, to see a neighbour, one Mr. Bohun, related to my son's late tutor of that name, a rich Spanish merchant, living in a neat place, which he has adorned with many curiosities, especially several carvings of Mr. Gibbon, and some pictures by Streeter.

*13th September.* To Windsor, to congratulate his Majesty on his recovery; I kissed the Duke's hand, now lately returned from Flanders<sup>a</sup> to visit his brother the King, on which there were various bold and foolish discourses, the Duke of Monmouth being sent away.

*19th.* My Lord Sunderland, one of the principal Secretaries of State, invited me to dinner, where was the King's natural son, the Earl of Plymouth, the Earl of Shrewsbury, Earl of Essex, Earl of Mulgrave, Mr. Hyde, and Mr. Godolphin. After dinner, I went to prayers at Eton, and visited Mr. Henry Godolphin, fellow there, and Dr. Craddock.

*25th.* Mr. Slingsby and Signor Verrio came to dine with me, to whom I gave China oranges off my own trees, as good, I think, as were ever eaten.

*6th October.* A very wet and sickly season.

*23rd.* Dined at my Lord Chamberlain's, the King being now newly returned from his Newmarket recreations.

*4th November.* Dined at the Lord Mayor's; and, in the evening, went to the funeral of my pious, dear, and ancient learned friend, Dr. Jasper Needham, who was buried at St. Bride's church. He was a true and holy Christian, and one who loved me with great affection. Dr. Dove preached with an eulogy due to his memory. I lost in this person one of my dearest remaining sincere friends.

*5th.* I was invited to dine at my Lord Tiviotdale's, a Scotch Earl, a learned and knowing nobleman. We afterwards went to see Mr. Montague's new palace near Bloomsbury, built by our curator, Mr. Hooke, somewhat after the French; it was most nobly furnished, and a fine, but too much exposed garden<sup>b</sup>.

*6th.* Dined at the Countess of Sunderland's, and was this evening at the re-marriage of the Duchess of Grafton to the Duke (his Majesty's natural son), she being now twelve years old. The ceremony was performed in my Lord Chamberlain's (her father's) lodgings at Whitehall by the Bishop of Rochester, his Majesty being present. A sudden and unexpected thing, when everybody believed the first marriage would have come to nothing; but, the measure being determined, I was privately invited by my Lady,

<sup>a</sup> He returned the day before, the 12th of September. This is another of the indications that the entries of this Diary were not always made on the precise days they refer to.

<sup>b</sup> Now the British Museum.

her mother, to be present. I confess I could give her little joy, and so I plainly told her, but she said the King would have it so, and there was no going back. This sweetest, hopefulest, most beautiful child, and most virtuous too, was sacrificed to a boy that had been rudely bred, without anything to encourage them but his Majesty's pleasure. I pray God the sweet child find it to her advantage, who, if my augury deceive me not, will in few years be such a paragon as were fit to make the wife of the greatest Prince in Europe ! I staid supper, where his Majesty sat between the Duchess of Cleveland (the mother of the Duke of Grafton) and the sweet Duchess the bride ; there were several great persons and ladies, without pomp. My love to my Lord Arlington's family, and the sweet child made me behold all this with regret, though, as the Duke of Grafton affects the sea, to which I find his father intends to use him, he may emerge a plain, useful, and robust officer ; and, were he polished, a tolerable person ; for he is exceeding handsome, by far surpassing any of the King's other natural issue.

8th November. At Sir Stephen Fox's, and was agreeing for the Countess of Bristol's house at Chelsea, within 500*l*.

18th. I dined at my Lord Mayor's, being desired by the Countess of Sunderland to carry her thither on a solemn day, that she might see the pomp and ceremony of this Prince of Citizens, there never having been any, who for the stateliness of his palace, prodigious feasting, and magnificence, exceeded him. This Lord Mayor's acquaintance had been from the time of his being apprentice to one Mr. Abbot, his uncle<sup>a</sup>, who being a scrivener, and an honest worthy man, one who was condemned to die at the beginning of the troubles forty years past, as concerned in the commission of array for King Charles I had escaped with his life ; I often used his assistance in money-matters. Robert Clayton, then a boy, his nephew, became, after his uncle Abbot's death, so prodigiously rich and opulent, that he was reckoned one of the wealthiest citizens. He married a free-hearted woman, who became his hospitable disposition ; and, having no children, with the accession of his partner and fellow apprentice<sup>b</sup>, who also left him his estate, he grew excessively rich. He was a discreet magistrate, and though envied, I think without much cause. Some believed him guilty of hard dealing, especially with the Duke of Buckingham, much of whose estate he had swallowed, but I never saw any ill by him, considering the trade he was of. The reputation and known integrity of his uncle, Abbot, brought all the royal party to him, by which he got not only great credit, but vast wealth, so as he passed this office with infinite magnificence and honour.

20th. I dined with Mr. Slingsby, Master of the Mint, with my wife, invited to hear music, which was exquisitely performed by four of the most renowned masters : Du Prue, a Frenchman, on the lute ; Signor Bartholomeo, an Italian, on the harpsichord ; Nicholao on the violin ; but, above all, for its sweetness and novelty, the *viol d'amore* of five wire strings played on with a bow, being but an ordinary violin, played on lyre way, by a German. There was also a *flute douce*, now in much request for accompanying the voice. Mr. Slingsby, whose son and daughter played skilfully, had these meetings frequently in his house.

<sup>a</sup> The Lord Mayor was now Sir Robert Clayton.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. Morris.



21st November. I dined at my Lord Mayor's, to accompany my worthiest and generous friend, the Earl of Ossory; it was on a Friday, a private day, but the feast and entertainment might have become a King. Such an hospitable costume and splendid magistrature does no city in the world show, as I believe.

23rd. Dr. Allestree preached before the household on *St. Luke* xi. 2; Dr. Lloyd on *Matt.* xxiii. 20, before the King, showing with how little reason the Papists applied those words of our blessed Saviour to maintain the pretended infallibility they boast of. I never heard a more Christian and excellent discourse; yet were some offended that he seemed to say the Church of Rome was a true church; but it was a captious mistake; for he never affirmed anything that could be more to their reproach, and that such was the present Church of Rome, showing how much it had erred. There was not in this sermon so much as a shadow for censure, no person of all the clergy having testified greater zeal against the errors of the Papists than this pious and most learned person. I dined at the Bishop of Rochester's, and then went to St. Paul's, to hear that great wit, Dr. Sprat, now newly succeeding Dr. Outram, in the cure of St. Margaret's. His talent was, a great memory, never making use of notes, a readiness of expression in a most pure and plain style of words, full of matter, easily delivered.

26th. I met the Earl of Clarendon with the rest of my fellow executors of the will of my late Lady Viscountess Mordaunt, namely, Mr. Laurence Hyde, one of the Commissioners of the Treasury, and lately Plenipotentiary-Ambassador at Nimeguen; Andrew Newport; and Sir Charles Wheeler; to examine and audit and dispose of this year's account of the estate of this excellent Lady, according to the direction of her will.

27th. I went to see Sir John Stonehouse, with whom I was treating a marriage between my son and his daughter-in-law.

28th. Came over the Duke of Monmouth from Holland unexpectedly to his Majesty; whilst the Duke of York was on his journey to Scotland, whither the King sent him to reside and govern. The bells and bonfires of the City at this arrival of the Duke of Monmouth publishing their joy, to the no small regret of some at Court. This Duke, whom for distinction they called the Protestant Duke (though the son of an abandoned woman), the people made their idol.

4th December. I dined, together with Lord Ossory and the Earl of Chesterfield, at the Portugal Ambassador's, now newly come, at Cleveland House, a noble palace, too good for that infamous . . . The staircase is sumptuous, and the gallery and garden; but, above all, the costly furniture belonging to the Ambassador, especially the rich Japan cabinets, of which I think there were a dozen. There was a billiard-table, with as many more hazards as ours commonly have; the game being only to prosecute the ball till hazarded, without passing the port, or touching the pin; if one miss hitting the ball every time, the game is lost, or if hazarded. It is more difficult to hazard a ball, though so many, than in our table, by reason the bound is made so exactly even, and the edges not stuffed; the balls are also bigger, and they for the most part use the sharp and small end of the billiard-stick, which is shod with brass, or silver. The entertainment was exceeding civil; but, besides a good olio, the dishes were trifling, hashed and condited after their way, not at all fit for an English

stomach, which is for solid meat. There was yet good fowls, but roasted to coal, nor were the sweetmeats good.

30th December. I went to meet Sir John Stonehouse, and give him a particular of the settlement on my son, who now made his addresses to the young lady his daughter-in-law, daughter of Lady Stonehouse.

1679-80. 25th January. Dr. Cave, author of *Primitive Christianity*, &c., a pious and learned man<sup>a</sup>, preached at Whitehall to the household, on James iii. 17, concerning the duty of grace and charity.

30th. I supped with Sir Stephen Fox, now made one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury.

19th February. The writings for the settling jointure and other contracts of marriage of my son were finished and sealed. The lady was to bring £5000, in consideration of a settlement of £500 a-year present maintenance, which was likewise to be her jointure, and £500 a-year after mine and my wife's decease. But, with God's blessing, it will be at the least £1000 a-year more in a few years. I pray God make him worthy of it, and a comfort to his excellent mother, who deserves much from him!

21st. Shrove-Tuesday. My son was married to Mrs. Martha Spencer, daughter to my Lady Stonehouse by a former gentleman, at St. Andrew's, Holborn, by our Vicar, borrowing the church of Dr. Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's, the present incumbent. We afterwards dined at a house in Holborn; and, after the solemnity and dancing was done, they were bedded at Sir John Stonehouse's lodgings in Bow Street, Covent Garden.

26th. To the Royal Society, where I met an Irish Bishop with his Lady, who was daughter to my worthy and pious friend, Dr. Jeremy Taylor, late Bishop of Down and Connor; they came to see the Repository. She seemed to be a knowing woman, beyond the ordinary talent of her sex.

3rd March. I dined at my Lord Mayor's, in order to the meeting of my Lady Beckford, whose daughter (a rich heiress) I had recommended to my brother of Wotton for his only son, she being the daughter of the lady by Mr. Eversfield, a Sussex gentleman.

16th. To London, to receive £3000 of my daughter-in-law's portion, which was paid in gold.

26th. The Dean of Sarum preached on *Jerem.* xlv. 5, an hour and a half from his common-place book, of kings and great men retiring to private situations. Scarce any thing of Scripture in it.

18th April. On the earnest invitation of the Earl of Essex, I went with him to his house at Cashiobury, in Hertfordshire. It was on Sunday, but going early from his house in the square of St. James, we arrived by ten o'clock; this he thought too late to go to church, and we had prayers in his chapel. The house is new, a plain fabric, built by my friend, Mr. Hugh May. There are divers fair and good rooms, and excellent carving by Gibbon, especially the chimney-piece of the library. There is in the porch, or entrance, a painting by Verrio, of Apollo and the Liberal Arts. One room pargetted with yew, which I liked well. Some of the chimney mantels are of Irish marble, brought by my Lord from Ireland, when he was Lord Lieutenant, and not much inferior to Italian. The tympanum, or gable, at the front is a bass-relievo of Diana hunting, cut in Portland stone, handsomely enough. I do not approve of the middle

<sup>a</sup> Mr. William Cave; author also of *Lives of the Apostles and Martyrs*, and *Historia Literaria*. Born 1637, died 1713.



doors being round : but, when the hall is finished as designed, it being an oval with a cupola, together with the other wing, it will be a very noble palace. The library is large, and very nobly furnished, and all the books are richly bound and gilded ; but there are no MSS., except the Parliament Rolls and Journals, the transcribing and binding of which cost him, as he assured me, £500.

No man has been more industrious than this noble Lord in planting about his seat, adorned with walks, ponds, and other rural elegancies ; but the soil is stony, churlish, and uneven, nor is the water near enough to the house, though a very swift and clear stream run within a flight-shot from it in the valley, which may fitly be called Coldbrook, it being indeed excessive cold, yet producing fair trouts. It is pity the house was not situated to more advantage : but it seems it was built just where the old one was, which I believe he only meant to repair ; this leads men into irremediable errors, and saves but a little.

The land about is exceedingly addicted to wood, but the coldness of the place hinders the growth. Black cherry-trees prosper even to considerable timber, some being eighty feet long ; they make also very handsome avenues. There is a pretty oval at the end of a fair walk, set about with treble rows of Spanish chesnut-trees.

The gardens are very rare, and cannot be otherwise, having so skilful an artist to govern them as Mr. Cooke, who is, as to the mechanic part, not ignorant in mathematics, and pretends to astrology. There is an excellent collection of the choicest fruit.

As for my Lord, he is a sober, wise, judicious, and pondering person, not illiterate beyond the rate of most noblemen in this age, very well versed in English History and affairs, industrious, frugal, methodical, and every way accomplished. His Lady (being sister of the late Earl of Northumberland) is a wise, yet somewhat melancholy woman, setting her heart too much on the little lady, her daughter, of whom she is over fond. They have a hopeful son at the Academy.

My Lord was not long since come from his Lord-Lieutenancy of Ireland, where he showed his abilities in administration and government, as well as prudence in considerably augmenting his estate without reproach. He had been Ambassador Extraordinary in Denmark, and, in a word, such a person as became the son of that worthy hero, his father to be, the late Lord Capel, who lost his life for King Charles I.

We spent our time in the mornings in walking, or riding, and contriving [alterations], and the afternoons in the library, so as I passed my time for three or four days with much satisfaction. He was pleased in conversation to impart to me divers particulars of state, relating to the present times. He being no great friend to the D—— was now laid aside, his integrity, and abilities being not so suitable in this conjuncture.—21<sup>st</sup>. I returned to London.

30<sup>th</sup> April. To a meeting of the executors of late Viscountess Mordaunt's estate, to consider of the sale of Parson's Green, being in treaty with Mr. Loftus, and to settle the half year's account.

1<sup>st</sup> May. Was a meeting of the feoffees of the poor of our parish. This year I would stand one of the collectors of their rents, to give example to others. My son was added to the feoffees.

This afternoon came to visit me Sir Edward Deering, of Surrendon, in

Kent, one of the Lords of the Treasury, with his daughter, married to my worthy friend, Sir Robert Southwell, Clerk of the Council, now Extraordinary-Envoy to the Duke of Brandenburg, and other Princes in Germany, as before he had been in Portugal, being a sober, wise, and virtuous gentleman.

13th May. I was at the funeral of old Mr. Shish, master-shipwright of his Majesty's Yard here, an honest and remarkable man, and his death a public loss, for his excellent success in building ships (though altogether illiterate), and for breeding up so many of his children to be able artists. I held up the pall with three knights, who did him that honour, and he was worthy of it. It was the custom of this good man to rise in the night, and to pray, kneeling in his own coffin, which he had lying by him for many years. He was born that famous year, the Gunpowder-plot, 1605.

14th June. Came to dine with us the Countess of Clarendon, Dr. Lloyd, Dean of Bangor (since Bishop of St. Asaph), Dr. Burnet, author of the *History of the Reformation*, and my old friend, Mr. Henshaw. After dinner, we all went to see the Observatory, and Mr. Flamsted, who showed us divers rare instruments, especially the great quadrant.

24th July. Went with my wife and daughter to Windsor, to see that stately court, now near finished. There was erected in the court the King on horseback, lately cast in copper, and set on a rich pedestal of white marble, the work of Mr. Gibbon, at the expense of Toby Rustate, a page<sup>a</sup> of the back stairs, who by his wonderful frugality had arrived to a great estate in money, and did many works of charity, as well as this of gratitude to his master, which cost him £1000. He is a very simple, ignorant, but honest and loyal creature.

We all dined at the Countess of Sunderland's, afterwards to see Signor Verrio's garden, thence to Eton College, to salute the Provost, and heard a Latin speech of one of the Alumni (it being at the election) and were invited to supper; but took our leave, and got to London that night in good time.

26th. My most noble and illustrious friend, the Earl of Ossory, espying me this morning after sermon in the privy gallery, calling to me, told me he was now going his journey (meaning to Tangier, whither he was designed Governor, and General of the forces, to regain the losses we had lately sustained from the Moors, when Inchiquin was Governor). I asked if he would not call at my house (as he always did whenever he went out of England on any exploit). He said he must embark at Portsmouth, 'wherefore let you and I dine together to-day; I am quite alone, and have something to impart to you; I am not well, shall be private, and desire your company.'

Being retired to his lodgings, and set down on a couch, he sent to his secretary for the copy of a letter which he had written to Lord Sunderland (Secretary of State), wishing me to read it; it was to take notice how ill he resented it, that he should tell the King before Lord Ossory's face, that Tangier was not to be kept, but would certainly be lost, and yet added that it was fit Lord Ossory should be sent, that they might give some account of it to the world, meaning (as supposed) the next Parliament, when all such miscarriages would probably be examined; this Lord

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Tobias Rustate. He was a great benefactor to Jesus College, Cambridge; in particular by an endowment of scholarships there for the benefit of young students, orphan sons of Clergymen.



Ossory took very ill of Lord Sunderland, and not kindly of the King, who resolving to send him with an incompetent force, seemed, as his Lordship took it, to be willing to cast him away, not only on a hazardous adventure, but in most men's opinion, an impossibility, seeing there was not to be above 300 or 400 horse, and 4000 foot for the garrison and all, both to defend the town, form a camp, repulse the enemy, and fortify what ground they should get in. This touched my Lord deeply, that he should be so little considered as to put him on a business in which he should probably not only lose his reputation, but be charged with all the miscarriage and ill success ; whereas, at first they promised 6000 foot and 600 horse effective.

My Lord, being an exceeding brave and valiant person, and who had so approved himself in divers signal battles, both at sea and land ; so beloved and so esteemed by the people, as one they depended on, upon all occasions worthy of such a captain ; he looked on this as too great an indifference in his Majesty, after all his services, and the merits of his father, the Duke of Ormond, and a design of some who envied his virtue. It certainly took so deep root in his mind, that he who was the most void of fear in the world (and assured me he would go to Tangier with ten men if His Majesty commanded him) could not bear up against this unkindness. Having disburdened himself of this to me after dinner, he went with his Majesty to the Sheriffs at a great supper in Fishmongers' Hall ; but, finding himself ill, took his leave immediately of his Majesty, and came back to his lodging. Not resting well this night, he was persuaded to remove to Arlington House, for better accommodation. His disorder turned to a malignant fever, which increasing, after all that six of the most able physicians could do, he became delirious, with intervals of sense, during which Dr. Lloyd (after Bishop of St. Asaph) administered the Holy Sacrament, of which I also participated. He died the Friday following, the 30th July, to the universal grief of all that knew or heard of his great worth, nor had any a greater loss than myself. Oft would he say I was the oldest acquaintance he had in England (when his father was in Ireland), it being now of about thirty years, contracted abroad, when he rode in the Academy in Paris, and when we were seldom asunder.

His Majesty never lost a worthier subject, nor father a better or more dutiful son ; a loving, generous, good-natured, and perfectly obliging friend ; one who had done innumerable kindnesses to several before they knew it ; nor did he ever advance any that were not worthy ; no one more brave, more modest ; none more humble, sober, and every way virtuous. Unhappy England in this illustrious person's loss ! Universal was the mourning for him, and the eulogies on him ; I staid night and day by his bedside to his last gasp, to close his dear eyes ! O sad father, mother, wife, and children ! What shall I add ? He deserved all that a sincere friend, a brave soldier, a virtuous courtier, a loyal subject, an honest man, a bountiful master, and good Christian, could deserve of his prince and country. One thing more let me note, that he often expressed to me the abhorrence he had of that base and unworthy action which he was put upon, of engaging the Smyrna fleet in time of peace, in which though he behaved himself like a great captain, yet he told me it was the only blot in his life, and troubled him exceedingly. Though he was commanded, and never examined further when he was so, yet he

always spake of it with regret and detestation. The Countess was at the seat of her daughter, the Countess of Derby, about 200 miles off.

30th August. I went to visit a French gentleman, one Monsieur Chardin<sup>a</sup>, who having been thrice in the East Indies, Persia, and other remote countries, came hither in our return-ships from those parts, and it being reported that he was a very curious and knowing man, I was desired by the Royal Society to salute him in their name, and to invite him to honour them with his company. Sir Joseph Hoskins and Sir Christopher Wren accompanied me. We found him at his lodgings in his Eastern habit, a very handsome person, extremely affable, a modest, well-bred man, not inclined to talk wonders. He spake Latin, and understood Greek, Arabic, and Persian, from eleven years' travels in those parts, whither he went in search of jewels, and was become very rich. He seemed about 36 years of age. After the usual civilities, we asked some account of the extraordinary things he must have seen in travelling over land to those places where few, if any, northern Europeans, used to go, as the Black and Caspian Sea, Mingrelia, Bagdat, Nineveh, Persepolis, &c. He told us that the things most worthy of our sight would be, the draughts he had caused to be made of some noble ruins, &c.; for that, besides his own little talent that way, he had carried two good painters with him, to draw landscapes, measure and design the remains of the palace which Alexander burnt in his frolic at Persepolis, with divers temples, columns, relievos, and statues, yet extant, which he affirmed to be sculpture far exceeding anything he had observed either at Rome, in Greece, or in any other part of the world where magnificence was in estimation. He said there was an inscription in letters not intelligible, though entire. He was sorry he could not gratify the curiosity of the Society at present, his things not being yet out of the ship; but would wait on them with them on his return from Paris, whither he was going the next day, but with intention to return suddenly, and stay longer here, the persecution in France not suffering Protestants, and he was one, to be quiet.

He told us that Nineveh was a vast city, now all buried in her ruins, the inhabitants building on the subterranean vaults, which were, as appeared, the first stories of the old city<sup>b</sup>; that there were frequently found huge vases of fine earth, columns, and other antiquities; that the straw which the Egyptians required of the Israelites, was not to burn, or cover the rows of bricks as we use, but being chopped small to mingle with the clay, which being dried in the sun (for they bake not in the furnaces) would else cleave asunder; that in Persia are yet a race of Ignicolæ, who worship the sun and the fire as Gods; that the women of Georgia and Mingrelia were universally, and without any compare, the most beautiful creatures for shape, features, and figure, in the world, and therefore the Grand Seignor and Bashaws had had from thence most of their wives and concubines; that there had within these hundred years been Amazons amongst them, that is to say, a sort of race of valiant women, given to war; that Persia was extremely fertile; he spoke also of Japan and China, and of the many great errors of our late geographers, as we suggested matter for

<sup>a</sup> Better known as Sir John Chardin, he having, though a Frenchman, been knighted by Charles II. He was an enterprising traveller in the East, and his accounts of India and Persia were thought peculiarly interesting. He died in 1713.

<sup>b</sup> See *ante*, p. 341.



discourse. We then took our leaves, failing of seeing his papers ; but it was told us by others that indeed he durst not open, or show them, till he had first showed them to the French King ; but of this he himself said nothing.

2nd September. I had an opportunity, his Majesty being still at Windsor, of seeing his private library at Whitehall, at my full ease. I went with expectation of finding some curiosities, but, though there were about 1000 volumes, there were few of importance which I had not perused before. They consisted chiefly of such books as had from time to time been dedicated, or presented to him ; a few histories, some Travels and French books, abundance of maps and sea charts, entertainments and pomps, buildings and pieces relating to the Navy, some mathematical instruments ; but what was most rare, were three or four Romish breviaries, with a great deal of miniature and monkish painting and gilding, one of which is most exquisitely done, both as to the figures, grotesques, and compartments, to the utmost of that curious art. There is another in which I find written by the hand of King Henry VII, his giving it to his dear daughter, Margaret, afterwards Queen of Scots, in which he desires her to pray for his soul, subscribing his name at length. There is also the process of the philosophers' great elixir, represented in divers pieces of excellent miniature, but the discourse is in high Dutch, a MS. There is another MS. in quarto, of above 300 years old, in French, being an institution of physic, and in the botanical part the plants are curiously painted in miniature ; also a folio MS. of good thickness, being the several exercises, as *Themes, Orations, Translations, &c.*, of King Edward VI, all written and subscribed by his own hand, and with his name very legible, and divers of the Greek inter-leaved and corrected after the manner of schoolboys' exercises, and that exceedingly well and proper ; with some epistles to his preceptor, which show that young Prince to have been extraordinarily advanced in learning, and as Cardan, who had been in England affirmed, stupendously knowing for his age. There is likewise his *Journal*<sup>a</sup>, no less testifying his early ripeness and care about the affairs of state.

There are besides many pompous volumes, some embossed with gold, and intaglios on agates, medals, &c. I spent three or four entire days, locked up, and alone, among these books and curiosities. In the rest of the private lodgings contiguous to this, are divers of the best pictures of the great masters, Raphael, Titian, &c., and, in my esteem, above all, the *Noli me tangere* of our Blessed Saviour to Mary Magdalene after His Resurrection, of Hans Holbein ; than which I never saw so much reverence and kind of heavenly astonishment expressed in a picture<sup>b</sup>.

There are also divers curious clocks, watches, and pendules of exquisite work, and other curiosities. An ancient woman who made these lodgings clean, and had all the keys, let me in at pleasure for a small reward, by means of a friend.

6th. I dined with Sir Stephen Fox, now one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. This gentleman came first a poor boy from the choir of Salisbury, then he was taken notice of by Bishop Duppa,

<sup>a</sup> Several extracts from this journal are made by Burnet in his *History of the Reformation*.

<sup>b</sup> Now, with other pictures mentioned in the course of this Diary, in the gallery at Hampton Court.

and afterwards waited on my Lord Percy (brother to Algernon Earl of Northumberland), who procured for him an inferior place amongst the Clerks of the Kitchen and Green-Cloth side, where he was found so humble, diligent, industrious, and prudent in his behaviour, that his Majesty being in exile, and Mr. Fox waiting, both the King and Lords about him frequently employed him about their affairs, and trusted him both with receiving and paying the little money they had. Returning with his Majesty to England, after great wants and great sufferings, his Majesty found him so honest and industrious, and withal so capable and ready, that, being advanced from Clerk of the Kitchen to that of the Green-Cloth, he procured to be Paymaster to the whole Army, and by his dexterity and punctual dealing he obtained such credit among the bankers, that he was in a short time able to borrow vast sums of them upon any exigence. The continual turning thus of money, and the soldiers' moderate allowance to him for keeping touch with them, did so enrich him, that he is believed to be worth at least £200,000, honestly got and unenvied; which is next to a miracle. With all this he continues as humble and ready to do a courtesy as ever he was.

He is generous, and lives very honourably, of a sweet nature, well-spoken, well-bred, and is so highly in his Majesty's esteem, and so useful, that being long since made a knight, he is also advanced to be one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury, and has the reversion of the Cofferer's place after Harry Brouncker. He has married his eldest daughter to my Lord Cornwallis, and gave her £12,000, and restored that entangled family besides. He matched his son to Mrs. Trollop, who brings with her (besides a great sum) near, if not altogether, £2000 per annum. Sir Stephen's lady (an excellent woman) is sister to Mr. Whittle, one of the King's chirurgeons. In a word, never was man more fortunate than Sir Stephen; he is a handsome person, virtuous, and very religious<sup>a</sup>.

*23rd September.* Came to my house some German strangers and Signor Pietro, a famous musician, who had been long in Sweden in Queen Christina's Court; he sung admirably to a guitar, and had a perfect good tenor and base, and had set to Italian composure many of Abraham Cowley's pieces which showed extremely well. He told me that in Sweden the heat in some part of summer was as excessive as the cold in winter; so cold, he affirmed, that the streets of all the towns are desolate, no creatures stirring in them for many months, all the inhabitants retiring to their stoves. He spake high things of that romantic Queen's learning and skill in languages, the majesty of her behaviour, her exceeding wit, and that the histories she had read of other countries, especially of Italy and Rome, had made her despise her own. That the real occasion of her resigning her crown was the nobleman's importuning her to marry, and the promise which the Pope had made her of procuring her to be Queen of Naples, which also caused her to change her religion; but she was cheated by his crafty Holiness<sup>b</sup>, working on her ambition; that the reason of her killing her secretary at Fontainebleau, was, his revealing that intrigue

<sup>a</sup> This notice of the founder of the peerages of Ilchester and Holland contains much that, quite apart from the nice details of genealogy, might sufficiently prove his kinship with the remarkable and genial representatives of those families in later times.

<sup>b</sup> Pope Alexander VII, of the family of Chighi, at Sienna.



with the Pope. But, after all this, I rather believe it was her mad prodigality and extreme vanity, which had consumed those vast treasures the great Adolphus, her father, had brought out of Germany during his [campaigns] there and wonderful successes; and that, if she had not voluntarily resigned, as foreseeing the event, the Estates of her kingdom would have compelled her to do so.

30th October. I went to London to be private, my birthday being the next day, and I now arrived at my sixtieth year; on which I began a more solemn survey of my whole life, in order to the making and confirming my peace with God, by an accurate scrutiny of all my actions past, as far as I was able to call them to mind. How difficult and uncertain, yet how necessary a work! The Lord be merciful to me, and accept me! Who can tell how oft he offendeth? Teach me, therefore, so to number my days, that I may apply my heart unto wisdom, and make my calling and election sure. Amen, Lord Jesus!

31st. I spent this whole day in exercises. A stranger preached at Whitehall<sup>a</sup> on *Luke* xvi. 30, 31. I then went to St. Martin's, where the Bishop of St. Asaph preached on 1 *Peter* iii. 15; the holy Communion followed, at which I participated, humbly imploring God's assistance in the great work I was entering into. In the afternoon, I heard Dr. Sprat, at St. Margaret's, on *Acts* xvii. 11.

I began and spent the whole week in examining my life, begging pardon for my faults, assistance and blessing for the future, that I might, in some sort, be prepared for the time that now drew near, and not have the great work to begin, when one can work no longer. The Lord Jesus help and assist me! I therefore stirred little abroad till the 5th November, when I heard Dr. Tenison, the now vicar of St. Martin's; Dr. Lloyd, the former incumbent, being made Bishop of St. Asaph.

7th November. I participated of the Blessed Communion, finishing and confirming my resolutions of giving myself up more entirely to God, to whom I had now most solemnly devoted the rest of the poor remainder of life in this world; the Lord enabling me, who am an unprofitable servant, a miserable sinner, yet depending on His infinite goodness and mercy accepting my endeavours.

15th. Came to dine with us Sir Richard Anderson, his lady, son, and wife, sister to my daughter-in-law.

30th. The anniversary election at the Royal Society, brought me to London, where was chosen President that excellent person and great philosopher, Mr. Robert Boyle, who indeed ought to have been the very first; but neither his infirmity nor his modesty could now any longer excuse him. I desired I might for this year be left out of the Council, by reason my dwelling was in the country. The Society according to custom dined together.

The signal day begun the trial (at which I was present) of my Lord Viscount Stafford, for conspiring the death of the King; second son to my Lord Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Earl Marshal of England, and grandfather to the present Duke of Norfolk, whom I so well knew, and from which excellent person I received so many favours. It was likewise his birthday. The trial was in Westminster-Hall, before

<sup>a</sup> Probably to the King's household, very early in the morning, as the custom was,

the King, Lords, and Commons ; just in the same manner as, forty years past, the great and wise Earl of Strafford (there being but one letter differing their names) received his trial for pretended ill government in Ireland, in the very same place, this Lord Stafford's father being then High-Steward. The place of sitting was now exalted some considerable height from the paved floor of the Hall, with a stage of boards. The throne, woolpacks for the Judges, long forms for the Peers, chair for the Lord Steward, exactly ranged, as in the House of Lords. The sides on both hands scaffolded to the very roof for the members of the House of Commons. At the upper end, and on the right side of the King's state, was a box for his Majesty, and on the left, others for the great ladies, and over head a gallery for ambassadors and public ministers. At the lower end, or entrance, was a bar, and place for the prisoner, the Lieutenant of the Tower of London, the axe-bearer and guards, my Lord Stafford's two daughters, the Marchioness of Winchester being one ; there was likewise a box for my Lord to retire into. At the right hand, in another box, somewhat higher, stood the witnesses ; at the left, the managers, in the name of the Commons of England, namely, Serjeant Maynard (the great lawyer, the same who prosecuted the cause against the Earl of Strafford forty years before, being now near eighty years of age), Sir William Jones, late Attorney-General, Sir Francis Winnington, a famous pleader, and Mr. Treby, now Recorder of London<sup>a</sup>, not appearing in their gowns as lawyers, but in their cloaks and swords, as representing the Commons of England : to these were joined Mr. Hampden, Dr. Sacheverell, Mr. Poule, Colonel Titus, Sir Thomas Lee, all gentlemen of quality, and noted parliamentary men. The two first days, in which were read the commission and impeachment, were but a tedious entrance into matter of fact, at which I was but little present. But, on Thursday, I was commodiously seated amongst the Commons, when the witnesses were sworn and examined. The principal witnesses were Mr. Oates (who called himself Dr.), Mr. Dugdale, and Turberville. Oates swore that he delivered a commission to Viscount Stafford from the Pope, to be Paymaster-General to an army intended to be raised ; Dugdale, that being at Lord Aston's, the prisoner dealt with him plainly to murder his Majesty ; and Turberville, that at Paris he also proposed the same to him.

3<sup>rd</sup> December. The depositions of my Lord's witnesses were taken, to invalidate the King's witnesses ; they were very slight persons, but, being fifteen or sixteen, they took up all that day, and in truth they rather did my Lord injury than service.

4<sup>th</sup>. Came other witnesses of the Commons to corroborate the King's, some being Peers, some Commons, with others of good quality, who took off all the former day's objections, and set the King's witnesses *recti in Curia*.

6<sup>th</sup>. Sir William Jones summoned up the evidence ; to him succeeded all the rest of the managers, and then Mr. Henry Poule made a vehement oration. After this my Lord, as on all occasions, and often during the trial, spoke in his own defence, denying the charge altogether, and that he had never seen Oates, or Turberville, at the time and manner affirmed :

<sup>a</sup> Afterwards Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and knighted. Sir George Treby was also member of Parliament for Plympton, in Devonshire, where he was born. He died in 1702.



in truth, their testimony did little weigh with me ; Dugdale's only seemed to press hardest, to which my Lord spake a great while, but confusedly, without any method.

One thing my Lord said as to Oates, which I confess did exceedingly affect me : That a person who during his depositions should so vauntingly brag that though he went over to the Church of Rome, yet he was never a Papist, nor of their religion, all the time that he seemed to apostatise from the Protestant, but only as a spy ; though he confessed he took their sacrament, worshipped images, went through all their oaths, and discipline of their proselytes, swearing secrecy and to be faithful, but with intent to come over again and betray them—that such an hypocrite, that had so deeply prevaricated as even to turn idolater (for so we of the Church of England termed it), attesting God so solemnly that he was entirely theirs and devoted to their interest, and consequently (as he pretended) trusted—I say that the witness of such a profligate wretch should be admitted against the life of a peer,—this my Lord looked upon as a monstrous thing, and such as must needs redound to the dishonour of our religion and nation. And verily I am of his Lordship's opinion : such a man's testimony should not be taken against the life of a dog. But the merit of something material which he discovered against Coleman, put him in such esteem with the Parliament, that now, I fancy, he stuck at nothing, and thought everybody was to take what he said for gospel. The consideration of this, and some other circumstances, began to stagger me ; particularly how it was possible that one who went among the Papists on such a design, and pretended to be intrusted with so many letters and commissions from the Pope and the party, nay and delivered them to so many great persons, should not reserve one of them to show, nor so much as one copy of any commission, which he who had such dexterity in opening letters might certainly have done, to the undeniable conviction of those whom he accused ; but as I said he gained credit on Coleman. But, as to others whom he so madly flew upon, I am little inclined to believe his testimony, he being so slight a person, so passionate, ill-bred, and of such impudent behaviour ; nor is it likely that such piercing politicians as the Jesuits should trust him with so high and so dangerous secrets.

*7th December.* On Tuesday, I was again at the trial, when judgment was demanded ; and, after my Lord had spoken what he could in denying the fact, the managers answering the objections, the Peers adjourned to their House, and within two hours returned again. There was, in the meantime, this question put to the judges, ' whether there being but one witness to any single crime, or act, it could amount to convict a man of treason.' They gave an unanimous opinion that in case of treason they all were overt acts, for though no man should be condemned by one witness for any one act, yet for several acts to the same intent, it was valid ; which was my Lord's case. This being past, and the Peers in their seats again, the Lord Chancellor Finch (this day the Lord High-Steward) removing to the woosack next his Majesty's state, after summoning the Lieutenant of the Tower to bring forth his prisoner, and proclamation made for silence, demanded of every peer (who were in all eighty-six) whether William, Lord Viscount Stafford, were guilty of the treason laid to his charge, or not guilty.

Then the Peer spoken to, standing up and laying his right hand upon his

breast, said 'Guilty,' or 'Not guilty, upon my honour', and then sat down, the Lord Steward noting their suffrages as they answered upon a paper: when all had done, the number of Not guilty being but 31, the Guilty 55: and then, after proclamation for silence again, the Lord Steward directing his speech to the prisoner, against whom the axe was turned edgeways and not before, in aggravation of his crime, he being ennobled by the King's father, and since received many favours from his present Majesty: after enlarging on his offence, deploring first his own unhappiness that he who had never condemned any man before should now be necessitated to begin with him, he then pronounced sentence of death by hanging, drawing, and quartering, according to form, with great solemnity and dreadful gravity; and, after a short pause, told the prisoner that he believed the Lords would intercede for the omission of some circumstances of his sentence, beheading only excepted; and then breaking his white staff, the Court was dissolved. My Lord Stafford during all this latter part spake but little, and only gave their Lordships thanks after the sentence was pronounced; and indeed behaved himself modestly, and as became him.

It was observed that all his own relations of his name and family condemned him, except his nephew, the Earl of Arundel, son to the Duke of Norfolk. And it must be acknowledged that the whole trial was carried on with exceeding gravity: so stately and august an appearance I had never seen before; for, besides the innumerable spectators of gentlemen and foreign ministers, who saw and heard all the proceedings, the prisoner had the consciences of all the Commons of England for his accusers, and all the Peers to be his Judges and Jury. He had likewise the assistance of what counsel he would, to direct him in his plea, who stood by him. And yet I can hardly think that a person of his age and experience should engage men whom he never saw before (and one of them that came to visit him as a stranger at Paris) *point blank* to murder the King: God only who searches hearts, can discover the truth. Lord Stafford was not a man beloved, especially of his own family.

12th December. This evening, looking out of my chamber-window towards the west, I saw a meteor of an obscure bright colour, very much in shape like the blade of a sword, the rest of the sky very serene and clear. What this may portend, God only knows; but such another phenomenon I remember to have seen in 1640, about the trial of the great Earl of Strafford, preceding our bloody Rebellion. I pray God avert His judgments! We have had of late several comets, which though I believe appear from natural causes, and of themselves operate not, yet I cannot despise them. They may be warnings from God, as they commonly are forerunners of His animadversions. After many days and nights of snow, cloudy and dark weather, the comet was very much wasted.

17th. My daughter-in-law was brought to bed of a son, christened Richard.

22nd. A solemn public Fast that God would prevent all Popish plots, avert His judgments, and give a blessing to the proceedings of parliament now assembled, and which struck at the succession of the Duke of York.

29th. The Viscount Stafford was beheaded on Tower-hill.

1680-1. 10th February. I was at the wedding of my nephew, John Evelyn of Wotton, married by the Bishop of Rochester at Westminster,



in Henry VII's chapel, to the daughter and heir of Mr. Eversfield, of Sussex, her portion £8000. The solemnity was kept with a few friends only at Lady Beckford's, the lady's mother.

*8th March.* Visited and dined at the Earl of Essex's, with whom I spent most of the afternoon alone. Thence to my (yet living) godmother and kinswoman, Mrs. Keightley, sister to Sir Thomas Evelyn, and niece to my father, being now eighty-six years of age, sprightly, and in perfect health, her eyes serving her as well as ever, and of a comely countenance, that one would not suppose her above fifty.

*27th.* The Parliament now convened at Oxford. Great expectation of his Royal Highness's case as to the succession, against which the House was set.

An extraordinary sharp cold spring, not yet a leaf on the trees, frost and snow lying : whilst the whole nation was in the greatest ferment.

*11th April.* I took my leave of Dr. Lloyd (Bishop of St. Asaph) at his house in Leicester Fields, now going to reside in his diocese.

*12th.* I dined at Mr. Brisbane's, Secretary to the Admiralty, a learned and industrious person, whither came Dr. Burnet, to thank me for some papers I had contributed towards his excellent History of the Reformation.

*26th.* I dined at Don Pietro Ronquillo's, the Spanish Ambassador, at Wild House<sup>a</sup>, who used me with extraordinary civility. The dinner was plentiful, half after the Spanish, half after the English way. After dinner, he led me into his bedchamber, where we fell into a long discourse concerning religion. Though he was a learned man in politics, and an advocate, he was very ignorant in religion, and unable to defend any point of controversy ; he was, however, far from being fierce. At parting, he earnestly wished me to apply humbly to the Blessed Virgin to direct me, assuring me that he had known divers who had been averse from the Roman Catholic religion, wonderfully enlightened and convinced by her intercession. He importuned me to come and visit him often.

*29th.* But one shower of rain all this month.

*5th May.* Came to dine with me Sir William Fermor, of Northamptonshire, and Sir Christopher Wren, his Majesty's Architect and Surveyor, now building the Cathedral of St. Paul, and the Column in memory of the City's conflagration, and was in hand with the building of fifty parish churches. A wonderful genius had this incomparable person.

*16th.* Came my Lady Sunderland, to desire that I would propose a match to Sir Stephen Fox for her son, Lord Spencer, to marry Mrs. Jane, Sir Stephen's daughter. I excused myself all I was able ; for the truth is, I was afraid he would prove an extravagant man : for, though a youth of extraordinary parts, and had an excellent education to render him a worthy man, yet his early inclinations to extravagance made me apprehensive, that I should not serve Sir Stephen by proposing it, like a friend ; this being now his only daughter, well-bred, and likely to receive a large share of her father's opulence. Lord Sunderland was much sunk in his estate by gaming and other prodigalities, and was now no longer Secretary of State, having fallen into displeasure of the King for siding with the Commons about the succession ; but which, I am assured, he did not do out of his own inclination, or for the preservation of the Protestant religion ;

<sup>a</sup> Near Drury Lane.

but by mistaking the ability of the party to carry it. However, so earnest and importunate was the Countess, that I did mention it to Sir Stephen, who said that it was too great an honour, that his daughter was very young as well as my Lord, and he was resolved never to marry her without the parties' mutual liking; with other objections which I neither would nor could contradict. He desired me to express to the Countess the great sense he had of the honour done him, that his daughter and her son were too young; that he would do nothing without her liking, which he did not think her capable of expressing judiciously, till she was sixteen or seventeen years of age, of which she now wanted four years, and that I would put it off as civilly as I could.

*20th May.* Our new curate preached, a pretty hopeful young man, yet somewhat raw, newly come from college, full of Latin sentences, which in time will wear off. He read prayers very well.

*25th.* There came to visit me Sir William Walter and Sir John Elowes: and, the next day, the Earl of Kildare, a young gentleman related to my wife, and other company. There had scarce fallen any rain since Christmas.

*2nd June.* I went to Hampton Court, when the Surrey gentlemen presented their addresses to his Majesty, whose hand I kissed, introduced by the Duke of Albemarle. Being at the Privy Council, I took another occasion of discoursing with Sir Stephen Fox about his daughter and to revive that business, and at last brought it to this: That, in case the young people liked one the other, after four years, he first desiring to see a particular of my Lord's present estate if I could transmit it to him privately, he would make her portion £14,000, though to all appearance he might likely make it £50,000 as easily, his eldest son having no child, and growing very corpulent.

*12th.* It still continued so great a drought as had never been known in England, and it was said to be universal.

*14th August.* No sermon this afternoon, which I think did not happen twice in this parish these thirty years; so gracious has God been to it, and indeed to the whole nation: God grant that we abuse not this great privilege, either by our wantonness, schism, or unfaithfulness, under such means as He has not favoured any other nation under Heaven besides!

*23rd.* I went to Wotton, and, on the following day, was invited to Mr. Denzil Onslow's at his seat at Purford, where was much company, and such an extraordinary feast, as I had hardly seen at any country gentleman's table. What made it more remarkable was, that there was not anything save what his estate about it did afford; as venison, rabbits, hares, pheasants, partridges, pigeons, quails, poultry, all sorts of fowl in season from his own decoy near his house, and all sorts of fresh fish. After dinner, we went to see sport at the decoy, where I never saw so many herons.

The seat stands on a flat, the ground pasture, rarely watered, and exceedingly improved since Mr. Onslow bought it of Sir Robert Parkhurst, who spent a fair estate. The house is timber, but commodious, and with one ample dining-room, the hall adorned with paintings of fowl and huntings, &c., the work of Mr. Barlow, who is excellent in this kind from the life<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> This house has been pulled down many years. The estate is the property of the Onslow family.



30th August. From Wotton I went to see Mr. Hussey<sup>a</sup>, (at Sutton in Shere), who has a very pretty seat well watered, near my brother's. He is the neatest husband for curious ordering his domestic and field accommodations, and what pertains to husbandry, that I have ever seen, as to his granaries, tacklings, tools, and utensils, ploughs, carts, stables, wood-piles, wood-house, even to hen-roosts and hog-troughs. Methought, I saw old Cato, or Varro, in him ; all substantial, all in exact order. The sole inconvenience he lies under, is the great quantity of sand which the stream brings along with it, and fills his canals and receptacles for fish too soon. The rest of my time of stay at Wotton was spent in walking about the grounds and goodly woods, where I have in my youth so often entertained my solitude ; and so, on the 2nd of September, I once more returned to my home.

6th September. Died my pretty grandchild, and was interred on the 8th [at Deptford].

14th. Dined with Sir Stephen Fox, who proposed to me the purchasing of Chelsea College, which his Majesty had sometime since given to our Society, and would now purchase it again to build an hospital, or infirmary for soldiers there, in which he desired my assistance as one of the Council of the Royal Society.

15th. I had another opportunity of visiting his Majesty's private library, at Whitehall.

To Sir Samuel Morland's, to see his house and mechanics<sup>b</sup>.

17th. I went with Monsieur Faubert about taking the Countess of Bristol's house for an academy, he being lately come from Paris for his religion, and resolving to settle here<sup>c</sup>.

23rd. I went to see Sir Thomas Bond's fine house and garden, at Peckham.

2nd October. I went to Camberwell, where that good man Dr. Parr (late chaplain to Archbishop Usher) preached on *Acts* xvi. 30.

11th. To Fulham, to visit the Bishop of London, in whose garden I first saw the *Sedum arborescens* in flower, which was exceedingly beautiful.

5th November. Dr. Hooper preached on *Mark* xii. 16, 17, before the King, of the usurpation of the Church of Rome. This is one of the first rank of pulpit men in the nation<sup>d</sup>.

15th. I dined with the Earl of Essex, who after dinner in his study, where we were alone, related to me how much he had been scandalized and injured in the report of his being privy to the marriage of his Lady's

<sup>a</sup> *ante*, p. 315.

<sup>b</sup> In Lambeth, at what is now Vauxhall, where Sir Samuel Morland had fitted up a house. It contained a large room, furnished magnificently, and elaborate fountains constructed in the garden. He was much in favour with Charles the Second for services he had rendered to him while abroad, and this is probably the place to which it is said the King and his Ladies used to cross the water to go to. See Manning and Bray's *Hist. Surrey*, iii. 489, 490, 491. Poor Sir Samuel became blind at last, and seems to have suffered from a sort of religious melancholy. See *post*, p. 508.

<sup>c</sup> He had a riding-house between Swallow Street (now replaced by Regent Street) and King Street ; the passage by it between those streets is still called by his name.

<sup>d</sup> George Hooper, afterwards Dean of Canterbury, Bishop of St. Asaph, and then translated to the see of Bath and Wells. He died in 1727.

niece, the rich young widow of the late Lord Ogle, sole daughter of the Earl of Northumberland ; showing me a letter of Mr. Thynn's, excusing himself for not communicating his marriage to his Lordship. He acquainted me also with the whole story of that unfortunate lady being betrayed by her grandmother, the Countess of Northumberland, and Colonel Bret, for money ; and that though, upon the importunity of the Duke of Monmouth, he had delivered to the grandmother a particular of the jointure which Mr. Thynn pretended he would settle on the lady, yet he totally discouraged the proceeding, as by no means a competent match for one that both by birth and fortune might have pretended to the greatest prince in Christendom ; that he also proposed the Earl of Kingston, or the Lord Cranburn, but was by no means for Mr. Thynn<sup>a</sup>.

19th November. I dined with my worthy friend, Mr. Erskine, Master of the Charter-house, uncle to the Duchess of Monmouth ; a wise and learned gentleman, fitter to have been a privy councillor and minister of state than to have been laid aside.

24th. I was at the audience of the Russian Ambassador before both their Majesties in the Banqueting-house. The presents were carried before him, held up by his followers in two ranks before the King's State, and consisted of tapestry (one suite of which was doubtlessly brought from France as being of that fabric, the Ambassador having passed through that kingdom as he came out of Spain), a large Persian carpet, furs of sable and ermine, &c. ; but nothing was so splendid and exotic as the Ambassador who came soon after the King's restoration. This present Ambassador was exceedingly offended that his coach was not permitted to come into the Court, till, being told that no King's Ambassador did, he was pacified, yet requiring an attestation of it under the hand of Sir Charles Cotterell, the Master of the Ceremonies ; being, it seems, afraid he should offend his Master, if he omitted the least punctilio. It was reported he condemned his son to lose his head for shaving off his beard, and putting himself in the French mode at Paris, and that he would have executed it, had not the French King interceded—but qy. of this.

30th. Sir Christopher Wren chosen President [of the Royal Society], Mr. Austine, Secretary, with Dr. Plot, the ingenious author of the *History of Oxfordshire*. There was a most illustrious appearance.

1681-2. 11th January. I saw the audience of the Morocco Ambassador<sup>b</sup>,

<sup>a</sup> Thomas Thynne, Esq., of Longleat Hall, Wilts. He had married the young widow of Lord Ogle, but the marriage was never consummated ; and he had previously seduced, under a promise of marriage, a young lady, who is said to have been in some way instrumental to his murder. Hence the burlesque epitaph :

Here lies Tom Thynne of Longleat Hall,  
Who never would have miscarried,  
Had he married the woman he lay withal ;  
Or laid with the woman he married.

Assuming the truth of what Lord Essex conveyed to Evelyn in the text, the inclinations of the wealthy heiress were not consulted in her union ; and this may have given rise to the suspicion that she encouraged Count Königsmarke's addresses, and was privy to his murderous designs upon her husband.

<sup>b</sup> Named Hamet. He made his public entry through London the fifth of this month. On the thirtieth of May following, he was entertained at Oxford ; and, about the same time, dined with Elias Ashmole, who made him a present of a



his retinue not numerous. He was received in the Banqueting-house both their Majesties being present. He came up to the throne without making any sort of reverence, not bowing his head, or body. He spake by a renegado Englishman, for whose safe return there was a promise. They were all clad in the Moorish habit, cassocks of coloured cloth or silk, with buttons and loops, over this an *alhaga*, or white woollen mantle, so large as to wrap both head and body, a sash, or small turban, naked-legged and armed, but with leather socks like the Turks, rich scymitar, and large calico sleeved shirts. The Ambassador had a string of pearls oddly woven in his turban. I fancy the old Roman habit was little different as to the mantle and naked limbs. He was a handsome person, well-featured, of a wise look, subtle, and extremely civil. Their presents were lions and ostriches<sup>a</sup>; their errand about a peace at Tangier. But the concourse and tumult of the people was intolerable, so as the officers could keep no order, which these strangers were astonished at at first, there being nothing so regular, exact, and performed with such silence, as is on all these public occasions of their country, and indeed over all the Turkish dominions.

14th January. Dined at the Bishop of Rochester's, at the Abbey, it being his marriage-day, after twenty-four years. He related to me how he had been treated by Sir William Temple, foreseeing that he might be a delegate in the concern of my Lady Ogle now likely to come in controversy upon her marriage with Mr. Thynn; also, how earnestly the late Earl of Danby, Lord Treasurer, sought his friendship, and what plain and sincere advice he gave him from time to time about his miscarriages and partialities; particularly his outing Sir John Duncomb from being Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Sir Stephen Fox, above all, from being Paymaster of the Army. The Treasurer's excuse and reason was, that Fox's credit was so over-great with the bankers and monied men, that he could procure none but by his means; 'for that reason', replied the Bishop, 'I would have made him my friend, Sir Stephen being a person both honest and of credit.' He told him likewise of his stateliness and difficulty of access, and several other miscarriages, and which indeed made him hated.

24th. To the Royal Society, where at the Council we passed a new law for the more accurate consideration of candidates, as whether they would really be useful; also, concerning the honorary members, that none should be admitted but by diploma.

This evening, I was at the entertainment of the Morocco Ambassador at the Duchess of Portsmouth's glorious apartments at Whitehall, where was a great banquet of sweetmeats and music; but at which both the Ambassador and his retinue behaved themselves with extraordinary moderation and modesty, though placed about a long table, a lady between magnifying glass. July 14, the Ambassador took his leave of the King, and on the 23rd of the same month embarked for his own country. His visit, as Evelyn tells us, excited not only much interest in the Court circles, but great popular curiosity. The proof of this remains indeed in the different prints of him which exist, and among them a large and fine one by Robert White.

<sup>a</sup> Sir John Reresby informs us in his *Memoirs*, 'that the Ambassador's present consisted of two lions and thirty ostriches; at which his Majesty laughed, and said he knew nothing more proper to send by way of return than a flock of geese.'

two Moors, and amongst these were the King's natural children, namely, Lady Lichfield and Sussex, the Duchess of Portsmouth, Nelly, &c., concubines, and cattle of that sort, as splendid as jewels and excess of bravery could make them; the Moors neither admiring nor seeming to regard anything, furniture or the like, with any earnestness, and but decently tasting of the banquet. They drank a little milk and water, but not a drop of wine; they also drank of a sorbet and jocolatt<sup>a</sup>; did not look about, or stare on the ladies, or express the least surprise, but with a courtly negligence in pace, countenance, and whole behaviour, answering only to such questions as were asked with a great deal of wit and gallantry, and so gravely took leave with this compliment, that God would bless the Duchess of Portsmouth and the Prince, her son, meaning the little Duke of Richmond. The King came in at the latter end, just as the Ambassador was going away. In this manner was this slave (for he was no more at home) entertained by most of the nobility in town, and went often to Hyde Park on horseback, where he and his retinue showed their extraordinary activity in horsemanship, and flinging and catching their lances at full speed; they rode very short, and could stand upright at full speed, managing their spears with incredible agility. He went sometimes to the theatres, where, upon any foolish or fantastical action, he could not forbear laughing, but he endeavoured to hide it with extraordinary modesty and gravity. In a word, the Russian Ambassador, still at Court, behaved himself like a clown, compared to this civil heathen.

*27th January.* This evening, Sir Stephen Fox acquainted me again with his Majesty's resolution of proceeding in the erection of a Royal Hospital for emerited soldiers on that spot of ground which the Royal Society had sold to his Majesty for 1300*l.*, and that he would settle 5000*l.* per annum on it, and build to the value of 20,000*l.* for the relief and reception of four companies, namely, 400 men, to be as in a college, or monastery. I was therefore desired by Sir Stephen (who had not only the whole managing of this, but was, as I perceived, himself to be a grand benefactor, as well it became him who had gotten so vast an estate by the soldiers) to assist him, and consult what method to cast it in, as to the government. So, in his study we arranged the governor, chaplain, steward, house-keeper, chirurgion, cook, butler, gardener, porter, and other officers, with their several salaries and entertainments. I would needs have a library, and mentioned several books, since some soldiers might possibly be studious, when they were at leisure to recollect. Thus we made the first calculations, and set down our thoughts to be considered and digested better, to show his Majesty and the Archbishop. He also engaged me to consider of what laws and orders were fit for the government, which was to be in every respect as strict as in any religious convent.

After supper, came in the famous treble, Mr. Abel, newly returned from Italy; I never heard a more excellent voice; one would have sworn it had been a woman's, it was so high, and so well and skilfully managed, being accompanied by Signor Francesco on the harpsichord.

*28th.* Mr. Pepys, late Secretary to the Admiralty, showed me a large folio containing the whole mechanic part and art of building royal ships and men of war, made by Sir Anthony Dean, being so accurate a piece from the very keel to the lead block, rigging, guns, victualling, manning,

<sup>a</sup> Sherbet and chocolate.



and even to every individual pin and nail, in a method so astonishing and curious, with a draught, both geometrical and in perspective, and several sections, that I do not think the world can show the like. I esteem this book as an extraordinary jewel.

*7th February.* My daughter, Mary, began to learn music of Signor Bartholomeo, and dancing of Monsieur Isaac, reputed the best masters.

Having had several violent fits of an ague, recourse was had to bathing my legs in milk up to the knees, made as hot as I could endure it; and sitting so in it in a deep churn, or vessel, covered with blankets, and drinking *carduus* posset, then going to bed and sweating, I not only missed that expected fit, but had no more, only continued weak, that I could not go to church till Ash-Wednesday, which I had not missed, I think, so long in twenty years, so gracious had God been to me.

After this warning and admonition, I now began to look over and methodize all my writings, accompts, letters, papers; inventoried the goods, and other articles of the house, and put things into the best order I could, and made my will; that now, growing in years, I might have none of these secular things and concerns to distract me, when it should please Almighty God to call me from this transitory life. With this, I prepared some special meditations and devotions for the time of sickness. The Lord Jesus grant them to be salutary for my poor soul in that day, that I may obtain mercy and acceptance!

*1st March.* My second grandchild was born, and christened the next day by our vicar at Sayes Court, by the name of John<sup>a</sup>. I beseech God to bless him!

*2nd. Ash-Wednesday.* I went to church: our vicar preached on Proverbs, showing what care and vigilance was required for the keeping of the heart upright. The Holy Communion followed, on which I gave God thanks for His gracious dealing with me in my late sickness, and affording me this blessed opportunity of praising Him in the congregation, and receiving the cup of salvation with new and serious resolutions.

Came to see and congratulate my recovery, Sir John Lowther, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Pepys, Sir Anthony Deane, and Mr. Hill.

*10th.* This day was executed Colonel Vrats, and some of his accomplices, for the execrable murder of Mr. Thynn<sup>b</sup>, set on by the principal Koningsmark. He went to execution like an undaunted hero, as one that had done a friendly office for that base coward, Count Koningsmark, who had hopes to marry his widow, the rich Lady Ogle, and was acquitted by a corrupt jury, and so got away. Vrats told a friend of mine who accompanied him to the gallows, and gave him some advice, that he did not value dying of a rush, and hoped and believed God would deal with him like a gentleman. Never man went, so unconcerned for his sad fate.

*24th.* I went to see the corpse of that obstinate creature, Colonel Vrats, the King permitting that his body should be transported to his own country, he being of a good family, and one of the first embalmed by a particular art, invented by one William Russell, a coffin-maker, which preserved the

<sup>a</sup> Who became his successor, and was created a baronet in 1713. See *Lysons*, iv, 377.

<sup>b</sup> Who lies buried in Westminster Abbey, the manner of his death being represented on his monument.

body without disbowelling, or to appearance using any bituminous matter. The flesh was florid, soft, and full, as if the person were only sleeping. He had now been dead near fifteen days, and lay exposed in a very rich coffin lined with lead, too magnificent for so daring and horrid a murderer.

At the meeting of the Royal Society were exhibited some pieces of amber sent by the Duke of Brandenburg, in one of which was a spider, in another a gnat, both very entire. There was a discourse of the tingeing of glass, especially with red, and the difficulty of finding any red colour effectual to penetrate glass, among the glass-painters; that the most diaphanous, as blue, yellow, &c., did not enter into the substance of what was ordinarily painted, more than very shallow, unless incorporated in the metal itself, other reds and whites not at all beyond the superficies.

*5th April.* To the Royal Society, where at a Council was regulated what collections should be published monthly, as formerly the transactions, which had of late been discontinued, but were now much called for by the curious abroad and at home.

*12th.* I went this afternoon with several of the Royal Society to a supper which was all dressed, both fish and flesh, in Monsieur Papin's digestors, by which the hardest bones of beef itself, and mutton, were made as soft as cheese, without water or other liquor, and with less than eight ounces of coals, producing an incredible quantity of gravy; and for close of all, a jelly made of the bones of beef, the best for clearness and good relish, and the most delicious that I had ever seen, or tasted. We eat pike and other fish bones, and all without impediment; but nothing exceeded the pigeons, which tasted just as if baked in a pie, all these being stewed in their own juice, without any addition of water save what swam about the digester, as *in balneo*; the natural juice of all these provisions acting on the grosser substances, reduced the hardest bones to tenderness; but it is best descanted with more particulars for extracting tinctures, preserving and stewing fruit, and saving fuel, in Dr. Papin's book, published and dedicated to our Society, of which he is a member. He is since gone to Venice with the late Resident here (and also a member of our Society), who carried this excellent mechanic, philosopher, and physician, to set up a philosophical meeting in that city. This philosophical supper caused much mirth amongst us, and exceedingly pleased all the company. I sent a glass of the jelly to my wife, to the reproach of all that the ladies ever made of their best hartshorn<sup>a</sup>.

The season was unusually wet, with rain and thunder.

*25th May.* I was desired by Sir Stephen Fox and Sir Christopher Wren to accompany them to Lambeth, with the plot and design of the College to be built at Chelsea, to have the Archbishop's approbation. It was a quadrangle of 200 feet square, after the dimensions of the larger quadrangle at Christ-Church, Oxford, for the accommodation of 440 persons, with governor and officers. This was agreed on.

The Duke and Duchess of York were just now come to London, after his escape and shipwreck, as he went by sea for Scotland.

<sup>a</sup> Denys Papin, a French physician and mathematician, who possessed so remarkable a knowledge of mathematics, that he very nearly brought the invention of the steam-engine into working order. He assisted Mr. Boyle in his pneumatic experiments, and was afterwards mathematical professor at Marpurg. He died in 1710.



28th May. At the Rolls' chapel preached the famous Dr. Burnet on 2 *Peter* i. 10, describing excellently well what was meant by election; viz., not the effect of any irreversible decree, but so called because they embraced the Gospel readily, by which they became elect, or precious to God. It would be very needless to make our calling and election sure, were they irreversible and what the rigid Presbyterians pretend. In the afternoon, to St. Lawrence's church, a new and cheerful pile.

29th. I gave notice to the Bishop of Rochester of what Maimburg had published about the motives of the late Duchess of York's perversion, in his *History of Calvinism*; and did myself write to the Bishop of Winchester<sup>a</sup> about it, who being concerned in it, I urged him to set forth his vindication.

31st. The Morocco Ambassador being admitted an honorary member of the Royal Society, and subscribing his name and titles in Arabic, I was deputed by the Council to go and compliment him.

19th June. The Bantam<sup>b</sup>, or East India Ambassadors, (at this time we had in London the Russian, Moroccan, and Indian Ambassadors), being invited to dine at Lord George Berkeley's (now Earl), I went to the entertainment to contemplate the exotic guests. They were both very hard-favoured, and much resembling in countenance some sort of monkeys. We eat at two tables, the Ambassadors and interpreter by themselves. Their garments were rich Indian silks, flowered with gold, viz., a close waistcoat to their knees, drawers, naked legs, and on their heads caps made like fruit-baskets. They wore poisoned daggers at their bosoms, the hafts carved with some ugly serpents' or devils' heads, exceeding keen, and of Damascus metal. They wore no sword. The second Ambassador (sent it seems to succeed in case the first should die by the way in so tedious a journey), having been at Mecca, wore a Turkish or Arab sash, a little part of the linen hanging down behind his neck, with some other difference of habit, and was half a negro, bare-legged and naked feet, and deemed a very holy man. They sate crossed-legged like Turks, and sometimes in the posture of apes and monkeys; their nails and teeth as black as jet, and shining, which being the effect, as to their teeth, of perpetually chewing betel to preserve them from the tooth-ache, much raging in their country, is esteemed beautiful.

The first ambassador was of an olive hue, a flat face, narrow eyes, squat nose, and Moorish lips, no hair appeared; they wore several rings of silver, gold, and copper on their fingers, which was a token of knighthood, or nobility. They were of Java Major, whose princes have been turned Mahomedans not above fifty years since; the inhabitants are still pagans and idolaters. They seemed of a dull and heavy constitution, not wondering at any thing they saw; but exceedingly astonished how our law gave us propriety in our estates, and so thinking we were all kings, for they could not be made to comprehend how subjects could possess any thing but at the pleasure of their Prince, they being all slaves; they were pleased with the notion, and admired our happiness. They were very sober, and I believe subtle in their way. Their meat was cooked, carried up, and

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Morley.

<sup>b</sup> The name of one was Pungearon Nia Para, of the other Kaia Nebbe, or Keay Nabee. There are prints existing of both, representing them exactly as here described. There were others in the embassy, but probably of inferior degree.

they attended by several fat slaves, who had no covering save drawesr, which appeared very uncouth and loathsome. They eat their pilaw, and other spoon-meat, without spoons, taking up their pottage in the hollow of their fingers, and very dexterously flung it into their mouths without spilling a drop.

17th July. Came to dine with me, the Duke of Grafton and the young Earl of Ossory, son to my most dear deceased friend.

30th. Went to visit our good neighbour, Mr. Bohun<sup>a</sup>, whose whole house is a cabinet of all elegancies, especially Indian ; in the hall are contrivances of Japan screens, instead of wainscot ; and there is an excellent pendule clock enclosed in the curious flower-work of Mr. Gibbon, in the middle of the vestibule. The landscapes of the screens represent the manner of living, and country of the Chinese. But, above all, his lady's cabinet is adorned on the fret, ceiling, and chimney-piece, with Mr. Gibbon's best carving. There are also some of Streeter's best paintings, and many rich curiosities of gold and silver as growing in the mines. The gardens are exactly kept, and the whole place very agreeable and well watered. The owners are good neighbours, and Mr. Bohun has also built and endowed an hospital for eight poor people, with a pretty chapel, and every necessary accommodation.

1st August. To the Bishop of London at Fulham, to review the additions which Mr. Marshall had made to his curious book of flowers in miniature, and collection of insects.

4th. With Sir Stephen Fox, to survey the foundations of the Royal Hospital begun at Chelsea.

9th. The Council of the Royal Society had it recommended to them to be trustees and visitors, or supervisors, of the Academy which Monsieur Faubert did hope to procure to be built by subscription of worthy gentlemen and noblemen, for the education of youth, and to lessen the vast expense the nation is at yearly by sending children into France to be taught military exercises. We thought good to give him all the encouragement our recommendation could procure.

15th. Came to visit me Dr. Rogers, an acquaintance of mine long since at Padua. He was then Consul of the English nation, and student in that University, where he proceeded Doctor in Physic ; presenting me now with the Latin oration he lately made upon the famous Dr. Harvey's anniversary in the College of Physicians, at London.

20th. This night I saw another comet, near Cancer, very bright, but the stream not so long as the former.

29th. Supped at Lord Clarendon's, with Lord Hyde, his brother, now the great favourite, who invited himself to dine at my house the Tuesday following.

30th October. Being my birthday, and I now entering my great climacterical of 63, after serious recollections of the years past, giving Almighty God thanks for all His merciful preservations and forbearance, begging pardon for my sins and unworthiness, and His blessing on me the year entering ; I went with my Lady Fox to survey her building, and give some directions for the garden at Chiswick<sup>b</sup> ; the architect is Mr. May ; somewhat heavy and thick, and not so well understood ; the garden much too

<sup>a</sup> This was at Lee. See Hasted's *History of Kent*, vol. i, p. 67.

<sup>b</sup> See Lysons' *Environs*, ii, p. 209.



narrow, the place without water, near a highway, and near another great house of my Lord Burlington, little land about it, so that I wonder at the expense ; but women will have their will.

*25th November.* I was invited to dine with Monsieur Lionberg, the Swedish Resident, who made a magnificent entertainment, it being the birthday of his King. There dined the Duke of Albemarle, Duke of Hamilton, Earl of Bath, Earl of Aylesbury, Lord Arran, Lord Castlehaven, the son of him who was executed fifty years before, and several great persons. I was exceedingly afraid of drinking (it being a Dutch feast), but the Duke of Albemarle being that night to wait on his Majesty, excess was prohibited ; and, to prevent all, I stole away and left the company as soon as we rose from table.

*28th.* I went to the Council of the Royal Society, for the auditing the last year's accompt, where I was surprised with a fainting fit that for a time took away my sight ; but God being merciful to me, I recovered it after a short repose.

*30th.* I was exceedingly endangered and importuned to stand the election<sup>a</sup>, having so many voices, but by favour of my friends, and regard of my remote dwelling, and now frequent infirmities, I desired their suffrages might be transferred to Sir John Hoskins, one of the Masters of Chancery ; a most learned virtuoso as well as lawyer, who accordingly was elected.

*7th December.* Went to congratulate Lord Hyde (the great favourite), newly made Earl of Rochester<sup>b</sup>, and lately marrying his eldest daughter to the Earl of Ossory.

*18th.* I sold my East India adventure of £250 principal for £750 to the Royal Society, after I had been in that company twenty-five years, being extraordinary advantageous, by the blessing of God.

*23rd January, 1682-3.* Sir Francis North, son to the Lord North, and Lord Chief Justice, being made Lord Keeper on the death of the Earl of Nottingham, the Lord Chancellor, I went to congratulate him. He is a most knowing, learned, and ingenious man, and, besides being an excellent person, of an ingenious and sweet disposition, very skilful in music, painting, the new philosophy, and politer studies.

*29th.* Supped at Sir Joseph Williamson's, where was a select company of our Society, Sir William Petty, Dr. Gale (that learned school-master of St. Paul's)<sup>c</sup>, Dr. Whistler, Mr. Hill, &c. The conversation was philosophical and cheerful, on divers considerable questions proposed ; as of the hereditary succession of the Roman Emperors ; the Pica mentioned in the preface to our Common Prayer, which signifies only the Greek Kalendarium. These were mixed with lighter subjects.

*2nd February.* I made my court at St. James's, when I saw the sea-charts of Captain Collins<sup>d</sup>, which that industrious man now brought to

<sup>a</sup> For President of the Royal Society.

<sup>b</sup> Laurence, second son of the Chancellor.

<sup>c</sup> Dr. Thomas Gale ; he was Greek Professor at Cambridge, Master of St. Paul's School, London, and subsequently Dean of York. He was the author of several scholastic works ; and was counted among the most learned men of his time. Born in 1636 : died in 1702.

<sup>d</sup> Probably a John Collins, who had been in the naval service of Venice, and who was employed at this time as an accountant in some of the government offices, was a contributor to the Transactions of the Royal Society, and wrote several mathematical works.

show the Duke, having taken all the coasting from the mouth of the Thames, as far as Wales, and exactly measuring every creek, island, rock, soundings, harbours, sands, and tides, intending next spring to proceed till he had finished the whole island, and that measured by chains and other instruments : a most exact and useful undertaking. He affirmed, that of all the maps put out since, there are none extant so true as those of Joseph Norden, who gave us the first in Queen Elizabeth's time ; all since him are erroneous.

12th February. This morning, I received the news of the death of my father-in-law, Sir Richard Browne, Knt. and Bart., who died at my house at Sayes Court this day at ten in the morning, after he had laboured under the gout and dropsy for near six months, in the 78th year of his age. The funeral was solemnized on the 19th at Deptford, with as much decency as the dignity of the person, and our relation to him, required ; there being invited the Bishop of Rochester, several noblemen, knights, and all the fraternity of the Trinity Company, of which he had been Master, and others of the country. The vicar preached a short but proper discourse on *Psalms* xxxix. 10, on the frailty of our mortal condition, concluding with an ample and well-deserved eulogy on the defunct, relating to his honourable birth and ancestors, education, learning in Greek and Latin, modern languages, travels, public employments, signal loyalty, character abroad, and particularly the honour of supporting the Church of England in its public worship during its persecution by the late rebels' usurpation and regicide, by the suffrages of divers Bishops, Doctors of the church, and others, who found such an asylum in his house and family at Paris, that in their disputes with the Papists (then triumphing over it as utterly lost) they used to argue for its visibility and existence from Sir R. Browne's chapel and assembly there. Then he spake of his great and loyal sufferings during thirteen years' exile with his present Majesty, his return with him in the signal year 1660 ; his honourable employment at home, his timely recess to recollect himself, his great age, infirmities, and death.

He gave to the Trinity-Corporation that land in Deptford on which are built those alms-houses for twenty-four widows of emerited seamen. He was born the famous year of the Gunpowder Treason, in 1605, and being the last [male] of his family, left my wife, his only daughter, heir. His grandfather, Sir Richard Browne, was the great instrument under the great Earl of Leicester (favourite to Queen Elizabeth) in his government of the Netherlands. He was Master of the Household to King James, and Cofferer ; I think was the first who regulated the compositions through England for the King's Household, provisions, progresses<sup>a</sup>, &c., which was so high a service, and so grateful to the whole nation, that he had acknowledgments and public thanks sent him from all the counties ; he died by the rupture of a vein in a vehement speech he made about the compositions in a Parliament of King James. By his mother's side he was a Gunson, Treasurer of the Navy in the reigns of Henry the Eighth, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, and, as by his large pedigree appears, related to divers of the English nobility. Thus ended this honourable

<sup>a</sup> Notice was taken of this in a previous passage of the *Diary*. The different counties were bound to supply provisions of various kinds, and these were collected by officers called purveyors, whose extortions often excited the attention of Parliament. For a particular account of their practices, see *Archæologia*, vol. iii, p. 349.



person, after so many changes and tossings to and fro, in the same house where he was born. 'Lord teach us so to number our days, that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom!'

By a special clause in his will, he ordered that his body should be buried in the church-yard under the south-east window of the chancel, adjoining to the burying-places of his ancestors, since they came out of Essex into Sayes Court, he being much offended at the novel custom of burying every one within the body of the church and chancel; that being a favour heretofore granted to martyrs and great persons; this excess of making churches charnel-houses being of ill and irreverend example, and prejudicial to the health of the living, besides the continual disturbance of the pavement and seats, and several other indecencies. Dr. Hall, the pious Bishop of Norwich, would also be so interred<sup>a</sup>, as may be read in his testament.

16th March. I went to see Sir Josiah Child's prodigious cost in planting walnut-trees about his seat<sup>b</sup>, and making fishponds, many miles in circuit, in Epping Forest, in a barren spot, as oftentimes these suddenly monied men for the most part seat themselves. He from a merchant's apprentice, and management of the East India Company's stock, being arrived to an estate ('tis said) of £200,000; and lately married his daughter to the eldest son of the Duke of Beaufort, late Marquis of Worcester, with £50,000 portional present, and various expectations.

I dined at Mr. Houblon's<sup>c</sup>, a rich and gentle French merchant, who was building a house in the Forest, near Sir J. Child's, in a place where the late Earl of Norwich dwelt some time, and which came from his lady, the widow of Mr. Baker. It will be a pretty villa, about five miles from Whitechapel.

18th. I went to hear Dr. Horneck preach at the Savoy Church, on *Phil.* ii. 5. He was a German born, a most pathetic preacher, a person of a saint-like life, and hath written an excellent treatise on Consideration<sup>d</sup>.

20th. Dined at Dr. Whistler's, at the Physicians' College, with Sir Thomas Millington, both learned men; Dr. W. the most facetious man in nature, and now Censor of the College. I was here consulted where they should build their library; it is pity this College is built so near Newgate Prison, and in so obscure a hole<sup>e</sup>, a fault in placing most of our public buildings and churches in the City, through the avarice of some few men, and his Majesty not overruling it, when it was in his power after the dreadful conflagration.

21st. Dr. Tenison preached at Whitehall on 1 *Cor.* vi. 12; I esteem him to be one of the most profitable preachers in the Church of England, being also of a most holy conversation, very learned and ingenious. The

<sup>a</sup> As was afterwards, at Fulham, Dr. Compton, Bishop of London, who used to say, 'The church-yard for the dead, the church for the living.'

<sup>b</sup> Where Wanstead House stood.

<sup>c</sup> The family were eminent merchants in the time of Queen Elizabeth.—Morant's *Essex*, vol. ii, p. 513.

<sup>d</sup> The full title is *The great Law of Consideration, or a Discourse wherein the nature, usefulness, and absolute necessity of Consideration, in order to a truly serious and religious life, are laid open.* It went through several editions.

<sup>e</sup> This fault was not amended till our own day. The new College in Pall Mall East was opened by Sir Henry Halford in 1825.

pains he takes and care of his parish will, I fear, wear him out, which would be an inexpressible loss<sup>a</sup>.

*24th March.* I went to hear Dr. Charleton's lecture on the heart in the Anatomy Theatre at the Physicians' College<sup>b</sup>.

*30th.* To London, in order to my passing the following week, for the celebration of the Easter now approaching, there being in the Holy Week so many eminent preachers officiating at the Court and other places.

*6th April. Good Friday.* There was in the afternoon, according to custom, a sermon before the King, at Whitehall; Dr. Sprat preached for the Bishop of Rochester.

*17th.* I was at the launching of the last of the thirty ships ordered to be new built by Act of Parliament, named the Neptune, a second rate, one of the goodliest vessels of the whole navy, built by my kind neighbour, young Mr. Shish, his Majesty's master shipwright of this dock.

*1st May.* I went to Blackheath, to see the new fair, being the first procured by the Lord Dartmouth. This was the first day, pretended for the sale of cattle, but I think in truth to enrich the new tavern at the bowling-green, erected by Snape<sup>c</sup>, his Majesty's farrier, a man full of projects. There appeared nothing but an innumerable assembly of drinking people from London, pedlars, &c., and I suppose it too near London to be of any great use to the country.

March was unusually hot and dry, and all April excessively wet.

I planted all the out-limits of the garden and long walks with holly<sup>d</sup>.

*9th.* Dined at Sir Gabriel Sylvius's, and thence to visit the Duke of Norfolk, to ask whether he would part with any of his cartoons and other drawings of Raphael, and the great masters; he told me if he might sell them all together he would, but that the late Sir Peter Lely (our famous painter) had gotten some of his best. The person who desired me to treat for them was Vander Douse, grandson to that great scholar, contemporary and friend of Joseph Scaliger.

*16th.* Came to dinner and visit me Sir Richard Anderson, of Pendley, and his lady, with whom I went to London.

*8th June.* On my return home from the Royal Society, I found Mr. Wilbraham, a young gentleman of Cheshire.

*11th.* The Lord Dartmouth was elected Master of the Trinity House; son to George Legge, late Master of the Ordnance, and one of the Grooms of the Bedchamber; a great favourite of the Duke's, an active and understanding gentleman in sea-affairs.

*13th.* To our Society, where we received the Count de Zinzendorf, Ambassador from the Duke of Saxony, a fine young man: we showed him divers experiments on the Magnet, on which subject the Society were upon.

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Thomas Tenison succeeded Tillotson in the archiepiscopal See of Canterbury, having before been Vicar of St. Martin's in the Fields, and Bishop of Lincoln. He lived to a great age.

<sup>b</sup> Walter Charleton was with Charles II during his exile, in the capacity of physician, and returned with him at the Restoration. He wrote on natural history, antiquities, theology, medicine, and natural philosophy. Died 1707.

<sup>c</sup> Mr. Granger mentions a print of this person by White, and says he was father of Dr. Snape, of Eton; members of the same family had been serjeant-farriers to the Sovereign for three hundred years.

<sup>d</sup> Evelyn adds a note: '400 feet in length, 9 feet high, 5 in diameter, in my now ruined garden, thanks to the Czar of Muscovy.'—*Sylvia*, bk. ii, ch. vi.



16th June. I went to Windsor, dining by the way at Chiswick, at Sir Stephen Fox's, where I found Sir Robert Howard (that universal pretender), and Signor Verrio, who brought his draught and designs for the painting of the staircase of Sir Stephen's new house.

That which was new at Windsor since I was last there, and was surprising to me, was the incomparable fresco painting in St. George's Hall, representing the legend of St. George, and triumph of the Black Prince, and his reception by Edward III; the volto, or roof, not totally finished; then the Resurrection in the Chapel, where the figure of the Ascension is, in my opinion, comparable to any paintings of the most famous Roman masters; the Last Supper, also over the altar. I liked the contrivance of the unseen organ behind the altar, nor less the stupendous and beyond all description the incomparable carving of our Gibbon, who is, without controversy, the greatest master both for invention and rareness of work, that the world ever had in any age; nor doubt I at all that he will prove as great a master in the statuary art.

Verrio's invention is admirable, his ordnance full and flowing, antique and heroical; his figures move; and, if the walls hold (which is the only doubt by reason of the salts which in time and in this moist climate prejudice), the work will preserve his name to ages.

There was now the terrace brought almost round the old Castle; the grass made clean, even, and curiously turfed; the avenues to the new park, and other walks, planted with elms and limes, and a pretty canal, and receptacle for fowl; nor less observable and famous is the throwing so huge a quantity of excellent water to the enormous height of the Castle, for the use of the whole house, by an extraordinary invention of Sir Samuel Morland<sup>a</sup>.

17th. I dined at the Earl of Sunderland's with the Earls of Bath, Castlehaven, Lords Viscounts Falconberg, Falkland, Bishop of London, the Grand Master of Malta, brother to the Duke de Vendôme (a young wild spark), and Mr. Dryden, the poet. After evening prayer, I walked in the park with my Lord Clarendon, where we fell into discourse of the Bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Seth Ward), his subtlety, &c. Dr. Durell, late Dean of Windsor, being dead, Dr. Turner, one of the Duke's chaplains, was made dean.

I visited my Lady Arlington, Groom of the Stole to her Majesty, who being hardly set down to supper, word was brought her that the Queen was going into the park to walk, it being now near eleven at night; the alarm caused the Countess to rise in all haste, and leave her supper to us.

By this one may take an estimate of the extreme slavery and subjection that courtiers live in, who have not time to eat and drink at their pleasure. It put me in mind of Horace's *Mouse*, and to bless God for my own private condition.

Here was Monsieur de l'Angle, the famous minister of Charenton, lately fled from the persecution in France, concerning the deplorable condition of the Protestants there.

18th. I was present, and saw and heard the humble submission and petition of the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, on behalf of the City of London, on the *quo warranto* against their charter, which they delivered to his Majesty in the presence-chamber. It was delivered

<sup>a</sup> See *ante*, p. 388.

kneeling, and then the King and Council went into the council-chamber, the Mayor and his brethren attending still in the presence-chamber. After a short space, they were called in, and my Lord Keeper made a speech to them, exaggerating the disorderly and riotous behaviour in the late election, and polling for Papillon and Du Bois after the Common-hall had been formally dissolved : with other misdemeanours, libels on the government, &c., by which they had incurred his Majesty's high displeasure : and that but for this submission, and under such articles as the King should require their obedience to, he would certainly enter judgment against them, which hitherto he had suspended. The things required were as follows : that they should neither elect Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen, Recorder, Common Serjeant, Town-Clerk, Coroner, nor Steward of Southwark, without his Majesty's approbation ; and that if they presented any his Majesty did not like, they should proceed in wonted manner to a second choice ; if that was disapproved, his Majesty to nominate them ; and if within five days they thought good to assent to this, all former miscarriages should be forgotten. And so they tamely parted with their so ancient privileges after they had dined and been treated by the King. This was a signal and most remarkable period. What the consequences will prove, time will show. Divers of the old and most learned lawyers and judges were of opinion that they could not forfeit their charter, but might be personally punished for their misdemeanours ; but the plurality of the younger judges and rising men judged it otherwise.

The Popish Plot also, which had hitherto made such a noise, began now sensibly to dwindle, through the folly, knavery, impudence, and giddiness of Oates, so as the Papists began to hold up their heads higher than ever, and those who had fled, flocked to London from abroad. Such sudden changes and eager doings there had been, without anything steady or prudent, for these last seven years.

*19th June.* I returned to town in a coach with the Earl of Clarendon<sup>a</sup>, when passing by the glorious palace of his father, built but a few years before, which they were now demolishing, being sold to certain undertakers, I turned my head the contrary way till the coach had gone past it, lest I might minister occasion of speaking of it ; which must needs have grieved him, that in so short a time their pomp was fallen.

*28th.* After the Popish Plot, there was now a new and (as they called it) a Protestant Plot discovered, that certain Lords and others should design the assassination of the King and the Duke as they were to come from Newmarket, with a general rising of the nation, and especially of the City of London, disaffected to the present Government. Upon which were committed to the Tower, the Lord Russell, eldest son of the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Essex, Mr. Algernon Sidney, son to the old Earl of Leicester, Mr. Trenchard, Hampden, Lord Howard of Escrick, and others. A proclamation was issued against my Lord Grey, the Duke of Monmouth, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and one Ferguson, who had escaped beyond sea ; of these some were said to be for killing the King, others for only seizing on him, and persuading him to new counsels, on the pretence of the danger of Popery, should the Duke live to succeed, who was now again admitted

<sup>a</sup> Henry Hyde, the second Earl, appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1686, and died October 31, 1709, a Governor of the Charter-House, High Steward of the University of Oxford, and F.R.S.



to the councils and cabinet secrets. The Lords Essex and Russell were much deplored, for believing they had any evil intention against the King, or the Church ; some thought they were cunningly drawn in by their enemies for not approving some late counsels and management relating to France, to Popery, to the persecution of the Dissenters, &c. They were discovered by the Lord Howard of Escrick and some false brethren of the club, and the design happily broken ; had it taken effect, it would, to all appearance, have exposed the Government to unknown and dangerous events ; which God avert !

Was born my grand-daughter at Sayes Court, and christened by the name of Martha Maria, our Vicar officiating. I pray God bless her, and may she choose the better part !

13th July. As I was visiting Sir Thomas Yarborough and his Lady<sup>a</sup> in Covent Garden, the astonishing news was brought to us of the Earl of Essex having cut his throat, having been but three days a prisoner in the Tower, and this happening on the very day and instant that Lord Russell was on his trial, and had sentence of death. This accident exceedingly amazed me, my Lord Essex being so well known by me to be a person of such sober and religious deportment, so well at his ease, and so much obliged to the King. It is certain the King and Duke were at the Tower, and passed by his window about the same time this morning, when my Lord asking for a razor, shut himself into a closet, and perpetrated the horrid act. Yet it was wondered by some how it was possible he should do it in the manner he was found, for the wound was so deep and wide, that being cut through the gullet, wind-pipe, and both the jugulars, it reached to the very vertebræ of the neck, so that the head held to it by a very little skin as it were ; the gapping too of the razor, and cutting his own fingers, was a little strange ; but more, that having passed the jugulars he should have strength to proceed so far, that an executioner could hardly have done more with an axe. There were odd reflections upon it<sup>b</sup>.

The fatal news coming to Hicks's Hall upon the article of my Lord Russell's trial, was said to have had no little influence on the Jury and all the Bench to his prejudice. Others said that he had himself on some occasions hinted that in case he should be in danger of having his life taken from him by any public misfortune, those who thirsted for his estate should miss of their aim ; and that he should speak favourably of that Earl of Northumberland<sup>c</sup>, and some others, who made away with themselves ; but these are discourses so unlike his sober and prudent conversation, that I have no inclination to credit them. What might instigate him to this devilish act, I am not able to conjecture. My Lord Clarendon, his brother-in-law, who was with him but the day before, assured me he was then very cheerful, and declared it to be the effect of his innocence, and loyalty ; and most believe that his Majesty had no severe intentions against him, though he was altogether inexorable as to Lord Russell and some of the rest. For my part, I believe the crafty and ambitious Earl

<sup>a</sup> The lady was Mary Blagg, of whom Count Hamilton says so much ; the sister of Mr. Blagg, of whom Evelyn speaks so much.

<sup>b</sup> Bishop Burnet, after making inquiry, by desire of the Countess, declares that he does not believe that Essex was murdered. *Own Times*, vol. i, p. 569.

<sup>c</sup> Henry Percy, eighth Earl of Northumberland, shot himself in the Tower, to which he had been committed on a charge of high treason, in June 1585.

of Shaftesbury had brought them into some dislike of the present carriage of matters at Court, not with any design of destroying the monarchy (which Shaftesbury had in confidence and for unanswerable reasons told me he would support to his last breath, as having seen and felt the misery of being under mechanic tyranny), but perhaps of setting up some other whom he might govern, and frame to his own platonic fancy, without much regard to the religion established under the hierarchy, for which he had no esteem; but when he perceived those whom he had engaged to rise, fail of his expectations, and the day past, reproaching his accomplices that a second day for an exploit of this nature was never successful, he gave them the slip, and got into Holland, where the fox died, three months before these unhappy Lords and others were discovered or suspected. Every one deplored Essex and Russell, especially the last, as being thought to have been drawn in on pretence only of endeavouring to rescue the King from his present councillors, and secure religion from Popery, and the nation from arbitrary government, now so much apprehended; whilst the rest of those who were fled, especially Ferguson and his gang, had doubtless some bloody design to get up a Commonwealth, and turn all things topsy-turvey. Of the same tragical principles is Sydney.

I had this day much discourse with Monsieur Pontaq, son to the famous and wise prime President of Bordeaux. This gentleman was owner of that excellent vignoble of Pontaq and O'Brien, from whence come the choicest of our Bourdeaux wines; and I think I may truly say of him, what was not so truly said of St. Paul, that much learning had made him mad. He had studied well in philosophy, but chiefly the Rabbins, and was exceedingly addicted to cabalistical fancies, an eternal hablador [romancer], and half distracted by reading abundance of the extravagant Eastern Jews. He spake all languages, was very rich, had a handsome person, and was well-bred, about forty-five years of age<sup>a</sup>.

14<sup>th</sup> July. I visited Mr. Fraser, a learned Scots gentleman, whom I had formerly recommended to Lord Berkeley for the instruction and government of his son, since dead at sea. He had now been in Holland at the sale of the learned Heinsius's library, and showed me some very rare and curious books, and some MSS., which he had purchased to good value. There were three or four Herbals in miniature, accurately done, divers Roman antiquities of Verona, and very many books of Aldus's impression.

15<sup>th</sup>. A stranger, and old man, preached on *Jerem.* vi. 8, the not hearkening to instruction, portentous of desolation to a people; much after Bishop Andrews's method, full of logical divisions, in short and broken periods, and Latin sentences, now quite out of fashion in the pulpit, which is grown into a far more profitable way, of plain and practical discourses, of which sort this nation, or any other, never had greater plenty

<sup>a</sup> In a later page of the Diary Evelyn describes himself and certain members of the Royal Society all dining 'at Pontac's as usual.' Pontac's was a famous French eating-house, now existing only in the verse of Dryden, the prose of Swift and Defoe, and other such imperishable records. Defoe describes its name as derived from the owner of the most celebrated claret vintage of France; the president of the parliament of Bourdeaux; the 'M. Pontaq' above referred to, established it; and Swift, who dined at it seventeen years after the dinner mentioned by Evelyn, tells Stella that the wine was charged seven shillings a flask. 'Are not these pretty rates?'



or more profitable (I am confident) ; so much has it to answer for thriving no better on it.

The public was now in great consternation on the late plot and conspiracy ; his Majesty very melancholy, and not stirring without double guards ; all the avenues and private doors about Whitehall and the Park shut up, few admitted to walk in it. The Papists, in the mean time, very jocund ; and indeed with reason, seeing their own plot brought to nothing, and turned to ridicule, and now a conspiracy of Protestants as they called them.

The Turks were likewise in hostility against the German Emperor, almost masters of the Upper Hungary, and drawing towards Vienna. On the other side, the French King (who it is believed brought in the infidels) disturbing his Spanish and Dutch neighbours, having swallowed up almost all Flanders, pursuing his ambition of a fifth universal monarchy ; and all this blood and disorder in Christendom had evidently its rise from our defections at home, in a wanton peace, minding nothing but luxury, ambition, and to procure money for our vices. To this add our irreligion and atheism, great ingratitude, and self-interest ; the apostacy of some, and the suffering the French to grow so great, and the Hollanders so weak. In a word, we were wanton, mad, and surfeiting with prosperity ; every moment unsettling the old foundations, and never constant to any thing. The Lord in mercy avert the sad omen, and that we do not provoke Him till He bear it no longer !

This summer did we suffer twenty French men-of-war to pass our Channel towards the Sound, to help the Danes against the Swedes, who had abandoned the French interest ; we not having ready sufficient to guard our coasts, or take cognizance of what they did ; though the nation never had more, or a better navy, yet the sea had never so slender a fleet.

19th July. George, Prince of Denmark, who had landed this day, came to marry the Lady Anne, daughter to the Duke ; so I returned home, having seen the young gallant at dinner at Whitehall.

20th. Several oft he conspirators of the lower form were executed at Tyburn ; and the next day,

21st. Lord Russell was beheaded in Lincoln's-Inn Fields, the executioner giving him three butcherly strokes. The speech he made, and the paper which he gave the Sheriff declaring his innocence, the nobleness of the family, the piety and worthiness of the unhappy gentleman, wrought much pity, and occasioned various discourses on the plot.

25th. I again saw Prince George of Denmark : he had the Danish countenance, blonde, of few words, spake French but ill, seemed somewhat heavy, but reported to be valiant, and indeed he had bravely rescued and brought off his brother, the King of Denmark, in a battle against the Swedes, when both these Kings were engaged very smartly.

28th. He was married to the Lady Anne at Whitehall. Her court and household to be modelled as the Duke's, her father, had been ; and they to continue in England.

1st August. Came to see me Mr. Flamsted, the famous astronomer, from his Observatory at Greenwich, to draw the meridian from my pendule, &c.

2nd. The Countesses of Bristol and Sunderland, aunt and cousin-german of the late Lord Russell, came to visit me, and condole his sad fate. The next day, came Colonel Russell, uncle to the late Lord Russell, and

brother to the Earl of Bedford, and with him Mrs. Middleton, that famous and indeed incomparable beauty, daughter to my relation, Sir Robert Needham.

19th August. I went to Bromley to visit our Bishop<sup>a</sup>, and excellent neighbour, and to congratulate his now being made Archbishop of York. On the 28th, he came to take his leave of us, now preparing for his journey and residence in his province.

28th. My sweet little grandchild, Martha Maria, died, and on the 29th was buried in the parish church.

2nd September. This morning, was read in the church, after the office was done, the Declaration setting forth the late conspiracy against the King's person.

3rd. I went to see what had been done by the Duke of Beaufort on his late purchased house at Chelsea, which I once had the selling of for the Countess of Bristol; he had made great alterations, but might have built a better house with the materials and the cost he had been at.

Saw the Countess of Monte Feltre, whose husband I had formerly known; he was a subject of the Pope's, but becoming a Protestant he resided in England, and married into the family of the Savilles, of Yorkshire. The Count, her late husband, was a very learned gentleman, a great politician, and a goodly man. She was accompanied by her sister, exceedingly skilled in painting, nor did they spare for colour on their own faces. They had a great deal of wit.

9th. It being the day of public thanksgiving for his Majesty's late preservation, the former declaration was again read, and there was an office used, composed for the occasion. A loyal sermon was preached on the divine right of Kings, from *Psalm* cxliv. 10. 'Thou hast preserved David from the peril of the sword.'

15th. Came to visit me the learned anatomist, Dr. Tyson<sup>b</sup>, with some other Fellows of our Society.

16th. At the elegant villa and garden of Mr. Bohun, at Lee. He showed me the zinnar tree, or platanus, and told me that since they had planted this kind of tree about the city of Ispahan, in Persia, the plague, which formerly much infested the place, had exceedingly abated of its mortal effects, and rendered it very healthy.

18th. I went to London, to visit the Duchess of Grafton, now great with child, a most virtuous and beautiful lady. Dining with her at my Lord Chamberlain's, met my Lord of St. Alban's, now grown so blind, that he could not see to take his meat. He has lived a most easy life, in plenty even abroad, whilst his Majesty was a sufferer; he has lost immense sums at play, which yet, at about eighty years old, he continues, having one that sits by him to name the spots on the cards. He eat and drank with extraordinary appetite. He is a prudent old courtier, and much enriched since his Majesty's return.

<sup>a</sup> Dr. John Dolbein.

<sup>b</sup> Doctor Edward Tyson, a learned physician, born at Clevedon, Somersetshire, in 1649, who became reader of the anatomical lecture in Surgeons' Hall, and physician to the hospitals of Bethlehem and Bridewell, which offices he held at his death, Aug. 1, 1708. He was an ingenious writer, and has left various Essays in the *Philosophical Transactions* and *Hook's Collections*. He published also *The Anatomy of a Porpoise dissected at Gresham College*, and the *Anatomy of a Pigmy compared with a Monkey, an Ape, and a Man*, 4to., 1698-9.



After dinner, I walked to survey the sad demolition of Clarendon-House, that costly and once sumptuous palace of the late Lord Chancellor Hyde, where I have often been so cheerful with him, and sometimes so sad<sup>a</sup>: happening to make him a visit but the day before he fled from the angry Parliament, accusing him of mal-administration, and being envious at his grandeur, who from a private lawyer came to be father-in-law to the Duke of York, and as some would suggest, designing his Majesty's marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, not apt to breed. To this they imputed much of our unhappiness; and that he, being sole minister and favourite at his Majesty's restoration, neglected to gratify the King's suffering party, preferring those who were the cause of our troubles. But perhaps as many of these things were injuriously laid to his charge, so he kept the government far steadier than it has proved since. I could name some who I think contributed greatly to his ruin—the buffoons and the *misses*, to whom he was an eye-sore. It is true he was of a jolly temper, after the old English fashion; but France had now the ascendant, and we were become quite another nation. The Chancellor gone, and dying in exile, the Earl his successor sold that which cost £50,000 building, to the young Duke of Albemarle for £25,000, to pay debts which how contracted remains yet a mystery, his son being no way a prodigal. Some imagine the Duchess his daughter had been chargeable to him. However it were, this stately palace is decreed to ruin, to support the prodigious waste the Duke of Albemarle had made of his estate, since the old man died. He sold it to the highest bidder, and it fell to certain rich bankers and mechanics, who gave for it and the ground about it, £35,000; they design a new town, as it were, and a most magnificent piazza [square]. It is said they have already materials towards it with what they sold of the house alone, more worth than what they paid for it. See the vicissitudes of earthly things! I was astonished at this demolition, nor less at the little army of labourers and artificers levelling the ground, laying foundations, and contriving great buildings at an expense of £200,000, if they perfect their design<sup>b</sup>.

19th September. In my walks I stepped into a goldbeater's workhouse, where he showed me the wonderful ductility of that spreading and oily metal. He said it must be finer than the standard, such as was old angel-

<sup>a</sup> An engraving of the south or principal front of this noble mansion, copied from an extremely rare print, is given in Smyth's *Sixty-two Additional Plates to his Antiquities at Westminster*, 4to., 1807.

<sup>b</sup> In a letter to Lord Cornbury, dated Sayes Court, 20th January, 1665-6, Evelyn having then just returned from a visit to Clarendon House, says: 'I went with prejudice and a critical spirit, incident to those who fancy they know anything in art; I acknowledge that I have never seen a nobler pile. My old friend and fellow-traveller (inhabitants and contemporaries at Rome) has perfectly acquitted himself. It is, without hyperbole, the best contrived, the most useful, graceful, and magnificent house in England; I except not Audley-End, which though larger and full of gaudy barbarous ornaments, does not gratify judicious spectators. Here is state and use, solidity and beauty, most symmetrically combined together. Nothing abroad pleases me better; nothing at home approaches it. I have no design to gratify the architect beyond what I am obliged as a professed honourer of virtue wheresoever it is conspicuous; but when I had seriously contemplated every room (for I went into them all, from the cellar to the platform on the roof), seen how well and judiciously the walls were erected, the arches cut and turned, the timber braced, their scantlings and contignations disposed, I was most highly satisfied, and do acknowledge myself to have much improved by what I observed.'

gold, and that of such he had once to the value of £100 stamped with the *agnus dei*, and coined at the time of the holy war ; which had been found in a ruined wall somewhere in the north, near to Scotland, some of which he beat into leaves, and the rest sold to the curiosi in antiquities and medals.

23rd September. We had now the welcome tidings of the King of Poland raising the siege of Vienna, which had given terror to all Europe, and utmost reproach to the French, who it is believed brought in the Turks for diversion, that the French King might the more easily swallow Flanders, and pursue his unjust conquest on the empire, whilst we sat unconcerned and under a deadly charm from somebody.

There was this day a collection for rebuilding Newmarket, consumed by an accidental fire, which removing his Majesty thence sooner than was intended, put by the assassins, who were disappointed of their rendezvous and expectation by a wonderful providence. This made the King more earnest to render Winchester the seat of his autumnal field-diversions for the future, designing a palace there, where the ancient castle stood ; infinitely indeed preferable to Newmarket for prospects, air, pleasure, and provisions. The surveyor has already begun the foundation for a palace, estimated to cost £35,000, and his Majesty is purchasing ground about it to make a park, &c.

4th October. I went to London, on receiving a note from the Countess of Arlington, of some considerable charge or advantage I might obtain by applying myself to his Majesty on this signal conjecture of his Majesty entering-up judgment against the City-charter ; the proposal made me I wholly declined, not being well satisfied with these violent transactions, and not a little sorry that his Majesty was so often put upon things of this nature against so great a City, the consequence whereof may be so much to his prejudice ; so I returned home. At this time, the Lord Chief-Justice Pemberton was displaced. He was held to be the most learned of the judges, and an honest man. Sir George Jeffreys was advanced, reputed to be most ignorant, but most daring. Sir George Treby, Recorder of London, was also put by, and one Genner, an obscure lawyer, set in his place. Eight of the richest and chief aldermen were removed, and all the rest made only justices of the peace, and no more wearing of gowns, or chains of gold ; the Lord Mayor and two Sheriffs holding their places by new grants as *custodes*, at the King's pleasure. The pomp and grandeur of the most august City in the world thus changed face in a moment ; which gave great occasion of discourse and thoughts of hearts, what all this would end in. Prudent men were for the old foundations.

Following his Majesty this morning through the gallery, I went with the few who attended him, into the Duchess of Portsmouth's *dressing-room* within her bed-chamber, where she was in her morning loose garment, her maids combing her, newly out of her bed, his Majesty and the gallants standing about her ; but that which engaged my curiosity, was the rich and splendid furniture of this woman's apartment, now twice or thrice pulled down and rebuilt to satisfy her prodigal and expensive pleasures, whilst her Majesty's does not exceed some gentlemen's ladies in furniture and accommodation. Here I saw the new fabric of French tapestry, for design, tenderness, of work and incomparable imitation of the best paintings, beyond any thing I had ever beheld. Some pieces had



Versailles, St. Germain, and other palaces of the French King, with huntings, figures, and landscapes, exotic fowls, and all to the life rarely done. Then for Japan cabinets, skreens, pendule clocks, great vases of wrought plate, tables, stands, chimney-furniture, sconces, branches, braseras, &c., all of massy silver and out of number, besides some of her Majesty's best paintings.

Surfeiting of this, I dined at Sir Stephen Fox's and went contented home to my poor, but quiet villa. What contentment can there be in the riches and splendour of this world, purchased with vice and dishonour?

10th October. Visited the Duchess of Grafton, not yet brought to bed, and dining with my Lord Chamberlain (her father), went with them to see Montague-House, a palace lately built by Lord Montague, who had married the most beautiful Countess of Northumberland<sup>a</sup>. It is a stately and ample palace. Signor Verrio's fresco paintings, especially the funeral pile of Dido, on the staircase, the labours of Hercules, fight with the Centaurs, his effeminacy with Dejanira, and Apotheosis or reception among the gods, on the walls and roof of the great room above,—I think exceeds any thing he has yet done, both for design, colouring, and exuberance of invention, comparable to the greatest of the old masters, or what they so celebrate at Rome. In the rest of the chamber are some excellent paintings of Holbein, and other masters. The garden is large, and in good air, but the fronts of the house not answerable to the inside. The court at entry, and wings for offices seem too near the street, and that so very narrow and meanly built, that the corridor is not in proportion to the rest, to hide the court from being overlooked, by neighbours; all which might have been prevented, had they placed the house further into the ground, of which there was enough to spare. But on the whole it is a fine palace, built after the French pavilion-way, by Mr. Hooke, the Curator of the Royal Society. There were with us my Lady Sroope, the great wit, and Monsieur Chardine, the celebrated traveller.

13th. Came to visit me my old and worthy friend, Mr. Packer, bringing with him his nephew Berkeley, grandson to the honest judge. A most ingenious, virtuous, and religious gentleman, seated near Worcester, and very curious in gardening.

17th. I was at the court-leet of this manor, my Lord Arlington his Majesty's High-Steward<sup>b</sup>.

26th. Came to visit and dine with me, Mr. Brisbane, Secretary to the Admiralty, a learned and agreeable man.

30th. I went to Kew to visit Sir Henry Capell, brother to the late Earl of Essex; but he being gone to Cashiobury, after I had seen his garden and the alterations therein, I returned home. He had repaired his house, roofed his hall with a kind of cupola, and in a niche was an artificial fountain; but the room seems to me over-melancholy, yet might be much improved by having the walls well painted *al fresco*. The two great green-houses for oranges and myrtles communicating with the rooms below, are

<sup>a</sup> He was made Earl of Montagu by King William, and Duke by Queen Anne. His wife was Lady Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, widow of Jocelyn Percy, the 11th and last Earl of Northumberland (of that family).

<sup>b</sup> The manor of Deptford-le-Strond, alias West Greenwich.

<sup>c</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. xii, p. 185.

very well contrived<sup>a</sup>. There is a cupola made with pole-work between two elms at the end of a walk, which being covered by plashing the trees to them, is very pretty ; for the rest there are too many fir-trees in the garden.

17th November. I took a house in Villiers Street, York Buildings, for the winter, having many important concerns to dispatch, and for the education of my daughters.

23rd. The Duke of Monmouth, till now proclaimed traitor on the pretended plot for which Lord Russell was lately beheaded, came this evening to Whitehall and rendered himself, on which were various discourses.

26th. I went to compliment the Duchess of Grafton, now lying-in of her first child, a son<sup>b</sup>, which she called for, that I might see it. She was become more beautiful, if it were possible, than before, and full of virtue and sweetness. She discoursed with me of many particulars, with great prudence and gravity beyond her years.

29th. Mr. Forbes showed me the plot of the garden making at Burleigh, at my Lord Exeter's, which I looked on as one of the most noble that I had seen.

The whole court and town in solemn mourning for the death of the King of Portugal, her Majesty's brother.

30th. At the anniversary dinner of the Royal Society the King sent us two does. Sir Cyril Wych was elected President.

5th December. I was this day invited to a wedding of one Mrs. Castle, to whom I had some obligation, and it was to her fifth husband, a Lieutenant-Colonel of the City. She was the daughter of one Burton, a broom-man, by his wife, who sold kitchen-stuff in Kent Street, whom God so blessed that the father became a very rich, and was a very honest man ; he was sheriff of Surrey<sup>c</sup>, where I have sat on the bench with him. Another of his daughters was married to Sir John Bowles ; and this daughter was a jolly friendly woman. There was at the wedding the Lord Mayor, the Sheriff, several Aldermen and persons of quality ; above all, Sir George Jeffreys, newly made Lord Chief Justice of England, with Mr. Justice Withings, danced with the bride, and were exceeding merry. These great men spent the rest of the afternoon, till eleven at night, in drinking healths, taking tobacco, and talking much beneath the gravity of Judges, who had but a day or two before condemned Mr. Algernon Sydney, who was executed the 7th on Tower-Hill, on the single witness of that monster of a man, Lord Howard of Escrick, and some sheets of paper taken in Mr. Sydney's study, pretended to be written by him, but not fully proved, nor the time when, but appearing to have been written before his Majesty's restoration, and then pardoned by the Act of Oblivion ; so that though Mr. Sydney was known to be a person obstinately averse to government by a monarch (the subject of the paper was in answer to one by Sir E. Filmer), yet it was thought he had very hard measure. There is this yet observable, that he had been an inveterate enemy to the last king, and in actual rebellion against him ; a man of great courage, great sense, great

<sup>a</sup> Of late years this plan has been frequently adopted.

<sup>b</sup> Charles, who succeeded his father, killed in Ireland in 1690. This son was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Chamberlain, Privy Counsellor, K.G., &c., in the reigns of Anne, George I and George II. There is a fine whole-length mezzotinto of him by Faber.

<sup>c</sup> In 1673.



parts, which he showed both at his trial and death ; for, when he came on the scaffold, instead of a speech, he told them only that he had made his peace with God, that he came not thither to talk, but to die ; put a paper, into the sheriff's hand, and another into a friend's ; said one prayer as short as a grace, laid down his neck, and bid the executioner do his office.

The Duke of Monmouth, now having his pardon, refuses to acknowledge there was any treasonable plot ; for which he is banished Whitehall. This was a great disappointment to some who had prosecuted Trenchard, Hampden, &c., that for want of a second witness were come out of the Tower upon their *habeas corpus*.

The King had now augmented his guards with a new sort of dragoons, who carried also grenadoes, and were habited after the Polish manner with long peaked caps, very fierce and fantastical.

7th December. I went to the Tower, and visited the Earl of Danby, the late Lord High Treasurer, who had been imprisoned four years : he received me with great kindness. I dined with him, and stayed till night. We had discourse of many things, his Lady railing sufficiently at the keeping her husband so long in prison. Here I saluted the Lord Dumblaine's wife<sup>a</sup>, who before had been married to Emerton, and about whom there was that scandalous business before the delegates.

23rd. The small-pox very prevalent and mortal ; the Thames frozen.

26th. I dined at Lord Clarendon's, where I was to meet that ingenious and learned gentleman, Sir George Wheeler, who has published the excellent description of Africa and Greece, and who, being a knight of a very fair estate and young, had now newly entered into Holy Orders.

27th. I went to visit Sir John Chardin, a French gentleman, who had travelled three times by land into Persia, and had made many curious researches in his travels, of which he was now setting forth a relation. It being in England this year one of the severest frosts that has happened of many years, he told me the cold in Persia was much greater, the ice of an incredible thickness ; that they had little use of iron in all that country, it being so moist (though the air admirably clear and healthy) that oil would not preserve it from rusting, so that they had neither clocks nor watches ; some padlocks they had for doors and boxes.

30th. Dr. Sprat, now made Dean of Westminster, preached to the King at Whitehall, on *Matt.* vi. 24. Recollecting the passages of the past year, I gave God thanks for His mercies, praying His blessing for the future.

1683-4. 1st January. The weather continuing intolerably severe, streets of booths were set upon the Thames ; the air was so very cold and thick, as of many years there had not been the like. The small-pox was very mortal.

2nd. I dined at Sir Stephen Fox's : after dinner came a fellow who eat live charcoal, glowingly ignited, quenching them in his mouth, and then champing and swallowing them down. There was a dog also which seemed to do many rational actions.

6th. The river quite frozen.

9th. I went across the Thames on the ice, now become so thick as to bear not only streets of booths, in which they roasted meat, and had divers shops of wares, quite across as in a town, but coaches, carts, and

<sup>a</sup> Peregrine, Viscount Dumblaine, youngest son of the Earl of Danby, so created in his father's life-time, and afterwards inheritor of his title and estate.

horses passed over. So I went from Westminster-stairs to Lambeth, and dined with the Archbishop: where I met my Lord Bruce, Sir George Wheeler, Colonel Cooke, and several divines. After dinner and discourse with his Grace till evening prayers, Sir George Wheeler and I walked over the ice from Lambeth-stairs to the Horse-ferry.

10th *January*. I visited Sir Robert Reading, where after supper we had music, but not comparable to that which Mrs. Bridgeman made us on the guitar with such extraordinary skill and dexterity.

16th. The Thames was filled with people and tents, selling all sorts of wares as in the City.

24th. The frost continuing more and more severe, the Thames before London was still planted with booths in formal streets, all sorts of trades and shops furnished, and full of commodities, even to a printing-press, where the people and ladies took a fancy to have their names printed, and the day and year set down when printed on the Thames<sup>a</sup>: this humour took so universally, that it was estimated the printer gained £5 a day, for printing a line only, at sixpence a name, besides what he got by ballads, &c. Coaches plied from Westminster to the Temple, and from several other stairs to and fro, as in the streets, sleds, sliding with skates, a bull-baiting, horse and coach-races, puppet-plays, and interludes, cooks, tippling, and other lewd places, so that it seemed to be a bacchanalian triumph, or carnival on the water, whilst it was a severe judgment on the land, the trees not only splitting as if lightning-struck, but men and cattle perishing in divers places, and the very seas so locked up with ice, that no vessels could stir out or come in. The fowls, fish, and birds, and all our exotic plants and greens, universally perishing. Many parks of deer were destroyed, and all sorts of fuel so dear, that there were great contributions to preserve the poor alive. Nor was this severe winter much less intense in most parts of Europe, even as far as Spain and the most southern tracts. London, by reason of the excessive coldness of the air hindering the ascent of the smoke, was so filled with the fuliginous steam of the sea-coal, that hardly could one see across the streets, and this filling the lungs with its gross particles, exceedingly obstructed the breast, so as one could scarcely breathe. Here was no water to be had from the pipes and engines, nor could the brewers and divers other tradesmen work, and every moment was full of disastrous accidents.

4th *February*. I went to Sayes Court to see how the frost had dealt with my garden, where I found many of the greens and rare plants utterly destroyed. The oranges and myrtles very sick, the rosemary and laurels dead to all appearance, but the cypress likely to endure it.

5th. It began to thaw, but froze again. My coach crossed from Lambeth to the Horse-ferry at Milbank, Westminster. The booths were almost all taken down; but there was first a map or landscape cut in copper representing all the manner of the camp, and the several actions, sports, and pastimes thereon, in memory of so signal a frost<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Curiosity collectors still show these cards of Frost Fair. One may be described. Within a treble border is printed, 'Mons<sup>r</sup> et Mad<sup>m</sup> Justel. Printed on the river of Thames being frozen. In the 36th year of King Charles the II, February the 5th, 1683.' v.s. is added with a pen, probably by the holder of the card.

<sup>b</sup> Various representations of this curious scene of Frost Fair, both in wood and copper-plate engravings, preserve some idea of what it must have been.



7th February. I dined with my Lord Keeper [North], and walking alone with him some time in his gallery, we had discourse of music. He told me he had been brought up to it from a child, so as to sing his part at first sight. Then speaking of painting, of which he was also a great lover, and other ingenious matters; he desired me to come oftener to him.

8th. I went this evening to visit that great and knowing virtuoso, Monsieur Justell<sup>a</sup>. The weather was set in to an absolute thaw and rain; but the Thames still frozen.

10th. After eight weeks missing the foreign posts, there came abundance of intelligence from abroad.

12th. The Earl of Danby, late Lord-Treasurer, together with the Roman Catholic Lords impeached of high treason in the Popish Plot, had now their *habeas corpus*, and came out upon bail, after five years' imprisonment in the Tower. Then were also tried and deeply fined Mr. Hampden and others, for being supposed of the late plot, for which Lord Russell and Colonel Sidney suffered; as also the person who went about to prove that the Earl of Essex had his throat cut in the Tower by others; likewise Mr. Johnson, the author of that famous piece called Julian<sup>b</sup>.

15th. News of the Prince of Orange having accused the Deputies of Amsterdam of *crimen læsæ Majestatis*, and being pensioners to France.

Dr. Tenison communicated to me his intention of erecting a library in St. Martin's parish, for the public use, and desired my assistance, with Sir Christopher Wren, about the placing and structure thereof, a worthy and laudable design. He told me there were thirty or forty young men in Orders in his parish, either governors to young gentlemen or chaplains to noblemen, who being reproved by him on occasion for frequenting taverns or coffee-houses, told him they would study or employ their time better, if they had books. This put the pious Doctor on this design; and indeed a great reproach it is that so great a city as London should not have a public library becoming it. There ought to be one at St. Paul's; the west end of that church (if ever finished) would be a convenient place.

23rd. I went to Sir John Chardin, who desired my assistance for the engraving the plates, the translation, and printing his History of that wonderful Persian Monument near Persepolis, and other rare antiquities, which he had caused to be drawn from the originals in his second journey into Persia, which we now concluded upon. Afterwards, I went with Sir Christopher Wren to Dr. Tenison, where we made the drawing and

<sup>a</sup> Henry Justell, created LL.D. by the University of Oxford, on presenting to the University the MSS. of his father, Christopher Justell, a learned writer on ecclesiastical antiquities and canon law. Both were born in France; but on the revocation of the edict of Nantes, the son fled to England, and was appointed Keeper of the King's Library. He published several works. Born, 1620; died, 1693.

<sup>b</sup> Samuel Johnson, a clergyman, who was distinguished by the rigour of his writings against the Court; particularly by his *Julian the Apostate*, directed at the Duke of York, a recent convert to Popery. For this he was fined and imprisoned, put in the pillory, whipped at the cart's tail, and degraded from the priesthood: nevertheless, he was not silenced; and he lived to see the Revolution, which placed William of Orange on the throne; whereupon he received a present of £1,000, and a pension of £300 per annum, for the joint lives of himself and his son. He died in 1703.

estimate of the expense of the library, to be begun this next spring near the Mews<sup>a</sup>.

Great expectation of the Prince of Orange's attempts in Holland to bring those of Amsterdam to consent to the new levies, to which we were no friends, by a pseudo-politic adherence to the French interest.

26th February. Came to visit me Dr. Turner, our new Bishop of Rochester.

28th. I dined at Lady Tuke's, where I heard Dr. Walgrave (physician to the Duke and Duchess) play excellently on the lute.

7th March. Dr. Meggot, Dean of Winchester, preached an incomparable sermon (the King being now gone to Newmarket), on *Heb. xii. 15*, showing and pathetically pressing the care we ought to have lest we come short of the grace of God. Afterwards, I went to visit Dr. Tenison at Kensington, whither he was retired to refresh, after he had been sick of the small-pox.

15th. At Whitehall preached Mr. Henry Godolphin, a prebend of St. Paul's, and brother to my dear friend Sydney, on *Isaiah lv. 7*. I dined at the Lord Keeper's, and brought him to Sir John Chardin, who showed him his accurate drafts of his travels in Persia.

28th. There was so great a concourse of people with their children to be touched for the Evil, that six or seven were crushed to death by pressing at the chirurgeon's door for tickets. The weather began to be more mild and tolerable ; but there was not the least appearance of any spring.

30th. Easter-day. The Bishop of Rochester preached before the King ; after which his Majesty, accompanied with three of his natural sons, the Dukes of Northumberland, Richmond, and St. Alban's (sons of Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Nelly), went up to the altar ; the three boys entering before the King within the rails, at the right hand, and three Bishops on the left : London (who officiated), Durham, and Rochester, with the Sub-dean, Dr. Holder. The King, kneeling before the altar, making his offering, the Bishops first received, and then his Majesty ; after which he retired to a canopied seat on the right hand. Note, there was perfume burnt before the office began. I had received the sacrament at Whitehall early with the Lords and Household, the Bishop of London officiating. Then went to St. Martin's, where Dr. Tenison preached (recovered from the small-pox) ; then went again to Whitehall as above. In the afternoon, went to St. Martin's again.

4th April. I returned home with my family to my house at Sayes Court, after five months' residence in London ; hardly the least appearance of any spring.

30th. A letter of mine to the Royal Society concerning the terrible effects of the past winter being read, they desired it might be printed in the next part of their Transactions<sup>b</sup>.

10th May. I went to visit my brother in Surrey. Called by the way at Ashted, where Sir Robert Howard (Auditor of the Exchequer) entertained me very civilly at his new-built house, which stands in a park on the Down,

<sup>a</sup> It occupied a spacious room, which was well furnished with books, and has remained under the care of the Vicar of St. Martin's. To the clergy in the City, Sion College is more peculiarly appropriated.

<sup>b</sup> This was done in the *Transactions*, no. 158. See it at length in the *Biog. Brit.* (Keppis's edn.), vol. v, p. 623. An Abstract of it is also reprinted in Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings*, pp. 692-696.



the avenue south ; though down hill to the house, which is not great, but with the out-houses very convenient. The staircase is painted by Verrio with the story of Astrea ; amongst other figures is the picture of the Painter himself, and not unlike him ; the rest is well done, only the columns did not at all please me ; there is also Sir Robert's own picture in an oval ; the whole in *fresco*. The place has this great defect, that there is no water but what is drawn up by horses from a very deep well.

11th May. Visited Mr. Higham, who was ill, and died three days after. His grandfather and father (who christened me), with himself, had now been rectors of this parish 101 years, viz., from May, 1583.

12th. I returned to London, where I found the Commissioners of the Admialty abolished, and the office of Admiral restored to the Duke, as to the disposing and ordering all sea business ; but his Majesty signed all petitions, papers, warrants, and commissions, that the Duke, not acting as admiral by commission or office, might not incur the penalty of the late Act against Papists and Dissenters holding offices, and refusing the oath and test. Every one was glad of this change, those in the late Commission being utterly ignorant in their duty, to the great damage of the Navy.

The utter ruin of the Low Country was threatened by the siege of Luxemburg, if not timely relieved, and by the obstinacy of the Hollanders, who refused to assist the Prince of Orange, being corrupted by the French.

16th. I received £600 of Sir Charles Bickerstaff for the fee-farm of Pilton, in Devon.

26th. Lord Dartmouth was chosen Master of the Trinity Company, newly returned with the fleet from blowing up and demolishing Tangier. In the sermon preached on this occasion, Dr. Can observed that, in the 27th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, the casting anchor out of the fore-ship had been cavilled at as betraying total ignorance : that it is very true our seamen do not do so ; but in the Mediterranean their ships were built differently from ours, and to this day it was the practice to do so there.

Luxemburg was surrendered to the French, which makes them master of all the Netherlands, gives them entrance into Germany, and a fair game for universal monarchy ; which that we should suffer, who only and easily might have hindered, astonished all the world. Thus is the poor Prince of Orange ruined, and this nation and all the Protestant interest in Europe following, unless God in His infinite mercy, as by a miracle, interpose, and our great ones alter their counsels. The French fleet were now besieging Genoa, but after burning much of that beautiful city with their bombs, went off with disgrace.

11th June. My cousin, Verney, to whom a very great fortune was fallen, came to take leave of us, going into the country ; a very worthy and virtuous young gentleman.

12th. I went to advise and give directions about the building two streets in Berkeley Gardens, reserving the house and as much of the garden as the breadth of the house. In the meantime, I could not but deplore the sweet place (by far the most noble gardens, court, and accommodations, stately porticos, &c., any where about the town) should be so much straitened and turned into tenements. But that magnificent pile and gardens contiguous to it, built by the late Lord Chancellor Clarendon, being all demolished, and designed for piazzas and buildings, was some

excuse for my Lady Berkeley's resolution of letting out her ground also for so excessive a price as was offered, advancing near £1000 per annum in mere ground-rents ; to such a mad intemperance was the age come of building about a city, by far too disproportionate already to the nation<sup>a</sup>: I having in my time seen it almost as large again as it was within my memory.

*22nd June.* Last Friday, Sir Thomas Armstrong was executed at Tyburn for treason, without trial, having been outlawed and apprehended in Holland, on the conspiracy of the Duke of Monmouth, Lord Russell, &c., which gave occasion of discourse to people and lawyers, in regard it was on an outlawry that judgment was given and execution<sup>b</sup>.

*2nd July.* I went to the Observatory at Greenwich, where Mr. Flamsted took his observations of the eclipse of the sun, now almost three parts obscured.

There had been an excessive hot and dry spring, and such a drought still continued as never was in my memory.

*13th.* Some small sprinkling of rain ; the leaves dropping from the trees as in autumn.

*25th.* I dined at Lord Falkland's, Treasurer of the Navy, where after dinner we had rare music, there being amongst others, Signor Pietro Reggio, and Signor John Baptist, both famous, one for his voice, the other for playing on the harpsichord, few if any in Europe exceeding him. There was also a Frenchman who sung an admirable bass.

*26th.* I returned home, where I found my Lord Chief Justice [Jefferies], the Countess of Clarendon, and Lady Catherine Fitzgerald, who dined with me.

*10th August.* We had now rain after such a drought as no man in England had known.

*24th.* Excessive hot. We had not had above one or two considerable showers, and those storms, these eight or nine months. Many trees died for the want of refreshment.

*31st.* Mr. Sidney Godolphin was made Baron Godolphin.

*26th September.* The King being returned from Winchester, there was a numerous Court at Whitehall.

At this time the Earl of Rochester was removed from the Treasury to the Presidentship of the Council ; Lord Godolphin was made first Commissioner of the Treasury in his place ; Lord Middleton (a Scot) made Secretary of State, in the room of Lord Godolphin. These alterations being very unexpected and mysterious, gave great occasion of discourse.

There was now an Ambassador from the King of Siam, in the East Indies, to his Majesty.

*22nd October.* I went with Sir William Godolphin to see the rhinoceros, or unicorn, being the first that I suppose was ever brought into England. She belonged to some East India merchants, and was sold (as I remember)

<sup>a</sup> What would Evelyn think if he could see what is now called London ?

<sup>b</sup> When brought up for judgment, Armstrong insisted on his right to a trial, the act giving that right to those who came in within a year, and the year not having expired. Jeffries refused it ; and when Armstrong insisted that he asked for nothing but law, Jeffries told him he should have it to the full, and ordered his execution in six days. When Jeffries went to the King at Windsor soon after, the King took a ring from his finger and gave it to Jeffries. *Burnet*, ii, 989.



for above £2000. At the same time, I went to see a crocodile, brought from some of the West India Islands, resembling the Egyptian crocodile.

24th October. I dined at Sir Stephen Fox's with the Duke of Northumberland. He seemed to be a young gentleman of good capacity, well-bred, civil, and modest : newly come from travel, and had made his campaign at the siege of Luxemburg. Of all his Majesty's children (of which he had now six Dukes) this seemed the most accomplished and worth the owning. He is extraordinary handsome and well-shaped. What the Dukes of Richmond and St. Alban's will prove, their youth does not yet discover ; they are very pretty boys.

26th. Dr. Goodman preached before the King on *James* ii. 12, concerning the law of liberty : an excellent discourse and in good method. He is author of *The Prodigal Son*, a treatise worth reading, and another of the old religion.

27th. I visited the Lord Chamberlain, where dined the *black Baron* and Monsieur Flamerin, who had so long been banished France for a duel.

28th. I carried Lord Clarendon through the City, amidst all the squibs and bacchanalia of the Lord Mayor's show, to the Royal Society, where he was proposed a member ; and then treated him at dinner.

I went to St. Clement's, that pretty built and contrived church, where a young divine gave us an eloquent sermon on 1 *Cor.* vi. 20, inciting to gratitude and glorifying God for the fabric of our bodies and the dignity of our nature.

2nd November. A sudden change from temperate warm weather to an excessive cold rain, frost, snow, and storm, such as had seldom been known. This winter weather began as early and fierce as the past did late ; till about Christmas there then had been hardly any winter.

4th. Dr. Turner, now translated from Rochester to Ely upon the death of Dr. Peter Gunning, preached before the King at Whitehall on *Romans* iii. 8, a very excellent sermon, vindicating the Church of England against the pernicious doctrines of the Church of Rome. He challenged the producing but of five clergymen who forsook our Church and went over to that of Rome, during all the troubles and rebellion in England, which lasted near twenty years ; and this was to my certain observation a great truth.

15th. Being the Queen's birth-day, there were fireworks on the Thames before Whitehall, with pageants of castles, forts, and other devices of girandolas, serpents, the King and Queen's arms and mottoes, all represented in fire, such as had not been seen here. But the most remarkable was the several fires and skirmishes in the very water, which actually moved a long way, burning under the water, now and then appearing above it, giving reports like muskets and cannon, with grenados and innumerable other devices. It is said it cost £1,500. It was concluded with a ball, where all the young ladies and gallants danced in the great hall. The court had not been seen so brave and rich in apparel since his Majesty's Restoration.

30th. In the morning, Dr. Fiennes, son of the Lord Say and Seale, preached before the King on *Joshua* xxi. 11.

3rd December. I carried Mr. Justell and Mr. Slingsby (Master of the Mint), to see Mr. Sheldon's collection of medals. The series of Popes was rare, and so were several amongst the moderns, especially that of John

Huss' martyrdom at Constance ; of the Roman Emperors, Consulars ; more Greek, &c., in copper, gold, and silver ; not many truly antique ; a medallion of Otho Paulus Æmilius, &c., ancient. They were held at a price of £1,000 ; but not worth, I judge, above £200.

*7th December.* I went to see the new church at St. James's, elegantly built ; the altar was especially adorned, the white marble enclosure curiously and richly carved, the flowers and garlands about the walls by Mr. Gibbons, in wood : a pelican with her young at her breast ; just over the altar in the carved compartment and border environing the purple velvet fringed with I. H. S. richly embroidered, and most noble plate, were given by Sir R. Geere, to the value (as was said) of 200*l*. There was no altar anywhere in England, nor has there been any abroad, more handsomely adorned.

*17th.* Early in the morning I went into St. James's Park to see three Turkish, or Asian horses, newly brought over, and now first showed to his Majesty. There were four, but one of them died at sea, being three weeks coming from Hamburg. They were taken from a Bashaw at the siege of Vienna, at the late famous raising that leaguer. I never beheld so delicate a creature as one of them was, of somewhat a bright bay, two white feet, a blaze ; such a head, eyes, ears, neck, breast, belly, haunches, legs, pasterns, and feet, in all regards, beautiful, and proportioned to admiration ; spirited, proud, nimble, making halt, turning with that swiftness, and in so small a compass, as was admirable. With all this so gentle and tractable, as called to mind what I remember Busbequius speaks of them, to the reproach of our grooms in Europe, who bring up their horses so churlishly, as makes most of them retain their ill habits. They trotted like does, as if they did not feel the ground. Five hundred guineas was demanded for the first ; 300 for the second ; and 200 for the third, which was brown. All of them were choicely shaped, but the two last not altogether so perfect as the first.

It was judged by the spectators, among whom was the King, Prince of Denmark, Duke of York, and several of the Court, noble persons skilled in horses, especially Monsieur Faubert and his son (provost masters of the Academy, and esteemed of the best in Europe), that there were never seen any horses in these parts to be compared with them. Add to all this, the furniture, consisting of embroidery on the saddle, housings, quiver, bow, arrows, scymitar, sword, mace, or battle-axe, *a la Turcisq* ; the Bashaw's velvet mantle furred with the most perfect ermine I ever beheld ; all which, iron-work in common furniture being here of silver, curiously wrought and double gilt, to an incredible value. Such and so extraordinary was the embroidery, that I never saw any thing approaching it. The reins and headstall were of crimson silk, covered with chains of silver gilt. There was also a Turkish royal standard of a horse's tail, together with all sorts of other caparisons belonging to a general's horse, by which one may estimate how gallantly and magnificently those infidels appear in the field ; for nothing could be seen more glorious. The gentleman (a German) who rid the horse, was in all this garb. They were shod with iron made round and closed at the heel, with a hole in the middle about as wide as a shilling. The hoofs most entire.

*18th.* I went with Lord Cornwallis to see the young gallants do their exercise, Mr. Faubert having newly railed in a manage, and fitted it



for the academy. There were the Dukes of Norfolk and Northumberland, Lord Newburgh, and a nephew of (Duras) Earl of Feversham. The exercises were, 1, running at the ring; 2, flinging a javelin at a Moor's head; 3, discharging a pistol at a mark; lastly, taking up a gauntlet with the point of a sword; all these performed in full speed. The Duke of Northumberland hardly missed of succeeding in every one, a dozen times, as I think. The Duke of Norfolk did exceeding bravely. Lords Newburgh and Duras seemed nothing so dexterous. Here I saw the difference of what the French call '*bel homme à cheval*', and '*bon homme à cheval*': the Duke of Norfolk being the first, that is rather a fine person on a horse, the Duke of Northumberland being both in perfection, namely, a graceful person and an excellent rider. But the Duke of Norfolk told me he had not been at this exercise these twelve years before. There were in the field the Prince of Denmark, and the Lord Lansdowne, son of the Earl of Bath, who had been made a Count of the Empire last summer for his service before Vienna.

20th December. A villainous murder was perpetrated by Mr. St. John, eldest son to Sir Walter St. John, a worthy gentleman, on a knight of quality<sup>a</sup>, in a tavern. The offender was sentenced and reprieved. So many horrid murders and duels were committed about this time as were never before heard of in England; which gave much cause of complaint and murmurings.

1684-5. 1st January. It proved so sharp weather, and so long and cruel a frost, that the Thames was frozen across, but the frost was often dissolved, and then froze again.

11th. A young man preached upon *St. Luke* xiii. 5, after the Presbyterian tedious method and repetition.

24th. I dined at Lord Newport's, who has some excellent pictures, especially that of Sir Thomas Hanmer, by Vandyke, one of the best he ever painted; another of our English Dobson's painting<sup>b</sup>; but, above all, Christ in the Virgin's lap, by Poussin, an admirable piece; with something of most other famous hands.

25th. Dr. Dove preached before the King. I saw this evening such a scene of profuse gaming, and the King in the midst of his three concubines, as I have never before seen—luxurious dallying and profaneness.

27th. I dined at Lord Sunderland's, being invited to hear that celebrated voice of Mr. Pordage, newly come from Rome; his singing was after the Venetian recitative, as masterly as could be, and with an excellent voice both treble and bass; Dr. Walgrave accompanied it with his *theorbo lute*, on which he performed beyond imagination, and is doubtless one of the greatest masters in Europe on that charming instrument. Pordage is a priest, as Mr. Bernard Howard told me in private.

There was in the room where we dined, and in his bed-chamber, those

<sup>a</sup> Sir William Estcourt. The catastrophe arose from a sudden quarrel, and great doubts arose whether the offence was more than manslaughter; but St. John was advised to plead guilty, and then had a pardon, for which he paid 1600*l*. Exactly 100 years before, one of his family had been tried for a similar offence and acquitted, but he was obliged to go abroad, though he was afterwards employed. *Hist. of Surrey*, iii, 330, App. cxx.

<sup>b</sup> William Dobson, a clever portrait painter, who succeeded Vandyke in the employments he held under Charles I. He died in 1646.

incomparable pieces of Columbus, a Flagellation, the Grammar-school, the Venus and Adonis of Titian ; and of Vandyke's that picture of the late Earl of Digby (father of the Countess of Sunderland), and Earl of Bedford, Sir Kenelm Digby, and two ladies of incomparable performance ; besides that of Moses and the burning bush of Bassano, and several other pieces of the best masters. A marble head of M. Brutus, &c.

*28th January.* I was invited to my Lord Arundel of Wardour (now newly released of his six years' confinement in the Tower on suspicion of the plot called Oates's Plot), where after dinner the same Mr. Pordage entertained us with his voice, that excellent and stupendous artist, Signor John Baptist, playing to it on the harpsichord. My daughter Mary being with us, she also sung to the great satisfaction of both the masters, and a world of people of quality present.

She did so also at my Lord Rochester's the evening following, where we had the French boy so famed for his singing, and indeed he had a delicate voice, and had been well taught. I also heard Mrs. Packer (daughter to my old friend) sing before his Majesty and the Duke, privately, that stupendous bass, Gosling, accompanying her, but hers was so loud as took away much of the sweetness. Certainly never woman had a stronger or better ear, could she possibly have governed it. She would do rarely in a large church among the nuns.

*4th February.* I went to London, hearing his Majesty had been the Monday before (2nd February) surprised in his bed-chamber with an apoplectic fit, so that if, by God's providence, Dr. King (that excellent chirurgeon as well as physician) had not been accidentally present to let him blood (having his lancet in his pocket), his Majesty had certainly died that moment ; which might have been of direful consequence, there being nobody else present with the King save this Doctor and one more, as I am assured. It was a mark of the extraordinary dexterity, resolution, and presence of mind in the Doctor, to let him blood in the very paroxysm, without staying the coming of other physicians, which regularly should have been done, and for want of which he must have a regular pardon, as they tell me<sup>a</sup>. This rescued his Majesty for the instant, but it was only a short reprieve. He still complained, and was relapsing, often fainting, with sometimes epileptic symptoms, till Wednesday, for which he was cupped, let blood in both jugulars, and both vomit and purges, which so relieved him, that on Thursday hopes of recovery were signified in the public Gazette, but that day about noon, the physicians thought him feverish. This they seemed glad of, as being more easily allayed and methodically dealt with than his former fits ; so as they prescribed the famous Jesuit's powder ; but it made him worse, and some very able doctors who were present did not think it a fever, but the effect of his frequent bleeding and other sharp operations used by them about his head, so that probably the powder might stop the circulation, and renew his former fits, which now made him very weak. Thus he passed Thursday night with great difficulty, when complaining of a pain in his side, they drew twelve ounces more of blood from him ; this was by six in the morning

<sup>a</sup> Burnet tells us that the Privy Council approved of what he had done, and ordered him 1000*l.*, but it was never paid him. There are two good portraits of Dr. King engraved, in which the above-named instance of his skill and promptitude is noticed.



on Friday, and it gave him relief, but it did not continue, for being now in much pain, and struggling for breath, he lay dozing, and, after some conflicts, the physicians despairing of him, he gave up the ghost at half an hour after eleven in the morning, being the sixth of February, 1685, in the 36th year of his reign, and 54th of his age.

Prayers were solemnly made in all the churches, especially in both the Court Chapels, where the chaplains relieved one another every half quarter of an hour from the time he began to be in danger till he expired, according to the form prescribed in the Church-offices. Those who assisted his Majesty's devotions were, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Durham, and Ely, but more especially Dr. Ken, the Bishop of Bath and Wells<sup>a</sup>. It is said they exceedingly urged the receiving Holy Sacrament, but his Majesty told them he would consider of it, which he did so long till it was too late. Others whispered that the Bishops and Lords, except the Earls of Bath and Feversham, being ordered to withdraw the night before, Huddleston, the priest, had presumed to administer the Popish offices. He gave his breeches and keys to the Duke, who was almost continually kneeling by his bed side, and in tears. He also recommended to him the care of his natural children, all except the Duke of Monmouth, now in Holland, and in his displeasure; He entreated the Queen to pardon him (not without cause); who a little before had sent a bishop to excuse her not more frequently visiting him, in regard of her excessive grief, and withal that his Majesty would forgive it if at any time she had offended him. He spake to the Duke to be kind to the Duchess of Cleveland, and especially Portsmouth, and that Nelly might not starve.

Thus died King Charles II, of a vigorous and robust constitution, and in all appearance promising a long life. He was a prince of many virtues, and many great imperfections; debonaire, easy of access, not bloody nor cruel; his countenance fierce, his voice great, proper of person, every

<sup>a</sup> The account given of this by Charles's brother and successor, is, that when the King's life was wholly despaired of, and it was time to prepare for another world, two Bishops came to do their function, who reading the prayers appointed in the Common Prayer-Book on that occasion, when they came to the place where usually they exhort a sick person to make a confession of his sins, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, who was one of them, advertised him, *It was not of obligation*; and after a short exhortation, asked him if he was sorry for his sins? which the King saying he was, the Bishop pronounced the absolution, and then, asked him if he pleased to receive the Sacrament, to which the King made no reply; and being pressed by the Bishop several times, gave no other answer but that it was time enough, or that he would think of it.

King James adds, that he stood all the while by the bed-side, and seeing the King would not receive the sacrament from them, and knowing his sentiments, he desired the company to stand a little from the bed, and then asked the King whether he should send for a priest, to which the King replied, 'For God's sake, brother, do, and lose no time.' The Duke said he would bring one to him; but none could be found except Father Huddleston, who had been so assistant in the King's escape from Worcester; he was brought up a back staircase, and the company were desired to withdraw, but he (the Duke of York) not thinking fit that he should be left alone with the King, desired the Earl of Bath, a Lord of the Bedchamber, and the Earl of Feversham, Captain of the Guard, should stay; the rest being gone, Father Huddleston was introduced, and administered the sacrament.—*Life of James II.*

motion became him ; a lover of the sea, and skilful in shipping ; not affecting other studies, yet he had a laboratory, and knew of many empirical medicines, and the easier mechanical mathematics ; he loved planting and building, and brought in a politer way of living, which passed to luxury and intolerable expense. He had a particular talent in telling a story, and facetious passages, of which he had innumerable ; this made some buffoons and vicious wretches too presumptuous and familiar, not worthy the favour they abused. He took delight in having a number of little spaniels follow him and lie in his bed-chamber, where he often suffered the bitches to puppy and give suck, which rendered it very offensive, and indeed made the whole court nasty and stinking. He would doubtless have been an excellent prince, had he been less addicted to women, who made him uneasy, and always in want to supply their unmeasurable profusion, to the detriment of many indigent persons who had signally served both him and his father. He frequently and easily changed favourites to his great prejudice.

As to other public transactions, and unhappy miscarriages, 'tis not here I intend to number them ; but certainly never had King more glorious opportunities to have made himself, his people, and all Europe happy, and prevented innumerable mischiefs, had not his too easy nature resigned him to be managed by crafty men, and some abandoned and profane wretches who corrupted his otherwise sufficient parts, disciplined as he had been by many afflictions during his banishment, which gave him much experience and knowledge of men and things ; but those wicked creatures took him from off all application becoming so great a King. The history of his reign will certainly be the most wonderful for the variety of matter and accidents, above any extant in former ages : the sad tragical death of his father, his banishment and hardships, his miraculous restoration, conspiracies against him, parliaments, wars, plagues, fires, comets, revolutions abroad happening in his time, with a thousand other particulars. He was ever kind to me, and very gracious upon all occasions, and therefore I cannot without ingratitude but deplore his loss, which for many respects, as well as duty, I do with all my soul.

His Majesty being dead, the Duke, now King James II, went immediately to Council, and before entering into any business, passionately declaring his sorrow, told their Lordships that since the succession had fallen to him, he would endeavour to follow the example of his predecessor in his clemency and tenderness to his people ; that, however he had been misrepresented as affecting arbitrary power, they should find the contrary ; for that the laws of England had made the King as great a monarch as he could desire ; that he would endeavour to maintain the Government both in Church and State, as by law established, its principles being so firm for monarchy, and the members of it showing themselves so good and loyal subjects<sup>a</sup> ; and that, as he would never depart from the just rights and

<sup>a</sup> This is the substance (and very nearly the words employed) of what is stated by King James II in the MS. printed in his life ; but in that MS. are some words which Evelyn has omitted. For example, after speaking of the members of the Church of England as good and loyal subjects, the King adds, *and therefore I shall always take care to defend and support it.* James then goes on to say, that being desired by some present to allow copies to be taken, he said he had not committed it to writing ; on which Mr. Finch (then Solicitor-General and afterwards Earl of



prerogatives of the Crown, so he would never invade any man's property ; but as he had often adventured his life in defence of the nation, so he would still proceed, and preserve it in all its lawful rights and liberties.

This being the substance of what he said, the Lords desired it might be published, as containing matter of great satisfaction to a jealous people upon this change, which his Majesty consented to. Then were the Council sworn, and a Proclamation ordered to be published that all officers should continue in their stations, that there might be no failure of public justice, till his further pleasure should be known. Then the King rose, the Lords accompanying him to his bedchamber, where, whilst he reposed himself, tired indeed as he was with grief and watching, they returned again into the Council-chamber to take order for the *proclaiming* his Majesty, which (after some debate) they consented should be in the very form his grandfather, King James I, was, after the death of Queen Elizabeth ; as likewise that the Lords, &c., should proceed in their coaches through the city for the more solemnity of it. Upon this was I, and several other Gentlemen waiting in the Privy gallery, admitted into the Council-chamber to be witness of what was resolved on. Thence with the Lords, the Lord Marshal and Heralds, and other Crown-officers being ready, we first went to Whitehall-gate, where the Lords stood on foot bare-headed, whilst the Herald proclaimed his Majesty's title to the Imperial Crown and succession according to the form, the trumpets and kettle-drums having first sounded three times, which ended with the people's acclamations. Then a herald called the Lords' coaches according to rank, myself accompanying the solemnity in my Lord Cornwallis's coach, first to Temple Bar, where the Lord Mayor and his brethren met us on horseback, in all their formalities, and proclaimed the King ; hence to the Exchange in Cornhill, and so we returned in the order we set forth. Being come to Whitehall, we all went

Aylesford) replied, that what his Majesty had said had made so deep an impression on him, that he believed he could repeat the very words, and if his Majesty would permit him, he would write them down ; which the King agreeing to, he went to a table and wrote them down, and this being shown to the King, he approved of it, and it was immediately published. The King afterwards proceeds to say : 'No one can wonder that Mr. Finch should word the speech as strong as he could in favour of the Established Religion, nor that the King in such a hurry should pass it over without reflection ; for though his Majesty intended to promise both security to their religion and protection to their persons, he was afterwards convinced it had been better expressed by assuring them he never would endeavour to alter the Established Religion, than that he would endeavour to preserve it, and that he would rather support and defend the professors of it, than the religion itself ; they could not expect he should make a conscience of supporting what in his conscience he thought erroneous : his engaging not to molest the professors of it, nor to deprive them or their successors of any spiritual dignity, revenue, or employment, but to suffer the ecclesiastical affairs to go on in the track they were in, was all they could wish or desire from a Prince of a different persuasion ; but having once approved that way of expressing it which Mr. Finch had made choice of, he thought it necessary not to vary from it in the declarations or speeches he made afterwards, not doubting but the world would understand it in the meaning he intended.—'Tis true, afterwards *it was pretended* he kept not up to this engagement ; but had they deviated no further from the duty and allegiance which both nature and repeated oath obliged them to, *than he did from his word*, they had still remained as happy a people as they really were during his short reign in England.' —*Life of James the Second*, ii, 435. The words printed in italics in this extract are from the interlineations of the son of King James the Second.

and kissed the King and Queen's hands. He had been on the bed, but was now risen and in his undress. The Queen was in bed in her apartment, but put forth her hand, seeming to be much afflicted, as I believe she was, having deported herself so decently upon all occasions since she came into England, which made her universally beloved.

Thus concluded this sad and not joyful day.

I can never forget the inexpressible luxury and profaneness, gaming, and all dissoluteness, and as it were total forgetfulness of God (it being Sunday evening), which this day se'nnight I was witness of, the King sitting and toying with his concubines, Portsmouth, Cleveland, and Mazarine, &c., a French boy singing love-songs<sup>a</sup> : in that glorious gallery, whilst about twenty of the great courtiers and other dissolute persons were at Basset round a large table, a bank of at least 2000 in gold before them ; upon which two gentlemen who were with me made reflections with astonishment. Six days after, was all in the dust.

It was enjoined that those who put on mourning should wear it as for a father, in the most solemn manner.

10th February. Being sent to by the Sheriff of the County to appear and assist in proclaiming the King, I went the next day to Bromley, where I met the Sheriff and the Commander of the Kentish Troop, with an appearance, I suppose, of above 500 horse, and innumerable people, two of his Majesty's trumpets, and a Serjeant with other officers, who having drawn up the horse in a large field near the town, marched thence, with swords drawn, to the market place, where, making a ring, after sound of trumpets and silence made, the High Sheriff read the proclaiming titles to his bailiff, who repeated them aloud, and then, after many shouts of the people, his Majesty's health being drunk in a flint glass of a yard long, by the Sheriff, Commander, Officers, and chief gentlemen, they all dispersed, and I returned.

13th. I passed a fine on selling of Honson Grange in Staffordshire, being about £20 per annum, which lying so great a distance, I thought fit to part with it to one Burton, a farmer there. It came to me as part of my daughter-in-law's portion, this being but a fourth part of what was divided between the mother and three sisters.

14th. The King was this night very obscurely buried<sup>b</sup> in a vault under Henry the Seventh's Chapel at Westminster, without any manner of pomp, and soon forgotten after all this vanity, and the face of the whole Court was exceedingly changed into a more solemn and moral behaviour ; the new King affecting neither profaneness nor buffoonery. All the great officers broke their staves over the grave, according to form.

<sup>a</sup> *ante*, p. 419.

<sup>b</sup> The reasons are stated in the *Life of King James the Second*. 'The funeral could not be performed with so great a solemnity as some persons expected, because his late Majesty dying in, and his present Majesty professing, a different religion from that of his people, it had been a difficult matter to reconcile the greater ceremonies which must have been performed according to the rites of the Church of England, with the obligation of not communicating with it in spiritual things ; to avoid, therefore, either disputes on the one hand, or scandal on the other, it was thought more prudent to do it in a more private manner ; though at the same time there was no circumstance of state and pomp omitted which possibly could be allowed of. All the Privy Council, all the household, and all the Lords about town attended at the funeral.'



15th February. Dr. Tenison preached to the Household. The second sermon should have been before the King ; but he, to the great grief of his subjects, did now, for the first time, go to mass publicly in the little Oratory at the Duke's lodgings, the doors being set wide open.

16th. I dined at Sir Robert Howard's, Auditor of the Exchequer, a gentleman pretending to all manner of arts and sciences, for which he had been the subject of comedy, under the name of Sir Positive<sup>a</sup> ; not ill-natured but insufferably boasting. He was son to the late Earl of Berkshire.

17th. This morning his Majesty restored the staff and key to Lord Arlington, Chamberlain ; to Mr. Savell, Vice-chamberlain ; to Lords Newport and Maynard, Treasurer and Comptroller of the Household ; Lord Godolphin made Chamberlain to the Queen ; Lord Peterborough Groom of the Stole, in place of the Earl of Bath ; the Treasurer's staff to the Earl of Rochester ; and his brother, the Earl of Clarendon, Lord Privy Seal, in the place of the Marquis of Halifax, who was made President of the Council ; the Secretaries of State remaining as before.

19th. The Lord Treasurer and the other new Officers were sworn at the Chancery Bar and the Exchequer.

The late King having the revenue of excise, customs, and other late duties granted for his life only, they were now farmed and let to several persons, upon an opinion that the late King might let them for three years after his decease ; some of the old Commissioners refused to act. The lease was made but the day before the King died<sup>b</sup> ; the major part of the Judges (but, as some think, not the best lawyers,) pronounced it legal, but four dissented.

The Clerk of the Closet had shut up the late King's private oratory next the Privy-chamber above, but the King caused it to be opened again, and that prayers should be said as formerly.

22nd. Several most useful Tracts against Dissenters, Papists, and Fanatics, and Resolutions of Cases were now published by the London Divines.

4th March. Ash-Wednesday. After evening prayers, I went to London.

5th. To my grief, I saw the new pulpit set up in the Popish Oratory at Whitehall for the Lent preaching, mass being publicly said, and the Romanists swarming at Court with greater confidence than had ever been seen in England since the Reformation, so that everybody grew jealous as to what this would tend.

A Parliament was now summoned, and great industry used to obtain elections which might promote the Court-interest, most of the Corporations being now, by their new charters, empowered to make what returns of members they pleased.

There came over divers envoys and great persons to condole the death of the late King, who were received by the Queen-Dowager on a bed of mourning, the whole chamber, ceiling and floor, hung with black, and

<sup>a</sup> Evelyn here means Sir Positive At-All, in Shadwell's comedy of *The Sullen Lovers*, which Pepys also tells us was meant for Sir Robert Howard, Dryden's brother-in-law.

<sup>b</sup> James, in his *Life*, makes no mention of this lease, but only says *he* continued to collect it, which conduct was not blamed : but, on the contrary, he was thanked for it, in an address from the Middle Temple, penned by Sir Bartholomew Shore, and presented by Sir Humphrey Mackworth, carrying great authority with it ; nor did the Parliament find fault,

tapers were lighted, so as nothing could be more lugubrious and solemn. The Queen-Consort sate under a state on a black foot-cloth, to entertain the circle (as the Queen used to do), and that very decently.

*6th March.* Lent Preachers continued as formerly in the Royal Chapel.

*7th.* My daughter, Mary, was taken with the small-pox, and there soon was found no hope of her recovery. A great affliction to me : but God's holy will be done !

*10th.* She received the blessed Sacrament ; after which, disposing herself to suffer what God should determine to inflict, she bore the remainder of her sickness with extraordinary patience and piety, and more than ordinary resignation and blessed frame of mind. She died the 14th to our unspeakable sorrow and affliction, and not to ours only, but that of all who knew her, who were many of the best quality, greatest and most virtuous persons. The justness of her stature, person, comeliness of countenance, gracefulness of motion, unaffected, though more than ordinary beautiful, were the least of her ornaments compared with those of her mind. Of early piety, singularly religious, spending a part of every day in private devotion, reading, and other virtuous exercises ; she had collected and written out many of the most useful and judicious periods of the books she read in a kind of common-place, as out of Dr. Hammond on the New Testament, and most of the best practical treatises. She had read and digested a considerable deal of history, and of places. The French tongue was as familiar to her as English ; she understood Italian, and was able to render a laudable account of what she read and observed, to which assisted a most faithful memory and discernment ; and she did make very prudent and discreet reflections upon what she had observed of the conversations among which she had at any time been, which being continually of persons of the best quality, she thereby improved. She had an excellent voice, to which she played a thorough-bass on the harpsichord, in both which she arrived to that perfection, that of the scholars of those two famous masters, Signors Pietro and Bartholomeo, she was esteemed the best ; for the sweetness of her voice and management of it added such an agreeableness to her countenance, without any constraint or concern, that when she sung, it was as charming to the eye as to the ear ; this I rather note, because it was a universal remark, and for which so many noble and judicious persons in music desired to hear her, the last being at Lord Arundel's, of Wardour.

What shall I say, or rather not say, of the cheerfulness and agreeableness of her humour ? condescending to the meanest servant in the family, or others, she still kept up respect, without the least pride. She would often read to them, examine, instruct, and pray with them if they were sick, so as she was exceedingly beloved of everybody. Piety was so prevalent an ingredient in her constitution (as I may say), that even amongst equals and superiors she no sooner became intimately acquainted, but she would endeavour to improve them, by insinuating something religious, and that tended to bring them to a love of devotion ; she had one or two confidants with whom she used to pass whole days in fasting, reading, and prayers, especially before the monthly communion, and other solemn occasions. She abhorred flattery, and, though she had abundance of wit, the raillery was so innocent and ingenious that it was most agreeable ; she sometimes would see a play, but since the stage grew licentious, expressed herself



weary of them, and the time spent at the theatre was an unaccountable vanity. She never played at cards without extreme importunity and for the company ; but this was so very seldom, that I cannot number it among anything she could name a fault.

No one could read prose or verse better or with more judgment ; and as she read, so she wrote, not only most correct orthography, but with that maturity of judgment and exactness of the periods, choice of expressions, and familiarity of style, that some letters of hers have astonished me and others, to whom she has occasionally written. She had a talent of rehearsing any comical part or poem, as to them she might be decently free with ; was more pleasing than heard on the theatre ; she danced with the greatest grace I had ever seen, and so would her master say, who was Monsieur Isaac ; but she seldom showed that perfection, save in the gracefulness of her carriage, which was with an air of sprightly modesty not easily to be described. Nothing affected, but natural and easy as well in her deportment as in her discourse, which was always material, not trifling, and to which the extraordinary sweetness of her tone, even in familiar speaking, was very charming. Nothing was so pretty as her descending to play with little children, whom she would caress and humour with great delight. But she most affected to be with grave and sober men, of whom she might learn something, and improve herself. I have been assisted by her in reading and praying by me ; comprehensive of uncommon notions, curious of knowing everything to some excess, had I not sometimes repressed it.

Nothing was so delightful to her as to go into my Study, where she would willingly have spent whole days, for as I said she had read abundance of history, and all the best poets, even Terence, Plautus, Homer, Virgil, Horace, Ovid ; all the best romances and modern poems ; she could compose happily, and put in pretty symbols, as in the *Mundus Muliebris*, wherein is an enumeration of the immense variety of the modes and ornaments belonging to the sex. But all these are vain trifles to the virtues which adorned her soul ; she was sincerely religious, most dutiful to her parents, whom she loved with an affection tempered with great esteem, so as we were easy and free, and never were so well pleased as when she was with us, nor needed we other conversation ; she was kind to her sisters, and was still improving them by her constant course of piety. Oh, dear, sweet, and desirable child, how shall I part with all this goodness and virtue without the bitterness of sorrow and reluctancy of a tender parent ! Thy affection, duty, and love to me was that of a friend as well as a child. Nor less dear to thy mother, whose example and tender care of thee was unparalleled, nor was thy return to her less conspicuous. Oh ! how she mourns thy loss ! how desolate hast thou left us ! To the grave shall we both carry thy memory ! God alone (in whose bosom thou art at rest and happy !) give us to resign thee and all our contentments (for thou indeed wert all this in the world) to His blessed pleasure ! Let Him be glorified by our submission, and give us grace to bless Him for the graces He implanted in thee, thy virtuous life, pious and holy death, which is indeed the only comfort of our souls, hastening through the infinite love and mercy of the Lord Jesus to be shortly with thee, dear child, and with thee and those blessed saints like thee, glorify the Redeemer of the world to all eternity ! Amen.

It was in the 19th year of her age that this sickness happened to her. An accident contributed to this disease ; she had an apprehension of it in particular, which struck her but two days before she came home, by an imprudent gentlewoman whom she went with Lady Falkland to visit, who, after they had been a good while in the house, told them she had a servant sick of the small pox (who indeed died the next day) ; this my poor child acknowledged made an impression on her spirits. There were four gentlemen of quality offering to treat with me about marriage, and I freely gave her her own choice, knowing her discretion. She showed great indifference to marrying at all, for truly, says she to her mother (the other day), were I assured of your life and my dear father's, never would I part from you ; I love you and this home, where we serve God, above all things, nor ever shall I be so happy ; I know and consider the vicissitudes of the world, I have some experience of its vainties, and but for decency more than inclination, and that you judge it expedient for me, I would not change my condition, but rather add the fortune you design me to my sisters, and keep up the reputation of our family. This was so discreetly and sincerely uttered that it could not but proceed from an extraordinary child, and one who loved her parents beyond example.

At London, she took this fatal disease, and the occasion of her being there was this : my Lord Viscount Falkland's Lady having been our neighbour (as he was Treasurer of the Navy), she took so great an affection to my daughter, that when they went back in the autumn to the City, nothing would satisfy their incessant importunity but letting her accompany my Lady, and staying sometime with her ; it was with the greatest reluctance I complied. Whilst she was there, my Lord being musical, when I saw my Lady would not part with her till Christmas, I was not unwilling she should improve the opportunity of learning of Signor Pietro, who had an admirable way both of composure and teaching. It was the end of February before I could prevail with my Lady to part with her ; but my Lord going into Oxfordshire to stand for Knight of the Shire there, she expressed her wish to come home, being tired of the vain and empty conversation of the town, the theatres, the court, and trifling visits which consumed so much precious time, and made her sometimes miss of that regular course of piety that gave her the greatest satisfaction. She was weary of this life, and I think went not thrice to Court all this time, except when her mother or I carried her. She did not affect showing herself, she knew the Court well, and passed one summer in it at Windsor with Lady Tuke, one of the Queen's women of the bed-chamber (a most virtuous relation of hers) ; she was not fond of that glittering scene, now become abominably licentious, though there was a design of Lady Rochester and Lady Clarendon to have made her a maid of honour to the Queen as soon as there was a vacancy. But this she did not set her heart upon, nor indeed on any thing so much as the service of God, a quiet and regular life, and how she might improve herself in the most necessary accomplishments, and to which she was arrived at so great a measure.

This is the little history and imperfect character of my dear child, whose piety, virtue, and incomparable endowments deserve a monument more durable than brass and marble. Precious is the memorial of the just. Much I could enlarge on every period of this hasty account, but that I ease and discharge my overcoming passion for the present, so many things



worthy an excellent Christian and dutiful child crowding upon me. Never can I say enough, oh dear, my dear child, whose memory is so precious to me !

This dear child was born at Wotton, in the same house and chamber in which I first drew my breath, my wife having retired to my brother there in the great sickness that year upon the first of that month, and the very hour that I was born, upon the last : viz., October.

16th March. She was interred in the south-east end of the church at Deptford, near her grandmother and several of my younger children and relations. My desire was she should have been carried and laid among my own parents and relations at Wotton, where I desire to be interred myself, when God shall call me out of this uncertain transitory life, but some circumstances did not permit it. Our vicar, Dr. Holden, preached her funeral sermon on *Phil.* i. 21. 'For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain', upon which he made an apposite discourse, as those who heard it assured me (for grief suffered me not to be present), concluding with a modest recital of her many virtues and signal piety, so as to draw both tears and admiration from the hearers. I was not altogether unwilling that something of this sort should be spoken, for the edification and encouragement of other young people.

Divers noble persons honoured her funeral, some in person, others sending their coaches, of which there were six or seven with six horses, viz., the Countess of Sunderland, Earl of Clarendon, Lord Godolphin, Sir Stephen Fox, Sir William Godolphin, Viscount Falkland, and others. There were distributed amongst her friends about sixty rings.

Thus lived, died, and was buried the joy of my life, and ornament of her sex and of my poor family ! God Almighty of His infinite mercy grant me the grace thankfully to resign myself and all I have, or had, to His divine pleasure, and in His good time, restoring health and comfort to my family : 'teach me so to number my days, that I may apply my heart to wisdom', be prepared for my dissolution, and that into the hands of my blessed Saviour I may recommend my spirit ! Amen !

On looking into her closet, it is incredible what a number of collections she had made from historians, poets, travellers, &c., but, above all, devotions, contemplations, and resolutions on these contemplations, found under her hand in a book most methodically disposed ; prayers, meditations, and devotions on particular occasions, with many pretty letters to her confidants ; one to a divine (not named) to whom she writes that he would be her ghostly father, and would not despise her for her many errors and the imperfections of her youth, but beg of God to give her courage to acquaint him with all her faults, imploring his assistance and spiritual directions. I well remember she had often desired me to recommend her to such a person ; but I did not think fit to do it as yet, seeing her apt to be scrupulous, and knowing the great innocency and integrity of her life.

It is astonishing how one who had acquired such substantial and practical knowledge in other ornamental parts of education, especially music, both vocal and instrumental, in dancing, paying and receiving visits, and necessary conversation, could accomplish half of what she has left ; but, as she never affected play or cards, which consume a world of precious time, so she was in continual exercise, which yet abated nothing of her most

agreeable conversation. But she was a little miracle while she lived, and so she died !

*26th March.* I was invited to the funeral of Captain Gunman, that excellent pilot and seaman, who had behaved himself so gallantly in the Dutch war. He died of a gangrene, occasioned by his fall from the pier of Calais. This was the Captain of the yacht carrying the Duke (now King) to Scotland, and was accused for not giving timely warning when she split on the sands, where so many perished ; but I am most confident he was no ways guilty, either of negligence, or design, as he made appear not only at the examination of the matter of fact, but in the Vindication he showed me, and which must needs give any man of reason satisfaction. He was a sober, frugal, cheerful, and temperate man ; we have few such seamen left.

*8th April.* Being now somewhat composed after my great affliction, I went to London to hear Dr. Tenison (it being on a Wednesday in Lent) at Whitehall. I observed that though the King was not in his seat above in the chapel, the Doctor made his three congees, which they were not used to do when the late King was absent, making then one bowing only. I asked the reason ; it was said he had a special order so to do. The Princess of Denmark was in the King's closet, but sate on the left hand of the chair, the Clerk of the Closet standing by his Majesty's chair, as if he had been present.

I met the Queen-Dowager going now first from Whitehall to dwell at Somerset-house.

This day my brother of Wotton and Mr. Onslow were candidates for Surrey against Sir Adam Brown and my cousin Sir Edward Evelyn, and were circumvented in their election by a trick of the Sheriff's<sup>a</sup>, taking advantage of my brother's party going out of the small village of Leatherhead to seek shelter and lodging, the afternoon being tempestuous, proceeding to the election when they were gone ; they expecting the next morning ; whereas before and then they exceeded the other party by many hundreds, as I am assured. The Duke of Norfolk led Sir Edward Evelyn's and Sir Adam Brown's party. For this parliament, very mean and slight persons (some of them gentlemen's servants, clerks, and persons neither of reputation nor interest) were set up ; but the country would choose my brother whether he would or no, and he missed it by the trick above-mentioned. Sir Adam Brown was so deaf, that he could not hear one word. Sir Edward Evelyn<sup>b</sup> was an honest gentleman, much in favour with his Majesty.

*10th.* I went early to Whitehall to hear Dr. Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury, preaching on *Eccles.* ix. 18. I returned in the evening, and visited Lady Tuke, and found with her Sir George Wakeman, the physician, whom I had seen tried, and acquitted<sup>c</sup>, amongst the plotters for poisoning the late King, on the accusation of the famous Oates ; and surely I believed him guiltless.

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Samuel Lewen. His name does not appear in the History of Surrey among the land-owners of the county, but it is stated that in 1709 Sir William Lewen purchased the Rectory of Ewell, and that he was Lord Mayor of London in 1717.

<sup>b</sup> His seat was at Long Ditton, near Kingston, which town had surrendered its charter to King Charles II about a month before his death. King James appointed Sir Edward Evelyn one of the new corporation.

<sup>c</sup> *ante*, p. 370.



*14th April.* According to my custom, I went to London to pass the holy week.

*17th. Good Friday.* Dr. Tenison preached at the new church at St. James's, on 1 *Cor.* xvi. 22, upon the infinite love of God to us, which he illustrated in many instances. The Holy Sacrament followed, at which I participated. The Lord make me thankful ! In the afternoon, Dr. Sprat Bishop of Rochester, preached in Whitehall chapel, the auditory very full of Lords, the two Archbishops, and many others, now drawn to town upon occasion of the coronation and ensuing parliament. I supped with the Countess of Sunderland and Lord Godolphin, and returned home.

*23rd.* Was the coronation of the King and Queen. The solemnity was magnificent as is set forth in print<sup>a</sup>. The Bishop of Ely preached ; but to the sorrow of the people, no Sacrament, as ought to have been. However, the King begins his reign with great expectations, and hopes of much reformation as to the late vices and profaneness of both Court and country. Having been present at the late King's coronation, I was not ambitious of seeing this ceremony.

*3rd May.* A young man preached, going chaplain with Sir J. Wiburn, Governor of Bombay, in the East Indies.

*7th.* I was in Westminster Hall when Oates, who had made such a stir in the kingdom, on his revealing a plot of the Papists, and alarmed several parliaments, and had occasioned the execution of divers priests, noblemen<sup>b</sup>, &c., was tried for perjury at the King's Bench ; but, being very tedious, I did not endeavour to see the issue, considering that it would be published. Abundance of Roman Catholics were in the Hall in expectation of the most grateful conviction and ruin of a person who had been so obnoxious to them, and, as I verily believe, had done much mischief and great injury to several by his violent and ill-grounded proceedings ; whilst he was at first so unreasonably blown up and encouraged, that his insolence was no longer sufferable.

Mr. Roger L'Estrange (a gentleman whom I had long known, and a person of excellent parts, abating some affectations) appearing first against the Dissenters in several Tracts, had now for some years turned his style against those whom (by way of hateful distinction) they called Whigs and Trimmers, under the title of *Observator*, which came out three or four days every week, in which sheets, under pretence to serve the Church of England, he gave suspicion of gratifying another party, by several passages which rather kept up animosities than appeased them, especially now that nobody gave the least occasion<sup>c</sup>.

*10th.* The Scots valuing themselves exceedingly to have been the first parliament called by his Majesty, gave the excise and customs to him and his successors for ever ; the Duke of Queensberry making eloquent speeches, and especially minding them of a speedy suppression of those late desperate Field-Conventiclers who had done such unheard-of assassinations. In the meantime, elections for the ensuing parliament in England were

<sup>a</sup> By Francis Sandford, illustrated with engravings, folio.

<sup>b</sup> *ante*, p. 370.

<sup>c</sup> In the first Dutch war, while Evelyn was one of the Commissioners for sick and wounded, L'Estrange in his *Gazette* mentioned the barbarous useage of the Dutch prisoners of war : whereupon Evelyn wrote him a very spirited letter, desiring that the Dutch Ambassador (who was then in England) and his friends would visit the prisoners, and examine their provisions ; and he required L'Estrange to publish that vindication in his next number.

thought to be very indirectly carried on in most places. God grant a better issue of it than some expect !

16th May. Oates was sentenced to be whipped and pilloried with the utmost severity.

21st. I dined at my Lord Privy Seal's with Sir William Dugdale, Garter King-at-Arms, author of the *Monasticon* and other learned works ; he told me he was 82 years of age, and had his sight and memory perfect<sup>a</sup>. There was shown a draft of the exact shape and dimensions of the crown the Queen had been crowned withal, together with the jewels and pearls, their weight and value, which amounted to £100,658 sterling, attested at the foot of the paper by the jeweller and goldsmith who set them.

22nd. In the morning, I went with a French gentleman, and my Lord Privy Seal, to the House of Lords, where we were placed by his Lordship next the Bar, just below the Bishops, very commodiously both for hearing and seeing. After a short space, came in the Queen and Princess of Denmark, and stood next above the Archbishops, at the side of the House on the right hand of the throne. In the interim, divers of the Lords, who had not finished before, took the test and usual oaths, so that her Majesty, the Spanish and other Ambassadors, who stood behind the throne, heard the Pope and the worship of the Virgin Mary, &c., renounced very decently, as likewise the prayers which followed, standing all the while. Then came in the King, the crown on his head, and being seated, the Commons were introduced, and the House being full, he drew forth a paper containing his speech, which he read distinctly enough, to this effect : ' That he resolved to call a Parliament from the moment of his brother's decease, as the best means to settle all the concerns of the nation, so as to be most easy and happy to himself and his subjects ; that he would confirm whatever he had said in his declaration at the first Council concerning his opinion of the principles of the Church of England, for their loyalty, and would defend and support it, and preserve its government as by law now established ; that, as he would invade no man's property, so he would never depart from his own prerogative ; and, as he had ventured his life in defence of the nation, so he would proceed to do still ; that, having given this assurance of his care of our religion (his word was *your* religion) and property (which he had not said by chance, but solemnly), so he doubted not of suitable returns of his subjects' duty and kindness, especially as to settling his revenue for life, for the many weighty necessities of government, which he would not suffer to be precarious ; that some might possibly suggest that it were better to feed and supply him from time to time only. out of their inclination to frequent parliaments ; but that that would be a very improper method to take with him, since the best way to engage him to meet oftener would be always to use him well, and therefore he expected their compliance speedily, that this session being but short, they might meet again to satisfaction.'

At every period of this, the House gave loud shouts. Then he acquainted them with that morning's news of Argyle's being landed in the West Highlands of Scotland from Holland, and the treasonous Declaration he had published, which he would communicate to them, and that he should take the best care he could it should meet with the reward it

<sup>a</sup> Sir Isaac Heard, Garter King-at-Arms, who died in 1822, had similarly retained possession of his faculties to the great age of 92.



deserved, not questioning the parliament's zeal and readiness to assist him as he desired ; at which there followed another *Vive le Roi*, and so his Majesty retired.

So soon as the Commons were returned and had put themselves into a grand committee, they immediately put the question, and unanimously voted the revenue to his Majesty for life. Mr. Seymour made a bold speech against many elections, and would have had those members who (he pretended) were obnoxious, to withdraw, till they had cleared the matter of their being legally returned ; but no one seconded him. The truth is, there were many of the new members whose elections and returns were universally censured, many of them being persons of no condition, or interest, in the nation, or places for which they served, especially in Devon, Cornwall, Norfolk, &c., said to have been recommended by the Court, and from the effect of the new charters changing the electors. It was reported that Lord Bath carried down with him [into Cornwall] no fewer than fifteen charters, so that some called him the Prince Elector : whence Seymour told the House in his speech that if this was digested, they might introduce what religion and laws they pleased, and that though he never gave heed to the fears and jealousies of the people before, he was now really apprehensive of Popery. By the printed list of members of 505, there did not appear to be above 135 who had been in former Parliaments, especially that lately held at Oxford.

In the Lord's House, Lord Newport made an exception against two or three young Peers, who wanted some months, and some only four or five days, of being of age.

The Popish Lords, who had been sometime before released from their confinement about the plot, were now discharged of their impeachment, of which I gave Lord Arundel of Wardour joy.

Oates, who had but two days before been pilloried at several places and whipped at the cart's tail from Newgate to Aldgate, was this day placed on a sledge, being not able to go by reason of so late scourging, and dragged from prison to Tyburn, and whipped again all the way, which some thought to be severe and extraordinary ; but, if he was guilty of the perjuries, and so of the death of many innocents, (as I fear he was,) his punishment was but what he deserved. I chanced to pass just as execution was doing on him. A strange revolution !

Note : there was no speech made by the Lord Keeper [Bridgman] after his Majesty, as usual.

It was whispered he would not be long in that situation, and many believed the bold Chief Justice Jefferies, who was made Baron of Wrem in Shropshire, and who went thorough stitch in that tribunal, stands fair for that office. I gave him joy the morning before of his new honour, he having always been very civil to me.

24th May. We had hitherto not any rain for many months, so as the caterpillars had already devoured all the winter-fruit through the whole land, and even killed several greater old trees. Such two winters and summers I had never known.

4th June. Came to visit and take leave of me Sir Gabriel Sylvius, now going Envoy-extraordinary into Denmark, with his Secretary and Chaplain, a Frenchman, who related the miserable persecution of the Protestants in France ; not above ten churches left them, and those also threatened

to be demolished ; they were commanded to christen their children within twenty-four hours after birth, or else a Popish priest was to be called, and then the infant brought up in Popery. In some places, they were thirty leagues from any minister, or opportunity of worship. This persecution had displeased the most industrious part of the nation, and dispersed those into Switzerland, Burgundy, Holland, Germany, Denmark, England, and the Plantations. There were with Sir Gabriel, his lady, Sir William Godolphin and sisters, and my Lord Godolphin's little son, my charge. I brought them to the water-side where Sir Gabriel embarked, and the rest returned to London.

14th June. There was now certain intelligence of the Duke of Monmouth landing at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, and of his having set up his standard as King of England. I pray God deliver us from the confusion which these beginnings threaten !

Such a dearth for want of rain was never in my memory.

17th. The Duke landed with but 150 men ; but the whole kingdom was alarmed, fearing that the disaffected would join them, many of the trained bands flocking to him. At his landing, he published a Declaration, charging his Majesty with usurpation and several horrid crimes, on pretence of his own title, and offering to call a free Parliament. This declaration was ordered to be burnt by the hangman, the Duke proclaimed a traitor, and a reward of £5000 to any who should kill him.

At this time, the words engraved on the monument in London, intimating that the Papists fired the City, were erased and cut out.

The exceeding drought still continues.

18th. I received a warrant to send out a horse with twelve days' provisions, &c.

28th. We had now plentiful rain after two years' excessive drought and severe winters.

Argyle taken in Scotland, and executed, and his party dispersed.

2nd July. No considerable account of the troops sent against the Duke, though great forces sent. There was a smart skirmish ; but he would not be provoked to come to an encounter, but still kept in the fastnesses.

Dangerfield whipped, like Oates, for perjury.

8th. Came news of Monmouth's utter defeat, and the next day of his being taken by Sir William Portman and Lord Lumley with the militia of their counties. It seems the Horse, commanded by Lord Grey, being newly raised and undisciplined, were not to be brought in so short a time to endure the fire, which exposed the Foot to the King's, so as when Monmouth had led the Foot in great silence and order, thinking to surprise Lieutenant-General Lord Feversham newly encamped, and given him a smart charge, interchanging both great and small shot, the Horse, breaking their own ranks, Monmouth gave it over, and fled with Grey, leaving their party to be cut in pieces to the number of 2000. The whole number reported to be above 8000 ; the King's but 2700. The slain were most of them *Mendip-miners*, who did great execution with their tools, and sold their lives very dearly, whilst their leaders flying were pursued and taken the next morning, not far from one another. Monmouth had gone sixteen miles on foot, changing his habit for a poor coat, and was found by Lord Lumley in a dry ditch covered with fern-brakes, but without sword, pistol, or any weapon, and so might have passed for some country-



man, his beard being grown so long and so gray as hardly to be known, had not his George discovered him, which was found in his pocket. It is said he trembled exceedingly all over, not able to speak. Grey was taken not far from him. Most of his party were Anabaptists and poor cloth-workers of the country, no gentlemen of account being come in to him. The arch-*boutefeu*, Ferguson, Matthews, &c., were not yet found. The £5000 to be given to whoever should bring Monmouth in, was to be distributed among the militia by agreement between Sir William Portman and Lord Lumley. The battle ended, some words, first in jest, then in passion, passed between Sherrington Talbot (a worthy gentleman, son to Sir John Talbot, and who had behaved himself very handsomely) and one Captain Love, both commanders of the militia, as to whose soldiers fought best, both drawing their swords and passing at one another. Sherrington was wounded to death on the spot, to the great regret of those who knew him. He was Sir John's only son.

9th July. Just as I was coming into the lodgings at Whitehall, a little before dinner, my Lord of Devonshire standing very near His Majesty's bedchamber-door in the lobby, came Colonel Culpeper, and in a rude manner looking at my Lord in the face, asked whether this was a time and place for excluders to appear; my Lord at first took little notice of what he said, knowing him to be a hot-headed fellow, but he reiterating it, my Lord asked Culpeper whether he meant him; he said yes, he meant his Lordship. My Lord told him he was no excluder (as indeed he was not); the other affirming it again, my Lord told him he lied; on which Culpeper struck him a box on the ear, which my Lord returned, and felled him. They were soon parted, Culpeper was seized, and his Majesty, who was all the while in his bedchamber, ordered him to be carried to the Green-Cloth Officer, who sent him to the Marshalsea, as he deserved. My Lord Devon had nothing said to him.

I supped this night at Lambeth at my old friend's Mr. Elias Ashmole's, with my Lady Clarendon, the Bishop of St. Asaph, and Dr. Tenison, when we were treated at a great feast.

10th. The Count of Castel Mellor, that great favourite and prime minister of Alphonso, late King of Portugal, after several years' banishment, being now received to grace and called home by Don Pedro, the present King, as having been found a person of the greatest integrity after all his sufferings, desired me to spend part of this day with him, and assist him in a collection of books and other curiosities, which he would carry with him into Portugal.

Mr. Hussey<sup>a</sup> a young gentleman who made love to my late dear child, but whom she could not bring herself to answer in affection, died now of the same cruel disease, for which I was extremely sorry, because he never enjoyed himself after my daughter's decease, nor was I averse to the match, could she have overcome her disinclination.

15th. I went to see Dr. Tenison's library [in St. Martin's].

Monmouth was this day brought to London and examined before the King, to whom he made great submission, acknowledged his seduction by Ferguson, the Scot, whom he named the bloody villain. He was sent to the Tower, had an interview with his late Duchess, whom he

<sup>a</sup> Son of Mr. Peter Hussey, of Sutton in Shere, Surrey. See *ante*, p. 315 and p. 388.

received coldly, having lived dishonestly with the Lady Henrietta Wentworth for two years. He obstinately asserted his conversation with that debauched woman to be no sin ; whereupon, seeing he could not be persuaded to his last breath, the divines who were sent to assist him thought not fit to administer the Holy Communion to him. For the rest of his faults he professed great sorrow, and so died without any apparent fear. He would not make use of a cap or other circumstance, but lying down, bid the fellow to do his office better than to the late Lord Russell, and gave him gold ; but the wretch made five chops before he had his head off ; which so incensed the people, that had he not been guarded and got away, they would have torn him to pieces.

The Duke made no speech on the scaffold (which was on Tower-Hill), but gave a paper containing not above five or six lines, for the King, in which he disclaims all title to the Crown, acknowledges that the late King, his father, had indeed told him he was but his base son, and so desired his Majesty to be kind to his wife and children. This relation I had from Dr. Tenison (Rector of St. Martin's), who, with the Bishops of Ely and Bath and Wells, were sent to him by his Majesty, and were at the execution.

Thus ended this quondam Duke, darling of his father and the ladies, being extremely handsome and adroit ; an excellent soldier and dancer, a favourite of the people, of an easy nature, debauched by lust ; seduced by crafty knaves, who would have set him up only to make a property, and taken the opportunity of the King being of another religion, to gather a party of discontented men. He failed, and perished.

He was a lovely person, had a virtuous and excellent lady that brought him great riches, and a second dukedom in Scotland. He was Master of the Horse, General of the King his father's army, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, Knight of the Garter, Chancellor of Cambridge ; in a word, had accumulations without end. See what ambition and want of principles brought him to ! He was beheaded on Tuesday, 14th July. His mother, whose name was Barlow, daughter of some very mean creatures, was a beautiful strumpet, whom I had often seen at Paris ; she died miserably without anything to bury her ; yet this Perkin had been made to believe that the King had married her, a monstrous and ridiculous forgery ! And to satisfy the world of the iniquity of the report, the King his father (if his father he really was, for he most resembled one Sidney<sup>a</sup> who was familiar with his mother) publicly and most solemnly renounced it, to be so entered in the Council Book some years since, with all the Privy Councillors' attestation<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Robert Sydney, commonly called handsome Sydney, related to the Earl of Leicester of that name.

<sup>b</sup> The *Life of James the Second* contains an account of the circumstances of the Duke of Monmouth's birth, which may be given in illustration of the statements of the text. Ross, tutor to the Duke of Monmouth, is there said to have proposed to Bishop Cosins to sign a certificate of the King's marriage to Mrs. Barlow, though her own name was Walters : but this the Bishop refused. She was born of a gentleman's family in Wales, but, having little means and less grace, came to London to make her fortune. Algernon Sydney, then a Colonel in Cromwell's army, had agreed to give her fifty broad pieces (as he told the Duke of York) ; but, being ordered hastily away with his regiment, he missed his bargain. She went into Holland, where she fell into the hands of his brother, Colonel Robert Sydney, who kept her for some time, till, the king hearing of her, got her from him.



Had it not pleased God to dissipate this attempt in the beginning, there would in all appearance have gathered an irresistible force which would have desperately proceeded to the ruin of the Church and Government ; so general was the discontent and expectation of the opportunity. For my own part, I looked upon this deliverance as most signal. Such an inundation of fanatics and men of impious principles must needs have caused universal disorder, cruelty, injustice, rapine, sacrilege, and confusion, an unavoidable civil war, and misery without end. Blessed be God, the knot was happily broken, and a fair prospect of tranquillity for the future, if we reform, be thankful, and make a right use of this mercy !

18th July. I went to see the muster of the six Scotch and English regiments whom the Prince of Orange had lately sent to his Majesty out of Holland upon this rebellion, but which were now returning, there having been no occasion for their use. They were all excellently clad and well disciplined, and were encamped on Blackheath with their tents : the King and Queen came to see them exercise, and the manner of their encampment, which was very neat and magnificent.

By a gross mistake of the Secretary of His Majesty's Forces, it had been ordered that they should be quartered in private houses, contrary to an Act of Parliament, but, on my informing his Majesty timely of it, it was prevented.

The two horsemen which my son and myself sent into the county-troops, were now come home, after a month's being out to our great charge.

20th. The Trinity-Company met this day, which should have been on the Monday after Trinity, but was put off by reason of the Royal Charter being so large, that it could not be ready before. Some immunities were superadded. Mr. Pepys, Secretary to the Admiralty, was a second time chosen Master. There were present the Duke of Grafton, Lord Dartmouth, Master of the Ordnance, the Commissioners of the Navy, and Brethren of the Corporation. We went to church, according to custom, and then took barge to the Trinity-House, in London, where we had a great dinner, above eighty at one table.

7th August. I went to see Mr. Watts, keeper of the Apothecaries' garden of simples at Chelsea, where there is a collection of innumerable rarities of that sort particularly, besides many rare annuals, the tree bearing Jesuit's bark, which had done such wonders in quartan agues. What was very ingenious was the subterranean heat, conveyed by a stove under the conservatory, all vaulted with brick, so as he has the doors and windows open in the hardest frosts, secluding only the snow.

15th. Came to visit us Mr. Boscawen, with my Lord Godolphin's little son, with whose education hitherto his father had entrusted me.

27th. My daughter Elizabeth died of the small-pox, soon after having married a young man, nephew of Sir John Tippet, Surveyor of the Navy, and one of the Commissioners. The 30th, she was buried in the

On which the Colonel was heard to say, Let who will have her, she is already sped ; and, after being with the king, she was so soon with child, that the world had no cause to doubt whose child it was, and the rather that when he grew to be a man, he very much resembled the colonel both in stature and countenance, even to a wart on his face. However, the king owned the child. In the king's absence, she behaved so loosely, that on his return from his escape at Worcester he would have no further commerce with her, and she became a common prostitute at Paris.

church at Deptford. Thus, in less than six months were we deprived of two children for our unworthiness and causes best known to God, whom I beseech from the bottom of my heart that He will give us grace to make that right use of all these chastisements, that we may become better, and entirely submit in all things to His infinite wise disposal. Amen !

3rd September. Lord Clarendon (Lord Privy Seal) wrote to let me know that the King being pleased to send him Lord-Lieutenant into Ireland, was also pleased to nominate me one of the Commissioners to execute the office of Privy Seal during his Lieutenancy there, it behoving me to wait upon his Majesty to give him thanks for this great honour.

5th. I accompanied his Lordship to Windsor (dining by the way of Sir Henry Capel's at Kew), where his Majesty receiving me with extraordinary kindness, I kissed his hand. I told him how sensible I was of his Majesty's gracious favour to me, that I would endeavour to serve him with all sincerity, diligence, and loyalty, not more out of my duty than inclination. He said he doubted not of it, and was glad he had the opportunity to show me the kindness he had for me. After this, came abundance of great men to give me joy.

6th. Sunday. I went to prayer in the chapel, and heard Dr. Standish. The second sermon was preached by Dr. Creighton, on 1 *Thess.* iv. 11, persuading to unity and peace, and to be mindful of our own business, according to the advice of the apostle. Then I went to hear a Frenchman who preached before the King and Queen in that splendid chapel next St. George's Hall. Their Majesties going to mass, I withdrew to consider the stupendous painting of the Hall, which, both for the art and invention, deserve the inscription in honour of the painter, Signor Verrio. The history is Edward the Third receiving the Black Prince, coming towards him in a Roman triumph. The whole roof is the history of St. George. The throne, the carvings, &c., are incomparable, and I think equal to any, and in many circumstances exceeding any, I have seen abroad.

I dined at Lord Sunderland's, with (amongst others) Sir William Soames, designed Ambassador to Constantinople.

About 6 o'clock, came Sir Dudley and his brother Roger North, and brought the Great Seal from my Lord Keeper, who died the day before at his house, in Oxfordshire. The King went immediately to Council; everybody guessing who was most likely to succeed this great officer; most believing it could be no other than my Lord Chief Justice Jefferies, who had so vigorously prosecuted the late rebels, and was now gone the Western Circuit, to punish the rest that were secured in the several counties, and was now near upon his return. I took my leave of His Majesty, who spake very graciously to me, and supping that night at Sir Stephen Fox's, I promised to dine there the next day.

15th. I accompanied Mr. Pepys to Portsmouth, whither his Majesty was going the first time since his coming to the Crown, to see in what state the fortifications were. We took coach and six horses, late after dinner, yet got to Bagshot<sup>a</sup> that night. Whilst supper was making ready I went and made a visit to Mrs. Graham<sup>b</sup>, some time Maid of Honour to the Queen Dowager, now wife to James Graham, Esq., of the privy purse to the King, her house<sup>c</sup> being a walk in the forest, within a little quarter of a mile from

<sup>a</sup> A distance of 26 miles. <sup>b</sup> Miss Howard, see *ante*, p. 349. <sup>c</sup> Bagshot Park.



Bagshot town. Very importunate she was that I would sup, and abide there that night ; but, being obliged by my companion, I returned to our inn, after she had showed me her house, which was very commodious, and well-furnished, as she was an excellent house-wife, a prudent and virtuous lady. There is a park full of red deer about it. Her eldest son was now sick there of the small-pox, but in a likely way of recovery, and other of her children run about, and among the infected, which she said she let them do on purpose that they might whilst young pass that fatal disease she fancied they were to undergo one time or other, and that this would be the best : the severity of this cruel distemper so lately in my poor family confirming much of what she affirmed.

16th September. The next morning, setting out early, we arrived soon enough at Winchester to wait on the King, who was lodged at the Dean's (Dr. Meggot). I found very few with him besides my Lords Feversham, Arran, Newport, and the Bishop of Bath and Wells. His Majesty was discoursing with the Bishops concerning miracles, and what strange things the *Saludadors*<sup>a</sup> would do in Spain, as by creeping into heated ovens without hurt, and that they had a black cross in the roof of their mouths, but yet were commonly notorious and profane wretches ; upon which his Majesty further said, that he was so extremely difficult of miracles, for fear of being imposed upon, that if he should chance to see one himself, without some other witness, he should apprehend it a delusion of his senses. Then they spake of the boy who was pretended to have a wanting leg restored him, so confidently asserted by Fr. de Santa Clara and others. To all which the Bishop added a great miracle happening in Winchester to his certain knowledge, of a poor miserably sick and decrepit child (as I remember long kept unbaptized), who, immediately on his baptism, recovered ; as also of the salutary effect of King Charles his Majesty's father's blood, in healing one that was blind.

There was something said of the second sight<sup>b</sup> happening to some persons, especially Scotch ; upon which his Majesty, and I think Lord Arran, told us that Monsieur . . . a French nobleman, lately here in England, seeing the late Duke of Monmouth come into the playhouse at London, suddenly cried out to somebody sitting in the same box, *Voilà Monsieur comme il entre sans tête !* Afterwards his Majesty spoke of some relics that had effected strange cures, particularly a piece of our blessed Saviour's cross, that healed a gentleman's rotten nose by only touching. And speaking of the golden cross and chain taken out of the coffin of

<sup>a</sup> Evelyn subjoins this note : ' As to that of the *Saludador* (of which likewise I remember Sir Arthur Hopton, formerly Ambassador at Madrid, had told me many like wonders), Mr. Pepys passing through Spain, and being extremely inquisitive of the truth of these pretended miracles of the *Saludadors*, found a very famous one at last, to whom he offered a considerable reward if he would make a trial of the oven, or any other thing of that kind, before him ; the fellow ingenuously told him, that finding he was a more than ordinary curious person, he would not deceive him, and so acknowledged that he could do none of the feats really, but that what they pretended was all a cheat, which he would easily discover, though the poor superstitious people were easily imposed upon ; yet have these impostors an allowance of the Bishops to practise their jugglings. This Mr. Pepys affirmed to me ; but, said he, I did not conceive it fit to interrupt his Majesty, who so solemnly told what they pretended to do.—J. E.'

<sup>b</sup> Several very curious letters on this subject are printed in *Pepys' Diary*.

St. Edward the Confessor at Westminster<sup>a</sup>, by one of the singing-men, who, as the scaffolds were taken down after his Majesty's coronation, espying a hole in the tomb, and something glisten, put his hand in, and brought it to the dean, and he to the King ; his Majesty began to put the Bishop in mind how earnestly the late King (his brother) called upon him during his agony, to take out what he had in his pocket. I had thought, said the King, it had been for some keys, which might lead to some cabinet that his Majesty would have me secure ; but, says he, you well remember that I found nothing in any of his pockets but a cross of gold, and a few insignificant papers ; and thereupon he showed us the cross, and was pleased to put it into my hand. It was of gold, about three inches long, having on one side a crucifix enamelled and embossed, the rest was graved and garnished with goldsmiths' work, and two pretty broad table amethysts (as I conceived), and at the bottom a pendant pearl ; within was enchased a little fragment, as was thought, of the true cross, and a Latin inscription in gold and Roman Letters<sup>b</sup>. More company coming in, this discourse ended. I may not forget a resolution which his Majesty made, and had a little before entered upon it at the Council Board at Windsor or Whitehall, that the negroes in the Plantations should all be baptized, exceedingly declaiming against that impiety of their masters prohibiting it, out of a mistaken opinion that they would be *ipso facto* free ; but his Majesty persists in his resolution to have them christened, which piety the Bishop blessed him for.

I went out to see the new palace the late King had begun, and brought almost to the covering. It is placed on the side of the hill, where formerly stood the old Castle. It is a stately fabric, of three sides and a corridor, all built of brick, and cornished, windows and columns at the break and entrance of free-stone<sup>c</sup>. It was intended for a hunting-house when his Majesty should come to these parts, and has an incomparable prospect. I believe there had already been £20,000 and more expended ; but his now Majesty did not seem to encourage the finishing it at least for a while.

Hence to see the Cathedral, a reverend pile, and in good repair. There are still the coffins of the six Saxon Kings, whose bones had been scattered by the sacrilegious rebels of 1641, in expectation, I suppose, of finding

<sup>a</sup> See a Narrative on the same subject among the Illustrations at the end of this volume.

<sup>b</sup> There is a pamphlet giving an account of this finding and presenting to the King, under the name of George Taylour ; but the writer's name was Henry Keepe. See Gough's *Topography*.

<sup>c</sup> The first stone of this palace was laid by March 23, 1683, by King Charles in person, who, during the remainder of his reign, spent most of his time at Winchester, for the purpose of inspecting and forwarding the work. Upon Charles's death, an immediate stop was put to the building by James II. It was equally neglected by King William ; but Queen Anne, after surveying it herself, intended to complete it in favour of her husband, George, Prince of Denmark, upon whom it was settled, had he lived until she could afford the sums necessary for this purpose. The first public use to which it appears to have been applied, was that of a place of confinement for French prisoners in the war of 1756, during which 5,000 of them, at a time, were occasionally detained in it. In the year 1792, it was occupied by a certain number of French clergy banished from their native soil ; and, in 1796, it was fitted up as barracks for the residence of troops, to which purpose it is still applied.



some valuable relics, and afterwards gathered up again and put into new chests, which stand above the stalls of the choir.

*17th September.* Early next morning, we went to Portsmouth, something before his Majesty arrived. We found all the road full of people, the women in their best dress, in expectation of seeing the King pass by, which he did, riding on horseback a good part of the way. The Mayor and Aldermen with their mace, and in their formalities, were standing at the entrance of the fort, a mile on this side of the town, where the Mayor made a speech to the King, and then the guns of the fort were fired, as were those of the garrison, as soon as the King was come into Portsmouth. All the soldiers (near 3,000) were drawn up, and lining the streets and platform to God's-house (the name of the Governor's residence), where, after he had viewed the new fortifications and ship-yard, his Majesty was entertained at a magnificent dinner by Sir . . . Slingsby, the Lieutenant-Governor, all the gentlemen in his train sitting down at table with him, which I also had done had I not been before engaged to Sir Robert Holmes, Governor of the Isle of Wight, to dine with him at a private house, where likewise we had a very sumptuous and plentiful repast of excellent venison, fowl, fish, and fruit.

After dinner, I went to wait on his Majesty again, who was pulling on his boots in the Town-hall adjoining the house where he dined, and then having saluted some ladies, who came to kiss his hand, he took horse for Winchester, whither he returned that night. This hall is artificially hung round with arms of all sorts, like the hall and keep at Windsor. Hence, to see the ship-yard and dock, the fortifications, and other things.

Portsmouth, when finished, will be very strong, and a noble quay. There were now thirty-two men-of-war in the harbour. I was invited by Sir R. Beach, the Commissioner, where, after a great supper, Mr. Secretary and myself lay that night, and the next morning set out for Guildford, where we arrived in good hour, and so the day after to London.

I had twice before been at Portsmouth, the Isle of Wight, &c., many years since. I found this part of Hampshire bravely wooded, especially about the house and estate of Colonel Norton, who though now in being, having formerly made his peace by means of Colonel Legg, was formerly a very fierce commander in the first Rebellion. His house is large, and standing low, on the road from Winchester to Portsmouth.

But what I observed in this journey is that infinite industry, sedulity, gravity, and great understanding and experience of affairs, in his Majesty, that I cannot but predict much happiness to the nation, as to its political government; and, if he so persist, there could be nothing more desired to accomplish our prosperity, but that he was of the national religion.

*30th.* Lord Clarendon's commission for Lieutenant of Ireland was sealed this day.

*2nd October.* Having a letter sent me by Mr. Pepys with this expression at the foot of it, 'I have something to show you that I may not have another time', and that I would not fail to dine with him, I accordingly went. After dinner, he had me and Mr. Houblon (a rich and considerable merchant, whose father had fled out of Flanders on the persecution of the Duke of Alva) into a private room, and told us that being lately alone with his Majesty, and upon some occasion of speaking concerning my late Lord

Arlington dying a Roman Catholic, who had all along seemed to profess himself a Protestant, taken all the tests, &c., till the day (I think) of his death, his Majesty said that as to his inclinations he had known them long wavering, but from fear of losing his places, he did not think it convenient to declare himself. There are, says the King, those who believe the Church of Rome gives dispensations for going to church, and many like things, but that is not so; for if that might have been had, he himself had most reason to make use of it. *Indeed*, he said, as to *some matrimonial cases, there are now and then dispensations*, but hardly in any cases else.

This familiar discourse encouraged Mr. Pepys to beg of his Majesty, if he might ask it without offence, and for that his Majesty could not but observe how it was whispered among many whether his late Majesty had been reconciled to the Church of Rome; he again humbly besought his Majesty to pardon his presumption, if he had touched upon a thing which did not befit him to look into. The King ingenuously told him that he both was and died a Roman Catholic, and that he had not long since declared it was upon some politic and state reasons, best known to himself (meaning the King his brother), but that he was of that persuasion: he bid him follow him into his closet, where opening a cabinet, he showed him two papers, containing about a quarter of a sheet, on both sides written, in the late King's own hand, several arguments opposite to the doctrine of the Church of England, charging her with heresy, novelty, and the fanaticism of other Protestants, the chief whereof was, as I remember, our refusing to acknowledge the primacy and infallibility of the Church of Rome; how impossible it was that so many ages should never dispute it, till of late; how unlikely our Saviour would leave His Church without a visible Head and guide to resort to, during his absence; with the like usual topic; so well penned as to the discourse as did by no means seem to me to have been put together by the late King, yet written all with his own hand, blotted and interlined, so as, if indeed it was not given him by some priest, they might be such arguments and reasons as had been inculcated from time to time, and here recollected; and, in the conclusion, showing his looking on the Protestant religion (and by name the Church of England) to be without foundation, and consequently false and unsafe. When his Majesty had shown him these originals, he was pleased to lend him the copies of these two papers, attested at the bottom in four or five lines under his own hand.

These were the papers I saw and read. This nice and curious passage I thought fit to set down. Though all the arguments and objections were altogether weak, and have a thousand times been answered by our divines; they are such as their priests insinuate among their proselytes, as if nothing were Catholic but the Church of Rome, no salvation out of that, no reformation sufferable, bottoming all their errors on St. Peter's successors' unerred dictatorship, but proving nothing with any reason, or taking notice of any objection which could be made against it. Here all was taken for granted, and upon it a resolution and preference implied.

I was heartily sorry to see all this, though it was no other than was to be suspected, by his late Majesty's too great indifference, neglect, and course of life, that he had been perverted, and for secular respects only professed to be of another belief, and thereby giving great advantage to



our adversaries, both the Court and generally the youth and great persons of the nation becoming dissolute and highly profane. God was incensed to make his reign very troublesome and unprosperous, by wars, plagues, fires, loss of reputation by an universal neglect of the public for the love of a voluptuous and sensual life, which a vicious Court had brought into credit. I think of it with sorrow and pity, when I consider how good and debonair a nature that unhappy Prince was ; what opportunities he had to have made himself the most renowned King that ever swayed the British sceptre, had he been firm to that Church for which his martyred and blessed father suffered ; and had he been grateful to Almighty God, who so miraculously restored him, with so excellent a religion ; had he endeavoured to own and propagate it as he should have done, not only for the good of his Kingdom, but of all the Reformed Churches in Christendom, now weakened and near ruined through our remissness and suffering them to be supplanted, persecuted, and destroyed, as in France, which we took no notice of. The consequence of this, time will show, and I wish it may proceed no further. The emissaries and instruments of the Church of Rome will never rest till they have crushed the Church of England, as knowing that alone to be able to cope with them, and that they can never answer her fairly, but lie abundantly open to the irresistible force of her arguments, antiquity and purity of her doctrine, so that albeit it may move God, for the punishment of a nation so unworthy, to eclipse again the profession of her here, and darkness and superstition prevail, I am most confident the doctrine of the Church of England will never be extinguished, but remain visible, if not eminent, to the consummation of the world. I have innumerable reasons that confirm me in this opinion, which I forbear to mention here.

In the mean time, as to the discourse of his Majesty with Mr. Pepys, and those papers, as I do exceedingly prefer his Majesty's free and ingenuous profession of what his own religion is, beyond concealment upon any politic accounts, so I think him of a most sincere and honest nature, one on whose word one may rely, and that he makes a conscience of what he promises, to perform it. In this confidence, I hope that the Church of England may yet subsist, and when it shall please God to open his eyes and turn his heart (for that is peculiarly in the Lord's hands) to flourish also. In all events, whatever do become of the Church of England, it is certainly, of all the Christian professions on the earth, the most primitive, apostolical, and excellent.

*8th October.* I had my picture drawn this week by the famous Kneller.

*14th.* I went to London about finishing my lodgings at Whitehall.

*15th.* Being the King's birth-day, there was a solemn ball at Court, and before it music of instruments and voices. I happened by accident to stand the very next to the Queen and the King, who talked with me about the music.

*18th.* The King was now building all that range from east to west by the court and garden to the street, and making a new chapel for the Queen, whose lodgings were to be in this new building, as also a new Council-chamber and offices next the south end of the Banqueting-house. I returned home, next morning, to London.

*22nd.* I accompanied my Lady Clarendon to her house at Swallow-

field<sup>a</sup>, in Berks, dining by the way at Mr. Graham's lodge at Bagshot<sup>b</sup>; the house, new prepared and capacious enough for a good family, stands in a park.

Hence, we went to Swallowfield; this house is after the ancient building of honourable gentlemen's houses, when they kept up ancient hospitality, but the gardens and waters as elegant as it is possible to make a flat by art and industry, and no mean expense, my lady being so extraordinarily skilled in the flowery part, and my lord, in diligence of planting; so that I have hardly seen a seat which shows more tokens of it than what is to be found here, not only in the delicious and rarest fruits of a garden, but in those innumerable timber trees in the ground about the seat, to the greatest ornament and benefit of the place. There is one orchard of 1000 golden, and other cider pippins; walks and groves of elms, limes, oaks, and other trees. The garden is so beset with all manner of sweet shrubs, that it perfumes the air. The distribution also of the quarters, walks, and parterres, is excellent. The nurseries, kitchen-garden full of the most desirable plants; two very noble orangeries well furnished; but, above all, the canal and fish ponds, the one fed with a white, the other with a black running water, fed by a quick and swift river, so well and plentifully stored with fish, that for pike, carp, bream, and tench, I never saw anything approaching it. We had at every meal carp and pike of a size fit for the table of a Prince, and what added to the delight was, to see the hundreds taken by the drag, out of which, the cook standing by, we pointed out what we had most mind to, and had carp that would have been worth at London twenty shillings a-piece. The waters are flagged about with *Calamus aromaticus*, with which my lady has hung a closet, that retains the smell very perfectly. There is also a certain sweet willow and other exotics: also a very fine bowling-green, meadow, pasture, and wood; in a word, all that can render a country-seat delightful. There is besides a well-furnished library in the house.

26th October. We returned to London, having been treated with all sorts of cheer and noble freedom by that most religious and virtuous lady. She was now preparing to go for Ireland with her husband, made Lord-Deputy, and went to this country-house and ancient seat of her father and family, to set things in order during her absence; but never were good people and neighbours more concerned than all the country (the poor especially) for the departure of this charitable woman; every one was in tears, and she as unwilling to part from them. There was amongst them a maiden of primitive life, the daughter of a poor labouring man, who had sustained her parents (some time since dead) by her labour, and has for many years refused marriage, or to receive any assistance from the parish, besides the little hermitage my lady gives her rent-free; she lives on fourpence a-day, which she gets by spinning; says she abounds and can give alms to others, living in great humility and content, without any apparent affectation, or singularity; she is continually working,

<sup>a</sup> Sir William Backhouse died seised of the manor of Swallowfield, in 1669. His widow, daughter and heiress of Mr. William Backhouse, married Henry, Earl of Clarendon, who became possessed of this estate. The celebrated Lord Chancellor resided at his son's house at Swallowfield after his retirement from public life, and there wrote portions of his *History of the Rebellion*.

<sup>b</sup> *ante*, p. 437.



praying, or reading, gives a good account of her knowledge in religion, visits the sick ; is not in the least given to talk ; very modest, and of simple not unseemly behaviour ; of a comely countenance, clad very plain, but clean and tight. In sum, she appears a saint of an extraordinary sort, in so religious a life, as is seldom met with in villages now-a-days.

*29th October.* I was invited to dine at Sir Stephen Fox's with my Lord Lieutenant, where was such a dinner for variety of all things as I had seldom seen, and it was so for the trial of a master-cook whom Sir Stephen had recommended to go with his Lordship into Ireland ; there were all the dainties not only of the season, but of what art could add, venison, plain solid meat, fowl, baked and boiled meats, banquet [dessert], in exceeding plenty, and exquisitely dressed. There also dined my Lord Ossory and Lady (the Duke of Beaufort's daughter), my Lady Treasurer, Lord Cornbury, and other visitors.

*28th.* At the Royal Society, an urn full of bones was presented, dug up in a highway, whilst repairing it, in a field in Camberwell, in Surrey ; it was found entire with its cover, amongst many others, believed to be truly Roman and ancient.

Sir Richard Bulkeley described to us a model of a chariot he had invented, which it was not possible to overthrow in whatever uneven way it was drawn, giving us a wonderful relation of what it had performed in that kind, for ease, expedition, and safety ; there were some inconveniences yet to be remedied—it would not contain more than one person ; was ready to take fire every ten miles ; and being placed and playing on no fewer than ten rollers, it made a most prodigious noise, almost intolerable. A remedy was to be sought for these inconveniences.

*31st.* I dined at our great Lord Chancellor Jefferies', who used me with much respect. This was the late Chief Justice who had newly been the Western Circuit to try the Monmouth conspirators, and had formerly done such severe justice amongst the obnoxious in Westminster Hall, for which his Majesty dignified him by creating him first a Baron, and now Lord Chancellor. He had some years past been conversant in Deptford ; is of an assured and undaunted spirit, and has served the Court-interest on all the hardest occasions ; is of nature cruel, and a slave of the Court.

*3rd November.* The French persecution of the Protestants raging with the utmost barbarity, exceeded even what the very heathens used : innumerable persons of the greatest birth and riches leaving all their earthly substance, and hardly escaping with their lives, dispersed through all the countries of Europe. The French tyrant abrogated the Edict of Nantes which had been made in favour of them, and without any cause ; on a sudden demolishing all their churches, banishing, imprisoning, and sending to the galleys all the ministers ; plundering the common people, and exposing them to all sorts of barbarous usage by soldiers sent to ruin and prey on them ; taking away their children ; forcing people to the Mass, and then executing them as relapsers ; they burnt their libraries, pillaged their goods, eat up their fields and substance, banished or sent the people to the galleys, and seized on their estates. There had now been numbered to pass through Geneva only (and that by stealth, for all the usual passages were strictly guarded by sea and land) 40,000 towards Switzerland. In Holland, Denmark, and all about Germany, were dispersed some hundred thousands ; besides those in England, where, though multitudes of all

degree sought for shelter and welcome as distressed Christians and confessors, they found least encouragement, by a fatality of the times we were fallen into, and the uncharitable indifference of such as should have embraced them ; and I pray it be not laid to our charge. The famous Claude fled to Holland ; Allix<sup>b</sup> and several more came to London, and persons of great estates came over, who had forsaken all. France was almost dispeopled, the bankers so broken, that the tyrant's revenue was exceedingly diminished, manufactures ceased, and everybody there, save the Jesuits, abhorred what was done, nor did the Papists themselves approve it. What the further intention is, time will show ; but doubtless portending some revolution.

I was showed the harangue which the Bishop of Valentia on Rhone made in the name of the Clergy, celebrating the French King, as if he was a God, for persecuting the poor Protestants, with this expression in it, ' That as his victory over heresy was greater than all the conquests of Alexander and Cæsar, it was but what was wished in England ; and that God seemed to raise the French King to this power and magnanimous action, that he might be in capacity to assist in doing the same here.' This paragraph is very bold and remarkable ; several reflecting on Archbishop Usher's prophecy as now begun in France, and approaching the orthodox in all other reformed churches. One thing was much taken notice of, that the Gazettes which were still constantly printed twice a week, informing us what was done all over Europe, never spake of this wonderful proceeding in France ; nor was any relation of it published by any, save what private letters and the persecuted fugitives brought. Whence this silence, I list not to conjecture ; but it appeared very extraordinary in a Protestant country that we should know nothing of what Protestants suffered, whilst great collections were made for them in foreign places, more hospitable and Christian to appearance.

*5th November.* It being an extraordinary wet morning, and myself indisposed by a very great rheum, I did not go to church, to my very great sorrow, it being the first Gunpowder Conspiracy anniversary that had been kept now these eighty years under a prince of the Roman religion. Bonfires were forbidden on this day ; what does this portend !

*9th.* Began the Parliament. The King in his speech required continuance of a standing force instead of a militia, and indemnity and dispensation to Popish officers from the Test ; demands very unexpected and displeasing to the Commons. He also required a supply of revenue, which they granted ; but returned no thanks to the King for his speech, till farther consideration.

*12th.* The Commons postponed finishing the bill for the Supply, to

<sup>a</sup> John Claude, a celebrated French Protestant minister, and a distinguished controversial writer ; who, at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, was ordered to quit France in four-and-twenty hours. One of his books was burned, by the direction of James II, by the hangman, in the Old Exchange, on May 5th, 1686. He died the following year.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. Peter Allix, a minister of the Reformed Church at Charenton, came over with his whole family, and met with great encouragement here. He was the author of several learned discourses in defence of Protestantism. His eldest son, John Peter Allix, became a Doctor of Divinity, and, after passing through different preferments, was in 1730 made Dean of Ely, died in 1758, and was buried in his church of Castle Camps in Cambridgeshire.



consider the Test, and Popish officers ; this was carried but by one voice.

*14th November.* I dined at Lambeth, my Lord Archbishop carrying me with him in his barge ; there were my Lord Deputy of Ireland, the Bishops of Ely and St. Asaph, Dr. Sherlock, and other divines ; Sir William Hayward, Sir Paul Rycaut, &c.

*20th.* The Parliament was adjourned to February, several both of Lords and Commons excepting against some passage of his Majesty's speech relating to the Test, and continuance of Popish officers in command. This was a great surprise in a parliament which people believed would have complied in all things.

Popish pamphlets and pictures sold publicly ; no books nor answers to them appearing till long after.

*21st.* I resigned my trust for composing a difference between Mr. Thynn and his wife.

*22nd.* Hitherto was a very wet warm season.

*4th December.* Lord Sunderland was declared President of the Council, and yet to hold his Secretary's place. The forces disposed into several quarters through the kingdom are very insolent, on which are great complaints.

Lord Brandon, tried for the late conspiracy, was condemned and pardoned ; so was Lord Grey, his accuser and witness.

Persecution in France raging, the French insolently visit our vessels, and take away the fugitive Protestants ; some escape in barrels.

*10th.* To Greenwich, being put into the new Commission of Sewers.

*13th.* Dr. Patrick, Dean of Peterborough, preached at Whitehall, before the Princess of Denmark ; who, since his Majesty came to the Crown, always sat in the King's closet, and had the same bowings and ceremonies applied to the place where she was, as his Majesty had when there in person.

Dining at Mr. Pepys's, Dr. Slayer showed us an experiment of a wonderful nature, pouring first a very cold liquor into a glass, and super-fusing on it another, to appearance cold and clear liquor also ; it first produced a white cloud, then boiling, divers coruscations and actual flames of fire mingled with the liquor, which being a little shaken together, fixed divers suns and stars of real fire, perfectly globular, on the sides of the glass, and which there stuck like so many constellations, burning most vehemently, and resembling stars and heavenly bodies, and that for a long space. It seemed to exhibit a theory of the education of light out of the chaos, and the fixing or gathering of the universal light into luminous bodies. This matter, or phosphorus, was made out of human blood and urine, elucidating the vital flame, or heat, in animal bodies. A very noble experiment !

*16th.* I accompanied my Lord Lieutenant as far as St. Alban's, there going out of town with him near 200 coaches of all the great officers and nobility. The next morning taking leave, I returned to London.

*18th.* I dined at the great entertainment his Majesty gave the Venetian Ambassadors, Signors Zenno and Justiniani, accompanied with ten more noble Venetians of their most illustrious families, Cornaro, Maccenigo, &c., who came to congratulate their Maestjies coming to the Crown. The dinner was most magnificent and plentiful, at four tables, with music, kettle-drums, and trumpets, which sounded upon a whistle at every health.

The banquet [dessert] was twelve vast chargers piled up so high that those who sat one against another could hardly see each other. Of these sweet-meats, which doubtless were some days piling up in that exquisite manner, the Ambassadors touched not, but leaving them to the spectators who came out of curiosity to see the dinner, were exceedingly pleased to see in what a moment of time all that curious work was demolished, the confitures voided, and the tables cleared. Thus his Majesty entertained them three days, which (for the table only) cost him £600, as the Clerk of the Green Cloth (Sir William Boreman) assured me. Dinner ended, I saw their procession, or cavalcade, to Whitehall, innumerable coaches attending. The two Ambassadors had four coaches of their own, and fifty footmen (as I remember), besides other equipage as splendid as the occasion would permit, the Court being still in mourning. Thence, I went to the audience which they had in the Queen's presence-chamber, the Banqueting-house being full of goods and furniture till the galleries on the garden-side, council-chamber, and new chapel, now in building, were finished. They went to their audience in those plain black gowns and caps which they constantly wear in the city of Venice. I was invited to have accompanied the two Ambassadors in their coach to supper that night, returning now to their own lodgings, as no longer at the King's expense; but, being weary, I excused myself.

19th December. My Lord Treasurer made me dine with him, where I became acquainted with Monsieur Barillon, the French Ambassador, a learned and crafty advocate.

20th. Dr. Turner, brother to the Bishop of Ely, and sometime tutor to my son, preached at Whitehall on *Mark* viii. 38, concerning the submission of Christians to their persecutors, in which were some passages indiscreet enough, considering the time, and the rage of the inhuman French tyrant against the poor Protestants.

22nd. Our patent for executing the office of Privy Seal during the absence of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, being this day sealed by the Lord Chancellor, we went afterwards to St. James's, where the Court then was on occasion of building at Whitehall; his Majesty delivered the seal to my Lord Tiviot and myself, the other Commissioners not being come, and then gave us his hand to kiss. There were the two Venetian Ambassadors and a world of company; amongst the rest the first Popish Nuncio<sup>a</sup> that had been in England since the Reformation; so wonderfully were things changed, to the universal jealousy.

24th. We were all three Commissioners sworn on our knees by the Clerk of the Crown, before my Lord Chancellor, three several oaths; allegiance, supremacy, and the oath belonging to the Lord Privy Seal, which last we took standing. After this, the Lord Chancellor invited us all to dinner, but it being Christmas-eve we desired to be excused, intending at three in the afternoon to seal divers things which lay ready at the office; so attended by three of the Clerks of the Signet, we met and sealed. Amongst other things was a pardon to West, who being privy to the late conspiracy, had revealed the accomplices to save his own neck. There were also another pardon and two indenizations; and so agreeing to a fortnight's vacation, I returned home.

<sup>a</sup> Ferdinand, Count D'Ada, made afterwards a Cardinal for his services in this embassy. There is a good mezzotinto print of him.



31st December. Recollecting the passages of the year past, and having made up accompts, humbly besought Almighty God to pardon those my sins which had provoked Him to discompose my sorrowful family; that He would accept of our humiliation, and in His good time restore comfort to it. I also blessed God for all His undeserved mercies and preservations, begging the continuance of His grace and preservation.—The winter had hitherto been extraordinary wet and mild.

1685–6. 1st January. Imploring the continuance of God's providential care for the year now entered, I went to the public devotions. The Dean of the Chapel and Clerk of the Closet put out, viz., Bishop of London<sup>a</sup> and . . ., and Rochester<sup>b</sup> and Durham<sup>c</sup> put in their places; the former had opposed the toleration intended, and shown a worthy zeal for the reformed religion as established.

6th. I dined with the Archbishop of York, where was Peter Walsh, that Romish priest so well known for his moderation, professing the Church of England to be a true member of the Catholic Church. He is used to go to our public prayers without scruple, and did not acknowledge the Pope's infallibility, only primacy of order.

19th. Passed the Privy Seal, amongst others, the creation of Mrs. Sedley<sup>d</sup> (concubine to —) Countess of Dorchester, which the Queen took very grievously, so as for two dinners. standing near her, I observed she hardly eat one morsel, nor spake one word to the King, or to any about her, though at other times she used to be extremely pleasant, full of discourse and good humour. The Roman Catholics were also very angry: because they had so long valued the sanctity of their religion and proselytes.

Dryden, the famous play-writer, and his two sons, and Mrs. Nelly (miss to the late —), were said to go to mass; such proselytes were no great loss to the Church.

This night was burnt to the ground my Lord Montague's palace in Bloomsbury, than which for painting and furniture there was nothing more glorious in England. This happened by the negligence of a servant airing, as they call it, some of the goods by the fire in a moist season; indeed, so wet and mild a season had scarce been seen in man's memory.

At this Seal there also passed the creation of Sir Henry Waldegrave<sup>e</sup> to be a Peer. He had married one of the King's natural daughters by Mrs. Churchill. These two Seals my brother Commissioners passed in the morning before I came to town, at which I was not displeased. We likewise passed Privy Seals for £276,000 upon several accounts, pensions, guards, wardrobes, privy purse, &c., besides divers pardons, and one more which

<sup>a</sup> Compton.

<sup>b</sup> Sprat.

<sup>c</sup> Crewe.

<sup>d</sup> Catharine, daughter of Sir Charles Sedley, Bart., one of the famous knot of wits and courtiers of King Charles's time: he was also a poet, and wrote some dramatic pieces. The Countess had a daughter by King James II, and was afterwards married to David, Earl of Portmore, by whom she had two sons, and died in 1717. Lord Dorset's well-known verses, 'Tell me, Dorinda, why so gay,' &c., are addressed to this lady. Her father's sarcasm, when he voted for filling up the vacant throne with the Prince and Princess of Orange, is well known: 'King James made my daughter a Countess, and I have been helping to make his daughter a Queen.'

<sup>e</sup> He was the fourth Baronet. He was created 30th January, 1686, Baron Waldegrave, being at that time Comptroller of the King's Household; and died at Paris, in 1689.

I must not forget (and which by Providence I was not present at) one Mr. Lytcott to be Secretary to the Ambassador to Rome. We being three Commissioners, any two were a quorum.

*21st January.* I dined at my Lady Arlington's, Groom of the Stole to the Queen Dowager, at Somerset House, where dined the Countesses of Devonshire, Dover, &c. ; in all eleven ladies of quality, no man but myself being there.

*24th.* Unheard-of cruelties to the persecuted Protestants of France, such as hardly any age has seen the like, even among the Pagans.

*6th February.* Being the day on which his Majesty began his reign, by order of Council, it was to be solemnized with a particular office and sermon, which the Bishop of Ely<sup>a</sup> preached at Whitehall on *Numb.* xi. 12 ; a Court oration upon the Regal Office. It was much wondered at, that this day, which was that of his late Majesty's death, should be kept as a festival, and not the day of the present King's coronation. It is said to have been formerly the custom, though not till now since the reign of King James I.

The Duchess of Monmouth, being in the same seat with me at church, appeared with a very sad and afflicted countenance.

*8th.* I took the Test in Westminster-Hall, before the Lord Chief Justice. I now came to lodge at Whitehall, in the Lord Privy's Seal's lodgings.

*12th.* My great Cause was heard by my Lord Chancellor, who granted me a re-hearing. I had six eminent lawyers, my antagonist three, whereof one was the smooth-tongued Solicitor<sup>b</sup>, whom my Lord Chancellor reproved in great passion for a very small occasion. Blessed be God for His great goodness to me this day !

*19th.* Many bloody and notorious duels were fought about this time. The Duke of Grafton killed Mr. Stanley, brother to the Earl of [Derby], indeed upon an almost insufferable provocation. It is to be hoped that his Majesty will at last severely remedy this unchristian custom.

Lord Sunderland was now Secretary of State, President of the Council, and Premier-Minister.

*1st March.* Came Sir Gilbert Gerrard to treat with me about his son's marrying my daughter, Susanna. The father being obnoxious, and in some suspicion and displeasure of the King, I would receive no proposal till his Majesty had given me leave, which he was pleased to do ; but, after several meetings we brake off, on his not being willing to secure any thing competent for my daughter's children ; besides that I found most of his estate was 'n the coal-pits as far off as Newcastle, and on leases from the Bishop of Durham, who had power to make concurrent leases, with other difficulties.

*7th.* Dr. Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester, preached on *Psalms* xliv. 17, 18, 19, showing the several afflictions of the Church of Christ from the primitives to this day, applying exceedingly to the present conjuncture, when many were wavering in their minds, and great temptations appearing through the favour now found by the Papists, so as the people were full of jealousies and discouragement. The Bishop magnified the Church of England, exhorting to constancy and perseverance.

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Francis Turner.

<sup>b</sup> Finch, called 'Silver Tongue', from his manner of speaking.



10th March. A Council of the Royal Society about disposing of Dr. Ray's<sup>a</sup> book of *Fishes*. which was printed at the expense of the Society.

12th. A docket was to be sealed, importing a lease of twenty-one years to one Hall, who styled himself his Majesty's printer (he lately turned Papist) for the printing Missals, Offices, Lives of Saints, Portals, Primers, &c., books expressly forbidden to be printed or sold, by divers Acts of Parliament; I refused to put my seal to it, making my exceptions, so it was laid by.

14th. The Bishop of Bath and Wells<sup>b</sup> preached on *John* vi. 17, a most excellent and pathetic discourse: after he had recommended the duty of fasting and other penitential duties, he exhorted to constancy in the Protestant religion, detestation of the unheard-of cruelties of the French, and stirring up to a liberal contribution. This sermon was the more acceptable, as it was unexpected from a Bishop who had undergone the censure of being inclined to Popery, the contrary whereof no man could show more. This indeed did all our Bishops, to the disabusing and reproach of all their delators: for none were more zealous against Popery than they were.

16th. I was at a review of the army about London, in Hyde Park, about 6000 horse and foot, in excellent order; his Majesty and infinity of people being present.

17th. I went to my house in the country, refusing to be present at what was to pass at the Privy Seal the next day. In the morning, Dr. Tenison preached an incomparable discourse at Whitehall, on *Timothy* ii. 3, 4.

24th. Dr. Cradock (Provost of Eaton) preached at the same place on *Psalms* xlix. 13, showing the vanity of earthly enjoyments.

28th. Dr. White, Bishop of Peterborough, preached in a very eloquent style, on *Matthew* xxvi. 29, submission to the will of God on all accidents, and at all times.

29th. The Duke of Northumberland (a natural son of the late King by the Duchess of Cleveland) marrying very meanly, with the help of his brother Grafton, attempted in vain to spirit away his wife.

A Brief was read in all churches for relieving the French Protestants who came here for protection from the unheard-of cruelties of the King.

2nd April. Sir Edward Hales, a Papist, made Governor of Dover Castle<sup>c</sup>.

15th. The Archbishop of York<sup>d</sup> now died of the smallpox, aged 62, a corpulent man. He was my special loving friend, and whilst Bishop of Rochester (from whence he was translated) my excellent neighbour. He

<sup>a</sup> John Ray, the celebrated naturalist, and author, among other works, of *The Wisdom of God manifested in the Works of the Creation*. He was a liberal contributor to the Transactions of the Royal Society, of which he was elected a fellow in 1667. Born in 1628, died in 1705.

<sup>b</sup> Thomas Ken, the deprived Bishop; born at Berkhamstead, Herts, in July, 1637, and died at Longleat in Wiltshire, then the seat of Lord Viscount Weymouth, March 19, 1710-11.

<sup>c</sup> Not taking the Test, Burnet tells us, his coachman was set up to inform against him and claim the 500*l.* penalty. When this was to be brought to trial, the judges were secretly asked their opinions, and such as were not clear with the Court were turned out. Half of them were dismissed.

<sup>d</sup> Dr. John Dolben.

was an inexpressible loss to the whole church, and that Province especially, being a learned, wise, stout, and most worrhy prelate ; I look on this as a great stroke to the poor Church of England, now in this defecting period.

18th April. In the afternoon, I went to Camberwell, to visit Dr. Parr. After sermon, I accompanied him to his house, where he showed me the Life and Letters of the late learned Primate of Armagh (Usher), and among them that letter of Bishop Bramhall's to the Primate, giving notice of the Popish practices to pervert this nation, by sending a hundred priests into England, who were to conform themselves to all sectaries and conditions for the more easily dispersing their doctrine amongst us. This letter was the cause of the whole impression being seized, upon pretence that it was a political or historical account of things not relating to theology, though it had been licensed by the Bishop ; which plainly showed what an interest the Papists now had—that a Protestant book, containing the life and letters of so eminent a man, was not to be published. There were also many letters to and from most of the learned persons his correspondents in Europe. The book will, I doubt not, struggle through this unjust impediment.

Several Judges were put out, and new complying ones put in.

25th. This day was read in our church the Brief for a collection for relief of the Protestant French so cruelly, barbarously, and inhumanly oppressed without any thing being laid to their charge. It had been long expected, and at last with difficulty procured to be published, the interest of the French Ambassador obstructing it.

5th May. There being a Seal, it was feared we should be required to pass a docket dispensing with Dr. Obadiah Walker and four more, whereof one was an apostate curate of Putney<sup>a</sup>, the others officers of University College, Oxford, who hold their masterships, fellowships, and cures, and keep public schools, and enjoy all former emoluments, notwithstanding they no more frequented or used the public forms of prayers, or communion, with the Church of England, or took the Test or oaths of allegiance and supremacy, contrary to twenty Acts of Parliament ; which dispensation being also contrary to his Majesty's own gracious declaration at the beginning of his reign, gave umbrage (as well it might) to every good Protestant ; nor could we safely have passed it under the Privy Seal, wherefore it was done by immediate warrant, signed by Mr. Solicitor.

This Walker was a learned person, of a monkish life, to whose tuition I had more than thirty years since recommended the sons of my worthy friend, Mr. Hyldyard, of Horsley, in Surrey<sup>b</sup>, believing him to be far from what he proved—a hypocritical concealed Papist—by which he perverted the eldest son of Mr. Hyldyard, Sir Edward Hale's eldest son, and several more, to the great disturbance of the whole nation, as well as of the University, as by his now public defection appeared. All engines being now at work to bring in Popery, which God in mercy prevent !

This day was burnt in the old Exchange, by the common hangman, a translation of a book written by the famous Monsieur Claude, relating only matters of fact concerning the horrid massacres and barbarous proceedings of the French King against his Protestant subjects, without any refutation

<sup>a</sup> Edward Sclater ; who first apostatized from Protestantism, and then, in 1689, read his recantation from Popery, and again became a Protestant.

<sup>b</sup> See *ante*, p. 186.



of any facts therein ; so mighty a power and ascendant here had the French Ambassador, who was doubtless in great indignation at the pious and truly generous charity of all the nation, for the relief of those miserable sufferers who came over for shelter.

About this time also, the Duke of Savoy, instigated by the French King to extirpate the Protestants of Piedmont, slew many thousands of those innocent people, so that there seemed to be an universal design to destroy all that would not go to mass, throughout Europe. *Quod Avertat D. O. M. !* No faith in Princes !

12th May. I refused to put the Privy Seal to Doctor Walker's license for printing and publishing divers Popish books, of which I complained both to my Lord of Canterbury (with whom I went to advise in the Council-Chamber). and to my Lord Treasurer that evening at his lodgings. My Lord of Canterbury's<sup>a</sup> advice was that, I should follow my own conscience therein ; Mr. Treasurer's, that if in conscience I could dispense with it, for any other hazard he believed there was none. Notwithstanding this, I persisted in my refusal.

29th. There was no sermon on this anniversary, as there usually had been ever since the reign of the present King.

2nd June. Such storms, rain, and foul weather, seldom known at this time of the year. The camp at Hounslow Heath, from sickness and other inconveniences of weather, forced to retire to quarters ; the storms being succeeded by excessive hot weather, many grew sick. Great feasting there, especially in Lord Dunbarton's quarters. There were many jealousies and discourses of what was the meaning of this encampment.

A seal this day ; mostly pardons and discharges of Knight-Baronets' fees, which having been passed over for so many years, did greatly disoblige several families who had served his Majesty. Lord Tyrconnel gone to Ireland, with great powers and commissions, giving as much cause of talk as the camp, especially nineteen new Privy-Councillors and Judges being now made, amongst which but three Protestants, and Tyrconnell made General.

New Judges also here, among which was Milton, a Papist (brother to that Milton who wrote for the Regicides), who presumed to take his place without passing the Test<sup>b</sup>. Scotland refused to grant liberty of mass to the Papists there.

The French persecution more inhuman than ever. The Protestants in Savoy successfully resist the French dragoons sent to murder them.

The King's chief physician in Scotland apostatizing from the Protestant religion, does of his own accord publish his recantation at Edinburgh<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Sancroft. Burnet describes him as a timid man.

<sup>b</sup> Christopher Milton, made a Baron of the Exchequer. He did not hold his office long. From weakness of constitution, Dr. Johnson remarks, he retired before he had done any disreputable act.

<sup>c</sup> Burnet informs us in his *Own Times*, that this Sir Robert Sibbald, the most learned antiquary in Scotland, who had lived in a course of philosophical virtue, but in great doubt as to revealed religion, was prevailed upon by the Earl of Perth to turn Papist ; but he soon became ashamed of having done so, on so little inquiry. Upon this he proceeded to London for some months, retiring from all company, and underwent a deep course of study, by which he came to a conviction of the errors of Popery. He then returned to Scotland, and published, as Evelyn tells us, his recantation openly in a church.

11th June. I went to see Middleton's receptacle of water at the New River, and the new Spa Wells near.

20th. An extraordinary season of violent and sudden rain. The camp still in tents.

24th. My Lord-Treasurer settled my great business with Mr. Pretymán, to which I hope God will at last give a prosperous issue.

25th. Now his Majesty, beginning with Dr. Sharp and Tully<sup>a</sup>, proceeded to silence and suspend divers excellent divines for preaching against Popery.

27th. I had this day been married thirty-nine years—blessed be God for all His mercies !

The new very young Lord Chief-Justice Herbert declared on the bench, that the government of England was entirely in the King ; that the Crown was absolute ; that penal laws were powers lodged in the Crown to enable the King to force the execution of the law, but were not bars to bind the King's power ; that he could pardon all offences against the law, and forgive the penalties, and why could he not dispense with them ; by which the Test was abolished ? Every one was astonished. Great jealousies as to what would be the end of these proceedings.

6th July. I supped with the Countess of Rochester, where was also the Duchess of Buckingham and Madame de Gouverne, whose daughter was married to the Marquis of Halifax's son. She made me a character of the French King and Dauphin, and of the persecution ; that they kept much of the cruelties from the King's knowledge ; that the Dauphin was so afraid of his father, that he durst not let anything appear of his sentiments ; that he hated letters and priests, spent all his time in hunting, and seemed to take no notice of what was passing.

This lady was of a great family and fortune, and had fled hither for refuge.

8th. I waited on the Archbishop at Lambeth, where I dined and met the famous preacher and writer, Dr. Allix<sup>b</sup>, doubtless a most excellent and learned person. The Archbishop and he spoke Latin together, and that very readily.

11th. Dr. Meggot, Dean of Winchester, preached before the Household in St. George's Chapel at Windsor, the late King's glorious chapel now seized on by the mass-priests. Dr. Cartwright, Dean of Ripon, preached before the great men of the Court in the same place.

We had now the sad news of the Bishop of Oxford's<sup>c</sup> death, an extraordinary loss to the poor Church at this time. Many candidates for his Bishopric and Deanery, Dr. Parker, South, Aldrich, &c. Dr. Walker (now apostatizing) came to Court, and was doubtless very busy.

13th. Note, that standing by the Queen at basset (cards), I observed that she was exceedingly concerned for the loss of £80 ; her outward affability much changed to stateliness, since she has been exalted.

<sup>a</sup> John Sharp, Dean of Norwich, famous for having been one of the first victims to the intolerance of James II, who caused him to be suspended for preaching against Popery. After the Revolution he was made Dean of Canterbury, and subsequently Archbishop of York. Born 1644. Died 1713.—George Tully, another champion of Protestantism, whom James endeavoured to silence by persecution. He died in 1697.

<sup>b</sup> Allix, of whom see *ante*, p. 445.

<sup>c</sup> Dr. John Fell, also Dean of Christchurch.



The season very rainy and inconvenient for the camps. His Majesty very cheerful.

14th July. Was sealed at our office the Constitution of certain Commissioners to take upon them full power of all Ecclesiastical affairs, in as unlimited a manner or, rather greater, than the late High Commission-Court, abrogated by Parliament; for it had not only faculty to inspect and visit all Bishops' dioceses, but to change what laws and statutes they should think fit to alter among the Colleges, though founded by private men; to punish, suspend, fine, &c., give oaths and call witnesses. The main drift was to suppress zealous preachers. In sum, it was the whole power of a Vicar-General—note the consequence! Of the Clergy the Commissioners were the Archbishop of Canterbury [Sancroft], Bishop of Durham [Crewe], and Rochester [Sprat]; of the Temporals, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Chancellor [Jefferies] (who alone was ever to be of the quorum), the Chief Justice [Herbert], and Lord President [Earl of Sunderland].

18th. I went to see Sir John Chardin, at Greenwich.

4th August. I dined at Signor Verrio's, the famous Italian painter, now settled in his Majesty's garden at St. James's, which he had made a very delicious Paradise.

8th. Our vicar gone to dispose of his country living in Rutlandshire, having St. Dunstan in the East given him by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

I went to visit the Marquis Ravigné, now my neighbour at Greenwich, retired from the persecution in France. He was the Deputy of all the Protestants of that kingdom in the Parliament of Paris, and several times Ambassador in this and other Courts; a person of great learning and experience<sup>a</sup>.

8th September. Dr. Compton Bishop of London, was on Monday suspended, on pretence of not silencing Dr. Sharp of St. Giles's, for something of a sermon in which he zealously reprov'd the doctrine of the Roman Catholics. The Bishop having consulted the civilians, they told him he could not by any law proceed against Dr. Sharp without producing witnesses, and impleaded according to form; but it was overruled by my Lord Chancellor, and the Bishop sentenced without so much as being heard to any purpose. This was thought a very extraordinary way of proceeding, and was universally resented, and so much the rather for that the two Bishops, Durham<sup>b</sup> and Rochester<sup>c</sup>, sitting in Commission and giving their suffrages, the Archbishop of Canterbury refused to sit amongst them. He was only suspended *ab officio*, and that was soon after taken off. He was brother to the Earl of Northampton, had once been a soldier, had travelled in Italy, but became a sober, grave, and excellent Prelate.

12th. Buda now taken from the Turks; a form of Thanksgiving was ordered to be used in the (as yet remaining) Protestant chapels and churches of Whitehall and Windsor.

The King of Denmark was besieging Hamburgh, no doubt by the French contrivance, to embroil the Protestant Princes in a new war, that

<sup>a</sup> His son was with King William in Ireland, and was made Earl of Galway, but was dismissed through the violence of party, being a Frenchman, though his conduct had been in every respect unexceptionable, as will appear hereafter.

<sup>b</sup> Crewe.

<sup>c</sup> Sprat: he afterwards would not sit.

Holland, &c., being engaged, matter for new quarrel might arise: the unheard-of persecution of the poor Protestants still raging more than ever.

22nd September. The Danes retire from Hamburgh, the Protestant Princes appearing for their succour, and the Emperor sending his Minatories to the King of Denmark, and also requiring the restoration of the Duke of Saxe Gotha. Thus it pleased God to defeat the French designs, which were evidently to kindle a new war.

14th October. His Majesty's birth-day; I was at his rising in his bed-chamber, afterwards in the park, where four companies of guards were drawn up. The officers, &c., wonderfully rich and gallant; they did not head their troops, but their next officers, the colonels being on horseback by the King whilst they marched. The ladies not less splendid at Court, where there was a ball at night; but small appearance of quality. All the shops both in the City and suburbs were shut up, and kept as solemnly as any holiday. Bonfires at night in Westminster, but forbidden in the City.

17th. Dr. Patrick, Dean of Peterborough, preached at Covent Garden Church on *Ephes.* v. 18, 19, showing the custom of the primitive saints in serving God with hymns, and their frequent use of them upon all occasions: perstringing the profane way of mirth and intemperance of this ungodly age. Afterwards, I visited my Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, with whom I had long and private discourse concerning the miserable condition that kingdom was like to be in, if Tyrconnel's counsel should prevail at Court.

23rd. Went with the Countess of Sunderland to Cranbourn, a lodge and walk of my Lord Godolphin's in Windsor Park. There was one room in the house spared in the pulling down the old one, because the late Duchess of York was born in it; the rest was built and added to it by Sir George Carteret, Treasurer of the Navy; and since, the whole was purchased by my Lord Godolphin, who spake to me to go see it, and advise what trees were fit to be cut down to improve the dwelling, being environed with old rotten pollards, which corrupt the air. It stands on a knoll, which though insensibly rising, gives it a prospect over the Keep of Windsor about three miles N.E. of it. The ground is clayey and moist; the water stark naught; the park is pretty; the house tolerable, and gardens convenient. After dinner, we came back to London, having two coaches both going and coming, of six horses apiece, which we changed at Hounslow.

24th. Dr. Warren preached before the Princess at Whitehall, on 5th *Matthew*, of the blessedness of the pure in heart, most elegantly describing the bliss of the beatifical vision. In the afternoon, Sir George Wheeler, Knight and Baronet, preached on the 4th *Matt.* upon the necessity of repentance, at St. Margaret's, an honest and devout discourse, and pretty tolerably performed. This gentleman coming from his travels out of Greece, fell in love with the daughter of Sir Thomas Higgins, his Majesty's resident at Venice, niece to the Earl of Bath, and married her. When they returned into England, being honoured with knighthood, he would needs turn preacher, and took orders. He published a learned and ingenious book of his travels, and is a very worthy person, a little formal and particular, but exceedingly devout<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Sir George Wheeler was born whilst his parents were in exile at Breda for their attachment to Charles I. He was of Lincoln College, Oxford. On his return from his travels in Asia and Greece, he was knighted. Having presented several antiquities which he had collected to the University of Oxford, in 1683, they gave



27th October. There was a triumphant show of the Lord Mayor both by land and water, with much solemnity, when yet his power has been so much diminished, by the loss of the City's former charter.

5th November. I went to St. Martin's in the morning, where Dr. Birch preached very boldly against the Papists, from *John* xvi. 2. In the afternoon, I heard Dr. Tillotson in Lincoln's Inn chapel, on the same text, but more cautiously.

16th. I went with part of my family to pass the melancholy winter in London at my son's house in Arundel Buildings.

5th December. I dined at my Lady Arlington's, Groom of the Stole to the Queen Dowager, at Somerset House, where dined divers French noblemen, driven out of their country by the persecution.

16th. I carried the Countess of Sunderland to see the rarities of one Mr. Charlton in the Middle Temple, who showed us such a collection as I had never seen in all my travels abroad, either of private gentlemen, or princes. It consisted of miniatures, drawings, shells, insects, medals, natural things, animals (of which divers, I think 100, were kept in glasses of spirits of wine), minerals, precious stones, vessels, curiosities in amber, crystal, agate, &c. ; all being very perfect and rare of their kind, especially his books of birds, fish, flowers, and shells, drawn and miniated to the life. He told us that one book stood him in £300 ; it was painted by that excellent workman, whom the late Gaston, Duke of Orleans, employed. This gentleman's whole collection, gathered by himself, travelling over most parts of Europe, is estimated at £8,000. He appeared to be a modest and obliging person<sup>a</sup>.

29th. I went to hear the music of the Italians in the new chapel, now first opened publicly at Whitehall for the Popish Service. Nothing can be finer than the magnificent marble work and architecture at the end, where are four statues, representing St. John, St. Peter, St. Paul, and the Church, in white marble, the work of Mr. Gibbon, with all the carving and pillars of exquisite art and great cost. The altar-piece is the Salutation ; the volto in *fresco*, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, according to their tradition, with our Blessed Saviour, and a world of figures painted by Verrio. The throne where the King and Queen sit is very glorious, in a closet above, just opposite to the altar. Here we saw the Bishop in his mitre and rich copes, with six or seven Jesuits and others in rich copes, sumptuously habited, often taking off and putting on the Bishop's mitre, who sat in a chair with arms pontifically, was adored and censed by three Jesuits in their copes ; then he went to the altar and made divers cringes, then censing the images and glorious tabernacle placed on the altar, and now and then changing place : the crosier, which was of silver, was put

him his degree of A.M. He took orders against the advice of powerful friends, but from an earnest desire to be useful as a parish priest ; and he well fulfilled his intentions. He became Rector of Houghton-le-Spring, in Durham, the living which had been so exemplarily filled by 'The Northern Apostle', Bernard Gilpin, whose example he worthily followed. Bishop Crewe also gave him a stall in Durham Cathedral. He died 18th January, 1723. His descendants are seated at Otterden, in Kent. See Surtees' *History of Durham* (1816), where a full account and a portrait of him are given.

<sup>a</sup> This collection was afterwards purchased by Sir Hans Sloane, and now forms part of the British Museum. *Gent. Mag.*, Nov., 1816, p. 325, from Mr. Bagford's papers in the British Museum.

into his hand with a world of mysterious ceremony, the music playing, with singing. I could not have believed I should ever have seen such things in the King of England's palace, after it had pleased God to enlighten this nation; but our great sin has, for the present, eclipsed the blessing, which I hope He will in mercy and His good time restore to its purity.

Little appearance of any winter as yet.

1686-7. 1st January. Mr. Wake<sup>a</sup> preached at St. Martin's on 1 *Tim.* iii. 16, concerning the mystery of godliness. He wrote excellently, in answer to the Bishop of Meaux.

3rd. A Séal to confirm a gift of £4,000 per annum for 99 years to the Lord Treasurer out of the Post-office, and £1,700 per annum for ever out of Lord Gray's estate.

There was now another change of the great officers. The Treasury was put into commission, two professed Papists amongst them, viz., Lords Bellasis and Dover, joined with the old ones, Lord Godolphin, Sir Stephen Fox, and Sir John Ernley.

17th. Much expectation of several great men declaring themselves Papists. Lord Tyrconnel gone to succeed the Lord-Lieutenant [Clarendon] in Ireland, to the astonishment of all sober men, and to the evident ruin of the Protestants in that kingdom, as well as of its great improvement going on. Much discourse that all the White Staff officers and others should be dismissed for adhering to their religion. Popish Justices of the Peace established in all counties, of the meanest of the people; Judges ignorant of the law, and perverting it—so furiously do the Jesuits drive, and even compel Princes to violent courses, and destruction of an excellent government both in Church and State. God of His infinite mercy open our eyes, and turn our hearts, and establish His truth with peace! The Lord Jesus defend His little flock, and preserve this threatened church and nation!

24th. I saw the Queen's new apartment at Whitehall, with her new bed, the embroidery of which cost £3,000. The carving about the chimney-piece, by Gibbon, is incomparable.

30th. I heard the famous eunuch, Cifaccio, sing in the new Popish chapel this afternoon; it was indeed very rare, and with great skill. He came over from Rome, esteemed one of the best voices in Italy. Much crowding—little devotion.

27th February. Mr. Chetwin preached at Whitehall on *Rom.* i. 18, a very quaint neat discourse of Moral righteousness.

2nd March. Came out a proclamation for universal liberty of conscience in Scotland, and dispensation from all tests and laws to the contrary, as also capacitating Papists to be chosen into all offices of trust. The mystery operates.

3rd. Dr. Meggot, Dean of Winchester, preached before the Princess of Denmark, on *Matt.* xiv. 23. In the afternoon, I went out of town to meet my Lord Clarendon, returning from Ireland.

10th. His Majesty sent for the Commissioners of the Privy Seal this morning into his bedchamber, and told us that though he had thought fit to

<sup>a</sup> William III recognised the services of the Rev. William Wake in the cause of the Protestant Church of England, by presenting him with valuable preferments. He was King's Chaplain, Rector of St. James's Westminster, Dean of Exeter, Bishop of Lincoln, and finally, Archbishop of Canterbury. Born 1657, died 1737.



dispose of the Seal into a single hand, yet he would so provide for us, as it should appear how well he accepted our faithful and loyal service, with many gracious expressions to this effect; upon which we delivered the Seal into his hands. It was by all the world both hoped and expected, that he would have restored it to my Lord Clarendon; but they were astonished to see it given to Lord Arundel, of Wardour, a zealous Roman Catholic. Indeed it was very hard, and looked very unkindly, his Majesty (as my Lord Clarendon protested to me, on my going to visit him and long discoursing with him about the affairs of Ireland) finding not the least failure of duty in him during his government of that kingdom, so that his recall plainly appeared to be from the stronger influence of the Papists, who now got all the preferments.

Most of the great officers, both in the court and country, Lords and others, were dismissed, as they would not promise his Majesty their consent to the repeal of the test and penal statutes against Popish Recusants. To this end, most of the Parliament-men were spoken to in his Majesty's closet, and such as refused, if in any place of office or trust, civil or military, were put out of their employments. This was a time of great trial; but hardly one of them assented, which put the Popish interest much backward. The English clergy everywhere preached boldly against their superstition and errors, and were wonderfully followed by the people. Not one considerable proselyte was made in all this time. The party were exceedingly put to the worst by the preaching and writing of the Protestants in many excellent treatises, evincing the doctrine and discipline of the reformed religion, to the manifest disadvantage of their adversaries. To this did not a little contribute the sermon preached at Whitehall before the Princess of Denmark and a great crowd of people, and at least thirty of the greatest nobility, by Dr. Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells<sup>a</sup>, on *John* viii. 46 (the gospel of the day), describing through his whole discourse the blasphemies, perfidy, wresting of Scripture, preference of tradition before it, spirit of persecution, superstition, legends and fables of the Scribes and Pharisees so that all the auditory understood his meaning of a parallel between them and the Romish priests and their new Trent religion. He exhorted his audience to adhere to the written Word, and to persevere in the Faith taught in the Church of England, whose doctrine for Catholicity and soundness he preferred to all the communities and churches of Christians in the world; concluding with a kind of prophecy, that whatever it suffered, it should after a short trial emerge to the confusion of her adversaries and the glory of God.

I went this evening to see the order of the boys and children at Christ's Hospital. There were near 800 boys and girls so decently clad, cleanly lodged, so wholesomely fed, so admirably taught, some the mathematics, especially the forty of the late King's foundation, that I was delighted to see the progress some little youths of thirteen or fourteen years of age had

[<sup>a</sup> A prelate remarkable for his benevolence and piety, and the only person in England known to have interceded for the sufferers from the cruelty of Colonel Kirk, on the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion; urging the King with tears to put a stop to the dreadful butchery. He was one of the seven bishops sent by James II to the Tower; yet he refused to acknowledge James's successor, on the ground that it would be a breach of his Consecration Oath, and suffered for his conscientious scruples the penalty of deprivation. He was born in 1637, and died in 1711.

made. I saw them at supper, visited their dormitories, and much admired the order, economy, and excellent government of this most charitable seminary. Some are taught for the Universities, others designed for seamen, all for trades and callings. The girls are instructed in all such work as becomes their sex and may fit them for good wives, mistresses, and to be a blessing to their generation. They sung a psalm before they sat down to supper in the great Hall, to an organ which played all the time, with such cheerful harmony, that it seemed to me a vision of angels. I came from the place with infinite satisfaction, having never seen a more noble, pious, and admirable charity. All these consisted of orphans only<sup>a</sup>. The foundation was of that pious Prince King Edward VI, whose picture (held to be an original of Holbein) is in the court where the Governors meet to consult on the affairs of the Hospital, and his statue in white marble stands in a niche of the wall below, as you go to the church, which is a modern, noble and ample fabric. This foundation has had, and still has, many benefactors.

16th March. I saw a trial of those devilish, murdering, mischief-doing engines called bombs, shot out of the mortar-piece on Blackheath. The distance that they are cast, the destruction they make where they fall, is prodigious.

20th. The Bishop of Bath and Wells (Dr. Ken) preached at St. Martin's to a crowd of people not to be expressed, nor the wonderful eloquence of this admirable preacher; the text was *Matt.* xxvi. 36 to 40, describing the bitterness of our Blessed Saviour's agony, the ardour of His love, the infinite obligations we have to imitate His patience and resignation; the means by watching against temptations, and over ourselves with fervent prayer to attain it, and the exceeding reward in the end. Upon all which he made most pathetic discourses. The Communion followed, at which I was participant. I afterwards dined at Dr. Tenison's with the Bishop and that young, most learned, pious, and excellent preacher, Mr. Wake<sup>b</sup>. In the afternoon, I went to hear Mr. Wake at the newly-built church of St. Anne, on *Mark* viii. 34, upon the subject of taking up the cross, and strenuously behaving ourselves in time of persecution, as this now threatened to be.

His Majesty again prorogued the Parliament, foreseeing it would not remit the laws against Papists, by the extraordinary zeal and bravery of its members, and the free renunciation of the great officers both in court and state, who would not be prevailed with for any temporal concern.

25th. Good Friday. Dr. Tenison preached at St. Martin's on 1 *Peter* ii. 24. During the service, a man came into near the middle of the church, with his sword drawn, with several others in that posture; in this jealous time it put the congregation into great confusion; but it appeared to be one who fled for sanctuary, being pursued by bailiffs.

8th April. I had a re-hearing of my great cause at the Chancery in Westminster Hall, having seven of the most learned Counsel, my adversary five, among which were the Attorney-General and late Solicitor Finch, son to the Lord Chancellor Nottingham. The accompt was at last brought to one article of the surcharge, and referred to a Master. The cause lasted two hours and more.

<sup>a</sup> This is by no means the case now.

<sup>b</sup> Afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.



10th April. In the last week, there was issued a Dispensation from all obligations and tests, by which Dissenters and Papists especially had public liberty of exercising their several ways of worship, without incurring the penalty of the many Laws and Acts of Parliament to the contrary. This was purely obtained by the Papists, thinking thereby to ruin the Church of England, being now the only Church which so admirably and strenuously opposed their superstition. There was a wonderful concourse of people at the Dissenters' meeting-house in this parish, and the parish-church [Deptford] left exceeding thin. What this will end in, God Almighty only knows ; but it looks like confusion, which I pray God avert.

11th. To London about my suit, some terms of accommodation being proposed.

19th. I heard the famous singer, Cifaccio, esteemed the best in Europe. Indeed, his holding out and delicateness in extending and loosing a note with incomparable softness and sweetness, was admirable ; for the rest I found him a mere wanton, effeminate child, very coy, and proudly conceited, to my apprehension. He touched the harpsichord to his voice rarely well. This was before a select number of particular persons whom Mr. Pepys invited to his house ; and this was obtained by particular favour and much difficulty, the Signor much disdaining to show his talent to any but princes.

24th. At Greenwich, at the conclusion of the Church-service, there was a French sermon preached after the use of the English Liturgy translated into French, to a congregation of about 100 French Refugees, of whom Monsieur Ruvigny was the chief, and had obtained the use of the church, after the parish-service was ended. The preacher pathetically exhorted to patience, constancy, and reliance on God amidst all their sufferings, and the infinite rewards to come.

2nd May. I dined with Mynheer Diskvelts, the Holland Ambassador, a prudent and worthy person. There dined Lord Middleton, principal Secretary of State, Lord Pembroke, Lord Lumley, Lord Preston, Colonel Fitzpatrick, and Sir John Chardin. After dinner, the Ambassador discoursed of and deplored the stupid folly of our politics, in suffering the French to take Luxemburg, it being a place of the most concern to have been defended, for the interest not only of the Netherlands, but of England.

12th. To London. Lord Sunderland being Lord President and Secretary of State, was made Knight of the Garter and prime favourite. This day there was such a storm of wind as had seldom happened, being a sort of hurricane. It kept the flood out of the Thames, so that people went on foot over several places above bridge. Also an earthquake in several places in England about the time of the storm.

26th. To London, about my agreement with Mr. Pretymen, after my tedious suit.

2nd June. I went to London, it having pleased his Majesty to grant me a Privy Seal for 6,000*l.*, for discharge of the debt I had been so many years persecuted for, it being indeed for money drawn over by my father-in-law, Sir R. Browne, during his residence in the Court of France, and so with a much greater sum due to Sir Richard from his Majesty ; and now this part of the arrear being paid, there remains yet due to me, as executor of Sir Richard, above 6,500*l.* more ; but this defermining an expensive Chancery suit has been so great a mercy and providence to me, (through

the kindness and friendship to me of Lord Godolphin, one of the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury,) that I do acknowledge it with all imaginable thanks to my gracious God.

6th June. I visited my Lady Pierpoint, daughter to Sir John Evelyn of Deane [in Wilts], now widow of Mr. Pierpoint, and mother of the Earl of Kingston. She was now engaged in the marriage of my cousin, Evelyn Pierpoint<sup>a</sup>, her second son.

There was about this time brought into the Downs a vast treasure, which was sunk in a Spanish galleon about forty-five years ago, somewhere near Hispaniola, or the Bahama islands, and was now weighed up by some gentlemen, who were at the charge of divers, &c., to the enriching them beyond all expectation. The Duke of Albemarle's share [Governor of Jamaica] came to, I believe, 50,000<sup>b</sup>l. Some private gentlemen who adventured 100l. gained from 8,000l. to 10,000l. His Majesty's tenth was 10,000l.

The camp was now again pitched at Hounslow, the Commanders profusely vying in the expense and magnificence of tents.

12th. Our Vicar preached on 2 *Peter* ii. 21, upon the danger of relapsing into sin. After this, I went and heard M. Lamot, an eloquent French preacher at Greenwich, on *Prov.* xxx. 8, 9, a consolatory discourse to the poor and religious refugees who escaped out of France in the cruel persecution.

16th. I went to Hampton-Court to give his Majesty thanks for his late gracious favour, though it was but granting what was due. Whilst I was in the Council-Chamber, came in some persons, at the head of whom was a formal man with a large roll of parchment in his hand, being an *Address* (as he said, for he introduced it with a speech) of the people of Coventry giving his Majesty their great acknowledgments for his granting a liberty of conscience; he added that this was not the application of one party only, but the unanimous address of Church of England men, Presbyterians, Independents, and Anabaptists, to show how extensive his Majesty's grace was, as taking in all parties to his indulgence and protection, which had removed all dissensions and animosities, which would not only unite them in bonds of Christian charity, but exceedingly encourage their future industry, to the improvement of trade, and spreading his Majesty's glory throughout the world; and that now he had given to God his empire, God would establish his; with expressions of great loyalty and submission; and so he gave the roll to the King, which being returned to him again, his Majesty caused him to read. The address was short, but much to the substance of the speech of their foreman, to whom the King pulling off his hat, said that what he had done in giving liberty of conscience, was, what, was ever his judgment, ought to be done; and that, as he would preserve them in their enjoyment of it during his reign, so he would endeavour to settle it by law, that it should never be altered by his successors. After this, he gave them his hand to kiss. It was reported the subscribers were above 1000.

<sup>a</sup> This Evelyn Pierpoint was married in the same month to Lady Mary Fielding. The issue of the marriage was the celebrated Lady Mary Wortley Montagu.

<sup>b</sup> The Duke's share amounted to considerably more; not less, it was said, than 90,000l. A medal was struck on this occasion, which is engraved in Evelyn's book on that subject, no. LXXXVII, p. 151.



But this is not so remarkable as an Address of the week before (as I was assured by one present), of some of the *Family of Love*. His Majesty asked them what this worship consisted in, and how many their party might consist of; they told him their custom was to read the Scripture, and then to preach; but did not give any further account, only said that for the rest they were a sort of refined Quakers, but their number very small, not consisting, as they said, of above threescore in all, and those chiefly belonging to the Isle of Ely.

18th June. I dined at Mr. Blathwaite's (two miles from Hampton). This gentleman is Secretary of War, Clerk of the Council, &c., having raised himself by his industry from very moderate circumstances. He is a very proper, handsome person, very dexterous in business, and, besides all this, has married a great fortune. His income by the Army Council, and Secretary to the Committee of Foreign Plantations, bring him in above 2,000*l.* per annum.

23rd. The Privy Seal for 6,000*l.* was passed to me, so that this tedious affair was dispatched. Hitherto, a very windy and tempestuous summer. The French sermons to the refugees were continued at Greenwich Church.

19th July. I went to Wotton. In the way, I dined at Ashted, with my Lady Mordaunt.

5th August. I went to see Albury, now purchased by Mr. Finch (the King's Solicitor, and son to the late Lord Chancellor); I found the garden which I first designed for the Duke of Norfolk, nothing improved.

15th. I went to visit Lord Clarendon at Swallowfield, where was my Lord Cornbury just arrived from Denmark, whither he had accompanied the Prince of Denmark two months before, and now come back. The miserable tyranny under which that nation lives, he related to us; the King keeps them under an army of 40,000 men, all Germans, he not daring to trust his own subjects. Notwithstanding this, the Danes are exceeding proud, the country very poor and miserable.

22nd. Returned home to Sayes Court from Wotton, having been five weeks absent with my brother and friends, who entertained us very nobly. God be praised for His goodness, and this refreshment after my many troubles, and let His mercy and providence ever preserve me. Amen.

3rd September. The Lord Mayor sent me an Officer with a staff, to be one of the Governors of St. Thomas's Hospital.

*Persecution raging in France*; divers churches there fired by lightning, priests struck, consecrated hosts, &c., burnt and destroyed, both at St. Maloes and Paris, at the grand procession on Corpus Christi-day.

13th. I went to Lambeth, and dined with the Archbishop. After dinner, I retired into the library, which I found exceedingly improved; there are also divers rare manuscripts in a room apart.

6th October. I was godfather to Sir John Chardin's son, christened at Greenwich Church, named John. The Earl of Bath and Countess of Carlisle, the other sponsors.

29th. An Anabaptist, a very odd ignorant person, a mechanic, I think, was Lord Mayor<sup>a</sup>. The King and Queen, and Dadi<sup>b</sup>, the Pope's Nuncio, invited to a feast at Guildhall. A strange turn of affairs, that those who scandalized the Church of England as favourers of Popery, should publicly

<sup>a</sup> Sir John Peake.

<sup>b</sup> Count D'Ada. *ante*, p. 447.

invite an emissary from Rome, one who represented the very person of their Antichrist !

10th December. My son was returned out of Devon, where he had been on a commission from the Lords of the Treasury about a concealment of land.

20th. I went with my Lord Chief Justice Herbert, to see his house at Walton-on-Thames<sup>a</sup> : it is a barren place. To a very ordinary house he had built a very handsome library, designing more building to it than the place deserves, in my opinion. He desired my advice about laying out his gardens, &c. The next day, we went to Weybridge, to see some pictures of the Duchess of Norfolk's, particularly the statue, or child in gremio, said to be of Michel Angelo ; but there are reasons to think it rather a copy, from some proportion in the figures ill taken. It was now exposed to sale.

1687-8. 12th January. Mr. Slingsby, Master of the Mint, being under very deplorable circumstances on account of his creditors, and especially the King, I did my endeavour with the Lords of the Treasury to be favourable to him.

My Lord Arran, eldest son to the Duke of Hamilton, being now married to Lady Ann Spencer, eldest daughter of the Earl of Sunderland, Lord President of the Council, I and my family had most glorious favours sent us, the wedding being celebrated with extraordinary splendour.

15th. There was a solemn and particular office used at our, and all the churches of London and ten miles round, for a thanksgiving to God, for Her Majesty being with child.

22nd. This afternoon I went not to church, being employed on a religious treatise I had undertaken<sup>b</sup>.

Post annum 1588—1660—1688, Annus Mirabilis Tertius<sup>c</sup>.

30th. Being the Martyrdom-day of King Charles the First, our curate made a florid oration against the murder of that excellent Prince, with an exhortation to obedience from the example of David, 1 *Samuel* xxvi. 6.

12th February. My daughter Evelyn going in the coach to visit in the City, a jolt (the door being not fast shut) flung her quite out in such manner, as the hind wheels passed over her a little above her knees. Yet it pleased God, besides the bruises of the wheels, she had no other harm. In two days, she was able to walk, and soon after perfectly well ; through God Almighty's great mercy to an excellent wife and a most dutiful and discreet daughter-in-law.

17th. I received the sad news of my niece Montague's death at Woodcot on the 15th.

15th March. I gave in my account about the Sick and Wounded, in order to have my quietus.

23rd. Dr. Parker, Bishop of Oxford, who so lately published his extrava-

<sup>a</sup> This is a mistake ; the house was Oatlands in Weybridge. He followed the fortunes of King James, who gave him his great Seal. He was attainted, and Oatlands given to his brother, Admiral Herbert. He published an apology for the judgment he had given in favour of the King's dispensing powers, which was answered by Mr. Attwood and Sir Robert Atkins. Manning and Bray's *Hist. of Surrey*, ii, 786.

<sup>b</sup> What this was does not appear ; but there are several of Evelyn's compositions remaining in MS.

<sup>c</sup> This seems to have been added after the page was written.



gant treatise about transubstantiation, and for abrogating the Test and Penal Laws, died. He was esteemed a violent, passionate, haughty man, but yet being pressed to declare for the Church of Rome, he utterly refused it. A remarkable end !

The French *Tyrant* now finding he could make no proselytes amongst those Protestants of quality, and others, whom he had caused to be shut up in dungeons, and confined to nunneries and monasteries, gave them, after so long trial, a general releasement, and leave to go out of the kingdom, but utterly taking their estates and their children ; so that great numbers came daily into England and other places, where they were received and relieved with very considerate Christian charity. This Providence and goodness of God to those who thus constantly held out, did so work upon those miserable poor souls who to avoid the persecution signed their renunciation, and to save their estates went to mass, that reflecting on what they had done, they grew so affected in their conscience, that not being able to support it, they in great numbers through all the French provinces, acquainted the magistrates and lieutenants that being sorry for their apostacy, they were resolved to return to their old religion ; that they would go no more to mass, but peaceably assemble when they could, to beg pardon and worship God, but so without weapons as not to give the least umbrage of rebellion or sedition, imploring their pity and commiseration ; and, accordingly, meeting so from time to time, the dragoon-missioners, Popish officers and priests, fell upon them, murdered and put them to death, whoever they could lay hold on ; they without the least resistance embraced death, torture, or hanging, with singing psalms and praying for their persecutors to the last breath, yet still continuing the former assembling of themselves in desolate places, suffering with incredible constancy, that through God's mercy they might obtain pardon for this lapse. Such examples of Christian behaviour have not been seen since the primitive persecutions ; and doubtless God will do some signal work in the end, if we can with patience and resignation hold out, and depend on His Providence.

*24th March.* I went with Sir Charles Littleton to Sheen, a house and estate given him by Lord Brounker ; one who was ever noted for a hard, covetous, vicious man ; but for his worldly craft and skill in gaming few exceeded him. Coming to die, he bequeathed all his land, house, furniture, &c., to Sir Charles, to whom he had no manner of relation, but an ancient friendship contracted at the famous siege of Colchester, forty years before. It is a pretty place, with fine gardens, and well-planted, and given to one worthy of them, Sir Charles being an honest gentleman and soldier. He is brother to Sir Henry Littleton of Worcestershire, whose great estate he is likely to inherit, his brother being without children. They are descendants of the great lawyer of that name, and give the same Arms and motto. He is married to one Mrs. Temple, formerly Maid of Honour to the late Queen, a beautiful lady, and he has many fine children, so that none envy his good fortune.

After dinner, we went to see Sir William Temple's near to it ; the most remarkable things are his orangery and gardens, where the wall-fruit-trees are most exquisitely nailed and trained, far better than I ever noted.

There are many good pictures, especially of Vandyke's, in both these houses, and some few statues and small busts in the latter.

From thence to Kew, to visit Sir Henry Capell's, whose orangery and myrtetum are most beautiful and perfectly well kept. He was contriving very high palisadoes of reeds to shade his oranges during the summer, and painting those reeds in oil.

1st April. In the morning, the first sermon was by Dr. Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's (at Whitehall), on *Luke* x. 41, 42. The holy Communion followed, but was so interrupted by the rude breaking in of multitudes zealous to hear the second sermon, to be preached by the Bishop of Bath and Wellr, that the latter part of that holy office could hardly be heard, or the sacred elements be distributed without great trouble. The Princess being come, he preached on *Mich.* vii. 8, 9, 10, describing the calamity of the reformed church of Judah under the Babylonian persecution, for her sins, and God's delivery of her on her repentance; that as Judah emerged, so should the now Reformed Church, whenever insulted and persecuted. He preached with his accustomed action, zeal, and energy, so that people flocked from all quarters to hear him.

15th. A dry, cold, backward spring; easterly winds.

The persecution still raging in France, multitudes of Protestants, and many very considerable and great persons flying hither, produced a second general contribution, the Papists, by God's Providence, as yet making small progress amongst us.

29th. The weather was, till now, so cold and sharp, by an almost perpetual east wind, which had continued many months, that there was little appearance of any spring, and yet the winter was very favourable as to frost and snow.

2nd May. To London, about my petition for allowances upon the account of Commissioner for Sick and Wounded in the former war with Holland.

8th. His Majesty, alarmed by the great fleet of the Dutch (whilst we had a very inconsiderable one), went down to Chatham; their fleet was well prepared, and out, before we were in any readiness, or had any considerable number to have encountered them, had there been occasion, to the great reproach of the nation; whilst, being in profound peace, there was a mighty land-army, which there was no need of, and no force at sea, where only was the apprehension; but the army was doubtless kept and increased, in order to bring in and countenance Popery, the King beginning to discover his intention, by many instances pursued by the Jesuits, against his first resolution to alter nothing in the Church-Establishment, so that it appeared there can be no reliance on Popish promises.

18th. The King enjoining the ministers to read his Declaration for giving liberty of conscience (as it was styled) in all the churches of England, this evening, six Bishops, Bath and Wells<sup>a</sup>, Peterborough<sup>b</sup>, Ely<sup>c</sup>, Chichester<sup>d</sup>, St. Asaph<sup>e</sup>, and Bristol<sup>f</sup>, in the name of all the rest of the Bishops, came to his Majesty to petition him, that he would not impose the reading of it to the several congregations within their dioceses; not that they were averse to the publishing it for want of due tenderness towards Dissenters, in relation to whom they should be willing to come to such a temper as should be thought fit, when that matter might be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation; but that, the declaration being founded on such a

<sup>a</sup> Thomas Ken.

<sup>b</sup> Thomas White.

<sup>c</sup> Francis Turner.

<sup>d</sup> John Lake.

<sup>e</sup> William Lloyd.

<sup>f</sup> Sir John Trelawny, Bart.



dispensing power as might at pleasure set aside all laws ecclesiastical and civil, it appeared to them illegal, as it had done to the Parliament in 1661 and 1672, and that it was a point of such consequence, that they could not so far make themselves parties to it, as the reading of it in church in time of Divine Service amounted to.

The King was so far incensed at this address, that he with threatening expressions commanded them to obey him in reading it at their perils, and so dismissed them.

20th May. I went to Whitehall Chapel, where, after the morning Lessons, the Declaration was read by one of the Choir who used to read the Chapters. I hear it was in the Abbey Church, Westminster, but almost universally forborne throughout all London : the consequences of which a little time will show.

25th. All the discourse now was about the Bishops refusing to read the injunction for the abolition of the Test, &c. It seems the injunction came so crudely from the Secretary's office, that it was neither sealed nor signed in form, nor had any lawyer been consulted, so as the Bishops, who took all imaginable advice, put the Court to great difficulties how to proceed against them. Great were the consults, and a proclamation was expected all this day ; but nothing was done. The action of the Bishops was universally applauded, and reconciled many adverse parties, Papists only excepted, who were now exceedingly perplexed, and violent courses were every moment expected. Report was, that the Protestant secular Lords and Nobility would abet the Clergy.

The Queen Dowager, hitherto bent on her return into Portugal, now on the sudden, on allegation of a great debt owing her by his Majesty disabling her, declares her resolution to stay.

News arrived of the most prodigious earthquake that was almost ever heard of, subverting the city of Lima and country in Peru, with a dreadful inundation following it.

8th June. This day, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Bishops of Ely, Chichester, St. Asaph, Bristol, Peterborough, and Bath and Wells, were sent from the Privy Council prisoners to the Tower, for refusing to give bail for their appearance, on their not reading the Declaration for liberty of conscience ; they refused to give bail, as it would have prejudiced their peerage. The concern of the people for them was wonderful, infinite crowds on their knees begging their blessing, and praying for them, as they passed out of the barge along the Tower-wharf.

10th. A young Prince born, which will cause disputes.

About two o'clock, we heard the Tower-ordnance discharged, and the bells ring for the birth of a Prince of Wales. This was very surprising, it having been universally given out that her Majesty did not look till the next month.

13th. I went to the Tower to see the Bishops, visited the Archbishop and Bishops of Ely, St. Asaph, and Bath and Wells.

14th. Dined with the Lord Chancellor.

15th. Being the first day of Term, the Bishops were brought to Westminster on Habeas Corpus, when the indictment was read, and they were called on to plead ; their Counsel objected that the warrant was illegal ; but, after long debate, it was over-ruled, and they pleaded. The Court then offered to take bail for their appearance ; but this they refused, and at

last were dismissed on their own recognizances to appear that day fortnight ; the Archbishop in £200, the Bishops in £100 each.

17th June. Was a day of thanksgiving in London and ten miles about for the young Prince's birth ; a form of prayer made for the purpose by the Bishop of Rochester.

29th. They appeared ; the trial lasted from nine in the morning to past six in the evening, when the Jury retired to consider of their verdict, and the Court adjourned to nine the next morning. The Jury were locked up till that time, eleven of them being for an acquittal ; but one (Arnold, a brewer) would not consent. At length he agreed with the others. The Chief Justice, Wright, behaved with great moderation and civility to the Bishops. Alibone, a Papist, was strongly against them ; but Holloway and Powell being of opinion in their favour, they were acquitted. When this was heard, there was great rejoicing ; and there was a lane of people from the King's Bench to the water-side, on their knees, as the Bishops passed and repassed, to beg their blessing. Bonfires were made that night, and bells rung, which was taken very ill at Court, and an appearance of nearly sixty Earls and Lords, &c., on the bench, did not a little comfort them ; but indeed they were all along full of comfort and cheerful.

Note, they denied to pay the Lieutenant of the Tower (Hales, who used them very surlily) any fees, alleging that none were due.

The night was solemnized with bonfires, and other fireworks, &c.

2nd July. The two judges, Holloway and Powell, were displaced.

3rd. I went with Dr. Godolphin and his brother Sir William to St. Alban's, to see a library he would have bought of the widow of Dr. Cartwright, late Archdeacon of St. Alban's, a very good collection of books, especially in divinity ; he was to give £300 for them. Having seen the *great Church*, now newly repaired by a public contribution, we returned home.

8th. One of the King's chaplains preached before the Princess on *Exodus* xiv. 13, 'Stand still, and behold the salvation of the Lord', which he applied so boldly to the present conjuncture of the Church of England, that more could scarce be said to encourage desponders. The Popish priests were not able to carry their cause against their learned adversaries, who confounded them both by their disputes and writings.

12th. The camp now began at Hounslow ; but the nation was in high discontent. •

Colonel Titus, Sir Henry Vane (son of him who was executed for his treason), and some other of the Presbyterians and Independent party, were sworn of the Privy Council, from hopes of thereby diverting that party from going over to the Bishops and Church of England, which now they began to do, foreseeing the design of the Papists to descend and take in their most hateful of heretics (as they at other times expressed them to be) to effect their own ends, now evident ; the utter extirpation of the Church of England first, and then the rest would follow.

17th. This night the fireworks were played off, that had been prepared for the Queen's up-sitting. We saw them to great advantage ; they were very fine, and cost some thousands of pounds, in the pyramids, statues, &c. ; but were spent too soon for so long a preparation.

26th. I went to Lambeth to visit the Archbishop, whom I found very cheerful.

10th August. Dr. Tenison now told me there would suddenly be some



great thing discovered. This was the Prince of Orange intending to come over.

15th August. I went to Althorpe, in Northamptonshire, seventy miles. A coach and four horses took up me and my son at Whitehall, and carried us to Dunstable, where we arrived and dined at noon, and from thence another coach and six horses carried us to Althorpe, four miles beyond Northampton, where we arrived by seven o'clock that evening. Both these coaches were hired for me by that noble Countess of Sunderland, who invited me to her house at Althorpe, where she entertained me and my son with very extraordinary kindness; I staid till the Thursday.

18th. Dr. Jeffries, the minister of Althorpe, who was my Lord's Chaplain when ambassador in France, preached the shortest discourse I ever heard; but what was defective in the amplitude of his sermon, he had supplied in the largeness and convenience of the parsonage-house, which the Doctor (who had at least £600 a year in spiritual advancement) had new built, and made fit for a person of quality to live in, with gardens and all accommodation according therewith.

My lady carried us to see Lord Northampton's Seat, a very strong large house, built with stone, not altogether modern. They were enlarging the garden, in which was nothing extraordinary, except the iron gate opening into the park, which indeed was very good work, wrought in flowers, painted with blue and gilded. There is a noble walk of elms towards the front of the house by the bowling-green. I was not in any room of the house besides a lobby looking into the garden, where my Lord and his new Countess (Sir Stephen Fox's daughter, whom I had known from a child) entertained the Countess and her daughter the Countess of Arran (newly married to the son of the Duke of Hamilton), with so little good grace, and so dully, that our visit was very short, and so we returned to Althorpe, twelve miles distant.

The house, or rather palace, at Althorpe, is a noble uniform pile in form of a half H, built of brick and freestone, balustred and *à la moderne*; the hall is well, the staircase excellent; the rooms of state, galleries, offices and furniture, such as may become a great prince. It is situate in the midst of a garden, exquisitely planted and kept, and all this in a park walled in with hewn stone, planted with rows and walks of trees, canals and fishponds, and stored with game. And, what is above all this, governed by a lady, who without any show of solicitude, keeps everything in such admirable order, both within and without, from the garret to the cellar, that I do not believe there is any in this nation, or in any other, that exceeds her in such exact order, without ostentation, but substantially great and noble. The meanest servant is lodged so neat and cleanly; the service at the several tables, the good order and decency—in a word, the entire economy is perfectly becoming a wise and noble person. She is one who for her distinguished esteem of me from a long and worthy friendship, I must ever honour and celebrate. I wish from my soul the Lord her husband (whose parts and abilities are otherwise conspicuous) was as worthy of her, as by a fatal apostasy and court-ambition he has made himself unworthy! This is what she deplores, and it renders her as much affliction as a lady of great soul and much prudence is capable of. The Countess of Bristol, her mother, a grave and honourable lady, has the

<sup>a</sup> See a former visit to this place, p. 348.

comfort of seeing her daughter and grandchildren under the same economy, especially Mr. Charles Spencer<sup>a</sup>, a youth of extraordinary hopes, very learned for his age, and ingenious, and under a governor of great worth. Happy were it, could as much be said of the elder brother, the Lord Spencer, who, rambling about the world, dishonours both his name and his family, adding sorrow to sorrow to a mother, who has taken all imaginable care of his education. There is a daughter very young married to the Earl of Clancarty, who has a great and fair estate in Ireland, but who yet gives no great presage of worth—so universally contaminated is the youth of this corrupt and abandoned age! But this is again recompensed by my Lord Arran, a sober and worthy gentleman, who has espoused the Lady Ann Spencer, a young lady of admirable accomplishments and virtue.

*23rd August.* I left this noble place and conversation, my lady having provided carriages to convey us back in the same manner as we went, and a dinner being prepared at Dunstable against our arrival. Northampton, having been lately burnt and re-edified, is now become a town that for the beauty of the buildings, especially the church and town-house, may compare with the neatest in Italy itself.

Dr. Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, wrote a very honest and handsome letter to the Commissioners Ecclesiastical, excusing himself from sitting any longer among them, he by no means approving of their prosecuting the Clergy who refused to read the Declaration for liberty of conscience, in prejudice of the Church of England.

The Dutch made extraordinary preparations both at sea and land, which with the no small progress Popery makes among us, puts us to many difficulties. The Popish Irish soldiers commit many murders and insults; the whole nation disaffected, and in apprehensions.

After long trials of the doctors to bring up the little Prince of Wales by hand (so many of her Majesty's children having died infants) not succeeding, a country-nurse, the wife of a tile-maker, is taken to give it suck.

*18th September.* I went to London, where I found the Court in the utmost consternation on report of the Prince of Orange's landing; which put Whitehall into so panic a fear, that I could hardly believe it possible to find such a change.

Writs were issued in order to a Parliament, and a declaration to back the good order of elections, with great professions of maintaining the Church of England, but without giving any sort of satisfaction to the people, who showed their high discontent at several things in the Government.

Earthquakes had utterly demolished the ancient Smyrna, and several other places in Greece, Italy, and even in the Spanish Indies, forerunners of greater calamities. God Almighty preserve His Church and all who put themselves under the shadow of His wings, till these things be overpast!

*30th.* The Court in so extraordinary a consternation, on assurance of the Prince of Orange's intention to land, that the writs sent forth for a Parliament were recalled.

*7th October.* Dr. Tenison preached at St. Martin's on 2 *Tim.* iii. 16, showing the Scriptures to be our only rule of faith, and its perfection above all traditions. After which, near 1,000 devout persons partook of the

<sup>a</sup> The eldest son dying without issue, this Charles succeeded to the title and estate, and marrying to his second wife one of the daughters and at length co-heiress to John Duke of Marlborough, his son by her succeeded to that title.



Communion. The sermon was chiefly occasioned by a Jesuit, who in the Mass-house on the Sunday before had disperaged the Scripture and railed at our translation, which some present contradicting, they pulled him out of the pulpit, and treated him very coarsely, insomuch that it was like to create a great disturbance in the City.

Hourly expectation of the Prince of Orange's invasion heightened to that degree, that his Majesty thought fit to abrogate the Commission for the dispensing Power (but retaining his own right still to dispense with all laws) and restore the ejected Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford. In the mean time, he called over 5,000 Irish, and 4,000 Scots, and continued to remove Protestants, and put in Papists at Portsmouth and other places of trust, and retained the Jesuits about him, increasing the universal discontent. It brought people to so desperate a pass, that they seemed passionately to long for and desire the landing of that Prince, whom they looked on to be their deliverer from Popish tyranny, praying incessantly for an east wind, which was said to be the only hindrance of his expedition with a numerous army ready to make a descent. To such a strange temper, and unheard-of in former times, was this poor nation reduced, and of which I was an eye-witness. The apprehension was (and with reason) that his Majesty's forces would neither at land nor sea oppose them with that vigour requisite to repel invaders.

The late imprisoned Bishops were now called to reconcile matters, and the Jesuits hard at work to foment confusion among the Protestants by their usual tricks. A letter was sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury<sup>a</sup>,

<sup>a</sup> By Evelyn himself. The letter was as follows : ' My Lord, The honour and reputation which your Grace's piety, prudence, and signal courage, have justly merited and obtained, not only from the sons of the Church of England, but even universally from those Protestants amongst us who are Dissenters from her discipline ; God Almighty's providence and blessing that your Grace's vigilancy and extraordinary endeavours will not suffer to be diminished in this conjuncture. The conversation I now and then have with some in place, who have the opportunity of knowing what is doing in the most secret recesses and cabals of our Church's adversaries, obliges me to acquaint you, that the calling of your Grace and the rest of the Lords Bishops to Court, and what has there of late been required of you, is only to create a jealousy and suspicion amongst well-meaning people of such compliances, as it is certain they have no cause to apprehend. The plan of this and of all that which is to follow of seeming favour thence, is wholly drawn by the Jesuits, who are at this time more than ever busy to make divisions amongst us, all other arts and mechanisms having hitherto failed them. They have, with other things, contrived that your Lordships the Bishops should give his Majesty advice separately, without calling any of the rest of the Peers, which, though maliciously suggested, spreads generally about the town. I do not at all question but your Grace will speedily prevent the operation of this venom, and that you will think it highly necessary so to do, that your Grace is also enjoined to compose a form of prayer, wherein the Prince of Orange is expressly to be named the invader : of this I presume not to say anything ; but for as much as in all the Declarations, &c., which have hitherto been published in pretended favour of the Church of England, there is not once the least mention of the *Reformed* or *Protestant Religion*, but only of the *Church of England as by Law established*, which Church the Papists tell us is the *Church of Rome*, which is (say they) the Catholic Church of England—that only is established by law ; the Church of England in the *Reformed* sense so established, is but by an usurped authority. The antiquity of *that* would by these words be explained, and utterly defeat this false and subdulous construction, and take off all exceptions whatsoever, if, in all extraordinary offices, upon these occasions, the

informing him, from good hands, of what was contriving by them. A paper of what the Bishops advised his Majesty was published. The Bishops were enjoined to prepare a form of prayer against the feared invasion. A pardon published. Soldiers and mariners daily pressed.

14th October. The King's Birthday. No guns from the Tower as usual. The sun eclipsed at its rising. This day signal for the victory of William the Conqueror against Harold, near Battel, in Sussex. The wind, which had been hitherto west, was east all this day. Wonderful expectation of the Dutch fleet. Public prayers ordered to be read in the churches against invasion.

28th. A tumult in London on the rabble demolishing a Popish chapel that had been set up in the City.

29th. Lady Sunderland acquainted me with his Majesty's taking away the Seals from Lord Sunderland, and of her being with the Queen to intercede for him. It is conceived that he had of late grown remiss in pursuing the interest of the Jesuitical counsels; some reported one thing, some another; but there was doubtless some secret betrayed, which time may discover.

There was a Council called, to which were summoned the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Judges, the Lord Mayor, &c. The Queen Dowager, and all the ladies and lords who were present at the Queen Consort's labour, were to give their testimony upon oath of the Prince of Wales's birth, recorded both at the Council-Board and at the Chancery a day or two after. This procedure was censured by some as below his Majesty to condescend to, on the talk of the people. It was remarkable that on this occasion the Archbishop, Marquis of Halifax, the Earls of Clarendon and Nottingham, refused to sit at the Council-table amongst Papists, and their bold telling his Majesty that whatever was done whilst such sat amongst them was unlawful and incurred *præmunire*—at least, if what I heard be true.

30th. I dined with Lord Preston, made Secretary of State, in the place of the Earl of Sunderland.

Visited Mr. Boyle, when came in the Duke of Hamilton and Earl of Burlington. The Duke told us many particulars of Mary Queen of Scots, and her amours with the Italian favourite, &c.

31st. My birthday, being the 68th year of my age. O blessed Lord, grant that as I grow in years, so may I improve in grace! Be Thou my Protector, this following year, and preserve me and mine from those dangers and great confusions that threaten a sad revolution to this sinful nation! Defend Thy Church, our holy religion, and just laws, disposing his Majesty to listen to sober and healing counsels, that if it be Thy blessed will, we may still enjoy that happy tranquillity which hitherto Thou hast continued to us! Amen, Amen!

words *Reformed* and *Protestant* were added to that of the *Church of England by Law established*. And whosoever threatens to invade or come against us, to the prejudice of that Church, in God's name, be they Dutch or Irish, let us heartily pray and fight against them. My Lord, this is, I confess, a bold, but honest period: and, though I am well assured that your Grace is perfectly acquainted with all this before, and therefore may blame my impertinence, as that does *ἄλλοτρισεπισκοπεῖν*; yet I am confident you will not reprove the zeal of one who most humbly begs your Grace's pardon, with your blessing. Lond., 10 Oct. 1688.' (From a copy in Evelyn's handwriting.) See *post*, p. 474.



1st November. Dined with Lord Preston, with other company, at Sir Stephen Fox's. Continual alarms of the Prince of Orange, but no certainty. Reports of his great losses of horse in the storm, but without any assurance. A man was taken with divers papers and printed manifestoes, and carried to Newgate, after examination at the Cabinet-Council. There was likewise a Declaration of the States for satisfaction of all Public Ministers at the Hague, except to the English and the French. There was in that of the Prince's an expression, as if the Lords both Spiritual and Temporal had invited him over, with a deduction of the causes of his enterprise. This made his Majesty convene my Lord of Canterbury and the other Bishops now in town, to give an account of what was in the manifesto, and to enjoin them to clear themselves by some public writing of this disloyal charge.

2nd. It was now certainly reported by some who saw the fleet, and the Prince embark, that they sailed from the Brill on Wednesday morning, and that the Princess of Orange was there to take leave of her husband.

4th. Fresh reports of the Prince being landed somewhere about Portsmouth, or the Isle of Wight, whereas it was thought it would have been northward. The Court in great hurry.

5th. I went to London; heard the news of the Prince having landed at Torbay, coming with a fleet of near 700 sail, passing through the Channel with so favourable a wind, that our navy could not intercept, or molest them. This put the King and Court into great consternation, they were now employed in forming an army to stop their further progress, for they were got into Exeter, and the season and ways very improper for his Majesty's forces to march so great a distance.

The Archbishop of Canterbury and some few of the other Bishops and Lords in London, were sent for to Whitehall, and required to set forth their abhorrence of this invasion. They assured his Majesty they had never invited any of the Prince's party, or were in the least privy to it, and would be ready to show all testimony of their loyalty; but, as to a public declaration, being so few, they desired that his Majesty would call the rest of their brethren and Peers, that they might consult what was fit to be done on this occasion, not thinking it right to publish any thing without them, and till they had themselves seen the Prince's Manifesto, in which it was pretended he was invited in by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal. This did not please the King; so they departed.

A Declaration was published, prohibiting all persons to see or read the Prince's Manifesto, in which was set forth at large the cause of his expedition, as there had been one before from the States.

These are the beginnings of sorrow, unless God in His mercy prevent it by some happy reconciliation of all dissensions among us. This, in all likelihood, nothing can effect except a free Parliament; but this we cannot hope to see, whilst there are any forces on either side. I pray God to protect and direct the King for the best and truest interest of his people! — I saw his Majesty touch for the evil, Piten the Jesuit, and Warner officiating.

14th. The Prince increases every day in force. Several Lords go in to him. Lord Cornbury carries some regiments, and marches to Honiton, the Prince's head-quarters. The City of London in disorder; the rabble pulled down the nunnery newly bought by the Papists of Lord Berkeley,

at St. John's. The Queen prepares to go to Portsmouth for safety, to attend the issue of this commotion, which has a dreadful aspect.

18th November. It was now a very hard frost. The King goes to Salisbury to rendezvous the army, and return to London. Lord Delamere appears for the Prince in Cheshire. The nobility meet in Yorkshire. The Archbishop of Canterbury and some Bishops, and such Peers as were in London, address his Majesty to call a Parliament. The King invites all foreign nations to come over. The French take all the Palatinate, and alarm the Germans more than ever.

29th. I went to the Royal Society. We adjourned the election of a President to 23rd April, by reason of the public commotions, yet dined together as of custom this day.

2nd December. Dr. Tenison preached at St. Martin's on *Psalm xxxvi.* 5, 6, 7, concerning Providence. I received the blessed Sacrament. Afterwards, visited my Lord Godolphin, then going with the Marquis of Halifax and Earl of Nottingham as Commissioners to the Prince of Orange; he told me they had little power. Plymouth declared for the Prince. Bath, York, Hull, Bristol, and all the eminent nobility and persons of quality through England, declare for the Protestant religion and laws, and go to meet the Prince, who every day sets forth new Declarations against the Papists. The great favourites at Court, Priests and Jesuits, fly or abscond. Every thing, till now concealed, flies abroad in public print, and is cried about the streets. Expectation of the Prince coming to Oxford. The Prince of Wales and great treasure sent privily to Portsmouth, the Earl of Dover being Governor. Address from the Fleet not grateful to his Majesty. The Papists in offices lay down their commissions, and fly. Universal consternation amongst them; it looks like a revolution.

7th. My son went towards Oxford. I returned home.

9th. Lord Sunderland meditates flight. The rabble demolished all Popish chapels, and several Papist lords' and gentlemen's houses, especially that of the Spanish Ambassador, which they pillaged, and burnt his library<sup>a</sup>.

13th. The King flies to sea, puts in at Feversham for ballast; is rudely treated by the people; comes back to Whitehall.

The Prince of Orange is advanced to Windsor, is invited by the King to St. James's, the messenger sent was the Earl of Faversham, the General of the Forces, who going without trumpet, or passport, is detained prisoner by the Prince, who accepts the invitation, but requires his Majesty to retire to some distant place, that his own guards may be quartered about the Palace and City. This is taken heinously, and the King goes privately to Rochester; is persuaded to come back; comes on the Sunday; goes to mass, and dines in public, a Jesuit saying grace (I was present).

17th. That night was a Council; his Majesty refuses to assent to all the proposals; goes away again to Rochester.

18th. I saw the King take barge to Gravesend at twelve o'clock—a sad sight! The Prince comes to St. James's, and fills Whitehall with Dutch guards. A Council of Peers meet about an expedient to call a Parliament; adjourn to the House of Lords. The Chancellor, Earl of Peterborough, and divers others taken. The Earl of Sunderland flies; Sir Edward Hales, Walker, and others, taken and secured.

<sup>a</sup> The Spanish Ambassador's house, at this time, was Wild House, Drury Lane.



All the world go to see the Prince at St. James's, where there is a great Court. There I saw him, and several of my acquaintance who came over with him. He is very stately, serious, and reserved. The English soldiers sent out of town to disband them ; not well pleased.

24th December. The King passes into France, whither the Queen and child were gone a few days before.

26th. The Peers and such Commoners as were members of the Parliament at Oxford, being the last of Charles II meeting, desire the Prince of Orange to take on him the disposal of the public revenue till a convention of Lords and Commons should meet in full body, appointed by his circular letters to the shires and boroughs, 22nd January. I had now quartered upon me a Lieutenant-Colonel and eight horses.

30th. This day prayers for the Prince of Wales were first left off in our church.

1688-9. 7th January. A long frost and deep snow ; the Thames almost frozen over.

15th. I visited the Archbishop of Canterbury, where I found the Bishops of St. Asaph, Ely<sup>b</sup>, Bath and Wells<sup>c</sup>, Peterborough<sup>d</sup>, and Chichester<sup>e</sup>, the Earls of Aylesbury and Clarendon, Sir George Mackenzie Lord-Advocate of Scotland, and then came in a Scotch Archbishop, &c. After prayers and dinner, divers serious matters were discoursed, concerning the present state of the Public, and sorry I was to find there was as yet no accord in the judgments of those of the Lords and Commons who were to convene ; some would have the Princess made Queen without any more dispute, others were for a Regency ; there was a Tory party (then so called), who were for inviting his Majesty again upon conditions ; and there were Republicans who would make the Prince of Orange like a Stadtholder. The Romanists were busy among these several parties to bring them into confusion : most for ambition or other interest, few for conscience and moderate resolutions. I found nothing of all this in this assembly of Bishops, who were pleased to admit me into their discourses ; they were all for a Regency, thereby to salve their oaths, and so all public matters to proceed in his Majesty's name, by that to facilitate the calling of a Parliament, according to the laws in being. Such was the result of this meeting.

My Lord of Canterbury gave me great thanks for the advertisement I sent him in October<sup>f</sup>, and assured me they took my counsel in that particular, and that it came very seasonably.

I found by the Lord-Advocate that the Bishops of Scotland (who were indeed little worthy of that character, and had done much mischief in that Church) were now coming about to the true interest, in this conjuncture which threatened to abolish the whole hierarchy in that kingdom ; and therefore the Scottish Archbishop and Lord-Advocate requested the Archbishop of Canterbury to use his best endeavours with the Prince to maintain the Church there in the same state, as by law at present settled.

It now growing late, after some private discourse with his Grace, I took my leave, most of the Lords being gone.

The trial of the bishops was now printed.

The great convention being assembled the day before, falling upon the question about the Government, resolved that King James having by the

<sup>a</sup> Lloyd.    <sup>b</sup> Turner.    <sup>c</sup> Ken.    <sup>d</sup> White.    <sup>e</sup> Lake.    <sup>f</sup> *ante*, p. 470.

advice of the Jesuits and other wicked persons endeavoured to subvert the laws of Church and State, and deserted the kingdom, carrying away the seals, &c., without any care for the management of the government, had by demise abdicated himself and wholly vacated his right; they did therefore desire the Lords' concurrence to their vote, to place the crown on the next heir, the Prince of Orange, for his life, then to the Princess, his wife, and if she died without issue, to the Princess of Denmark, and she failing, to the heirs of the Prince, excluding for ever all possibility of admitting a Roman Catholic.

*27th January.* I dined at the Admiralty, where was brought in a child not twelve years old, the son of one Dr. Clench, of the most prodigious maturity of knowledge, for I cannot call it altogether memory, but something more extraordinary<sup>a</sup>. Mr. Pepys and myself examined him, not in any method, but with promiscuous questions, which required judgment and discernment to answer so readily and pertinently. There was not any thing in chronology, history, geography, the several systems of astronomy, courses of the stars, longitude, latitude, doctrine of the spheres, courses and sources of rivers, creeks, harbours, eminent cities, boundaries and bearings of countries, not only in Europe, but in any other part of the earth, which he did not readily resolve and demonstrate his knowledge of, readily drawing out with a pen anything he would describe. He was able not only to repeat the most famous things which are left us in any of the Greek or Roman histories, monarchies, republics, wars, colonies, exploits by sea and land, but all the sacred stories of the Old and New Testament; the succession of all the monarchies, Babylonian, Persian, Greek, Roman, with all the lower Emperors, Popes, Heresiarchs, and Councils, what they were called about, what they determined, or in the controversy about Easter, the tenets of the Gnostics, Sabellians, Arians, Nestorians; the difference between St. Cyprian and Stephen about re-baptization; the schisms. We leaped from that to other things totally different, to Olympic years, and synchronisms; we asked him questions which could not be resolved without considerable meditation and judgment, nay of some particulars of the Civil Laws, of the Digest and Code. He gave a stupendous account of both natural and moral philosophy, and even in metaphysics.

Having thus exhausted ourselves rather than this wonderful child, or angel rather, for he was as beautiful and lovely in countenance as in knowledge, we concluded with asking him if, in all he had read or heard of, he had ever met with anything which was like this expedition of the Prince of Orange, with so small a force to obtain three great kingdoms without any contest. After a little thought, he told us that he knew of nothing which did more resemble it than the coming of Constantine the Great out of Britain, through France and Italy, so tedious a march, to meet Maxentius, whom he overthrew at Pons Milvius with very little conflict, and at the very gates of Rome, which he entered and was received with triumph, and obtained the empire, not of three kingdoms only, but of all the then known world. He was perfect in the Latin authors, spake French naturally, and gave us a description of France, Italy, Savoy, Spain,

<sup>a</sup> See a similar account of the afterwards celebrated William Wotton, *ante*. This Dr. Clench was murdered in a hackney coach, and a man named Harrison was executed for the murder.



anciently and modernly divided ; as also of ancient Greece, Scythia, and northern countries and tracts : we left questioning further. He did this without any set or formal repetitions, as one who had learned things without book, but as if he minded other things, going about the room, and toying with a parrot there, and as he was at dinner (*tanquam aliud agens*, as it were), seeming to be full of play, of a lively, sprightly temper, always smiling, and exceeding pleasant, without the least levity, rudeness, or childishness.

His father assured us he never imposed anything to charge his memory by causing him to get things by heart, not even the rules of grammar ; but his tutor (who was a Frenchman) read to him, first in French, then in Latin ; that he usually played amongst other boys four or five hours every day, and that he was as earnest at his play as at his study. He was perfect in arithmetic, and now newly entered into Greek. In sum (*horresco referens*), I had read of divers forward and precocious youths, and some I have known, but I never did either hear or read of anything like to this sweet child, if it be right to call him child who has more knowledge than most men in the world. I counselled his father not to set his heart too much on this jewel,

Immodicis brevis est ætas, et rara senectus

as I myself learned by sad experience in my most dear child Richard<sup>a</sup>, many years since, who dying before he was six years old, was both in shape and countenance and pregnancy of learning, next to a prodigy.

29th January. The votes of the House of Commons being carried up by Mr. Hampden, their chairman, to the Lords, I got a station by the Prince's lodgings at the door of the lobby to the House, and heard much of the debate, which lasted very long. Lord Derby was in the chair (for the House was resolved into a grand committee of the whole House) ; after all had spoken, it came to the question, which was carried by three voices against a Regency, which 51 were for, 54 against ; the minority alleging the danger of dethroning Kings, and scrupling many passages and expressions in the vote of the Commons, too long to set down particularly. Some were for sending to his Majesty with conditions : others that the King could do no wrong, and that the mal-administration was chargeable on his ministers. There were not more than eight or nine bishops, and but two against the Regency ; the archbishop was absent, and the clergy now began to change their note, both in pulpit and discourse, on their old passive obedience, so as people began to talk of the bishops being cast out of the House. In short, things tended to dissatisfaction on both sides ; add to this, the morose temper of the Prince of Orange, who showed little countenance to the noblemen and others, who expected a more gracious and cheerful reception when they made their court. The English army also was not so in order, and firm to his interest, nor so weakened but that it might give interruption. Ireland was in an ill posture as well as Scotland. Nothing was yet done towards a settlement. God of His infinite mercy compose these things, that we may be at last a Nation and a Church under some fixed and sober establishment !

30th. The anniversary of King Charles the First's martyrdom ; but in all the public offices and pulpit prayers, the collects, and litany for the King

<sup>a</sup> ante, p. 224.

and Queen were curtailed and mutilated. Dr. Sharp preached before the Commons, but was disliked, and not thanked for his sermon.

31st *January*. At our church (the next day being appointed a Thanksgiving for deliverance by the Prince of Orange, with prayers purposely composed), our lecturer preached in the afternoon a very honest sermon, showing our duty to God for the many signal deliverances of our Church, without touching on politics.

6th *February*. The King's coronation-day was ordered not to be observed, as hitherto it had been.

The Convention of the Lords and Commons now declare the Prince and Princess of Orange King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland (Scotland being an independent kingdom), the Prince and Princess being to enjoy it jointly during their lives; but the executive authority to be vested in the Prince during life, though all proceedings to run in both names, and that it should descend to their issue, and for want of such, to the Princess Anne of Denmark and her issue, and in want of such, to the heirs of the body of the Prince, if he survive, and that failing, to devolve to the Parliament, as they should think fit. These produced a conference with the Lords, when also there was presented heads of such new laws as were to be enacted. It is thought on these conditions they will be proclaimed.

There was much contest about the King's abdication, and whether he had vacated the government. The Earl of Nottingham and about twenty Lords, and many Bishops, entered their protests, but the concurrence was great against them.

The Princess hourly expected. Forces sending to Ireland, that kingdom being in great danger by the Earl of Tyrconnel's army, and expectations from France coming to assist them, but that King was busy in invading Flanders, and encountering the German Princes. It is likely that this will be the most remarkable summer for action, which has happened in many years.

21st. Dr. Burnet preached at St. James's on the obligation to walk worthy of God's particular and signal deliverance of the Nation and Church.

I saw the *new Queen* and *King* proclaimed the very next day after her coming to Whitehall, Wednesday, 13th February, with great acclamation and general good reception. Bonfires, bells, guns, &c. It was believed that both, especially the Princess, would have showed some (seeming) reluctance at least, of assuming her father's Crown, and made some apology, testifying by her regret that he should by his mismanagement necessitate the Nation to so extraordinary a proceeding, which would have showed very handsomely to the world, and according to the character given of her piety; consonant also to her husband's first declaration, that there was no intention of deposing the King, but of succouring the Nation; but nothing of all this appeared; she came into Whitehall laughing and jolly, as to a wedding, so as to seem quite transported. She rose early the next morning, and in her undress, as it was reported, before her women were up, went about from room to room to see the convenience of Whitehall; lay in the same bed and apartment where the late Queen lay, and within a night or two sat down to play at basset, as the Queen her predecessor used to do. She smiled upon and talked to everybody, so that no change seemed to have taken place at Court since her last going away, save that infinite crowds of people thronged to see her, and that she went to our prayers. This



carriage was censured by many. She seems to be of a good nature, and that she takes nothing to heart : whilst the Prince her husband has a thoughtful countenance, is wonderful serious and silent, and seems to treat all persons alike gravely, and to be very intent on affairs : Holland, Ireland, and France calling for his care.

Divers Bishops and Noblemen are not at all satisfied with this so sudden assumption of the Crown, without any previous sending, and offering some conditions to the absent King ; or, on his not returning, or not assenting to those conditions, to have proclaimed him Regent ; but the major part of both Houses prevailed to make them King and Queen immediately, and a crown was tempting. This was opposed and spoken against with such vehemence by Lord Clarendon (her own uncle), that it put him by all preferment, which must doubtless have been as great as could have been given him. My Lord of Rochester his brother, overshot himself, by the same carriage and stiffness, which their friends thought they might have well spared when they saw how it was like to be overruled, and that it had been sufficient to have declared their dissent with less passion, acquiescing in due time.

The Archbishop of Canterbury and some of the rest, on scruple of conscience and to salve the oaths they had taken, entered their protests and hung off, especially the Archbishop, who had not all this while so much as appeared out of Lambeth. This occasioned the wonder of many who observed with what zeal they contributed to the Prince's expedition, and all the while also rejecting any proposals of sending again to the absent King ; that they should now raise scruples, and such as created much division among the people, greatly rejoicing the old courtiers, and especially the Papists.

Another objection was, the invalidity of what was done by a Convention only, and the as yet unabrogated laws ; this drew them to make themselves on the 22nd [February] a Parliament, the new King passing the Act with the crown on his head. The lawyers disputed, but necessity prevailed, the Government requiring a speedy settlement.

Innumerable were the crowds, who solicited for, and expected offices ; most of the old ones were turned out. Two or three white staves were disposed of some days before, as Lord Steward, to the Earl of Devonshire ; Treasurer of the Household, to Lord Newport ; Lord Chamberlain to the King, to my Lord of Dorset ; but there were as yet none in offices of the Civil Government save the Marquis of Halifax as Privy Seal. A council of thirty was chosen, Lord Derby president, but neither Chancellor nor Judges were yet declared, the new Great Seal not yet finished.

*8th March.* Dr. Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury, made an excellent discourse on *Matt. v. 44*, exhorting to charity and forgiveness of enemies ; I suppose purposely, the new Parliament being furious about impeaching those who were obnoxious, and as their custom has ever been, going on violently, without reserve, or moderation, whilst wise men were of opinion the most notorious offenders being named and excepted, an Act of Amnesty would be more seasonable, to pacify the minds of men in so general a discontent of the nation, especially of those who did not expect to see the government assumed without any regard to the absent King, or proving a spontaneous abdication, or that the birth of the Prince of Wales was an imposture ; five of the Bishops also still refusing to take the new oath.

In the mean time, to gratify the people, the Hearth-Tax was remitted for ever ; but what was intended to supply it, besides present great taxes on land, is not named.

The King abroad was now furnished by the French King with money and officers for an expedition to Ireland. The great neglect in not more timely preventing that from hence, and the disturbances in Scotland, give apprehensions of great difficulties, before any settlement can be perfected here, whilst the Parliament dispose of the great offices amongst themselves. The Great Seal, Treasury and Admiralty put into commission of many unexpected persons, to gratify the more ; so that by the present appearance of things (unless God Almighty graciously interpose and give success in Ireland and settle Scotland) more trouble seems to threaten the nation than could be expected. In the interim, the new King refers all to the Parliament in the most popular manner, but is very slow in providing against all these menaces, besides finding difficulties in raising men to send abroad ; the former army, which had never seen any service hitherto, receiving their pay and passing their summer in an idle scene of a camp at Hounslow, unwilling to engage, and many disaffected, and scarce to be trusted.

29th March. The new King much blamed for neglecting Ireland, now like to be ruined by the Lord Tyrconnel and his Popish party, too strong for the Protestants. Wonderful uncertainty where King James was, whether in France or Ireland. The Scots seem as yet to favour King William, rejecting King James's letter to them, yet declaring nothing positively. Soldiers in England discontented. Parliament preparing the coronation-oath. Presbyterians and Dissenters displeased at the vote for preserving the Protestant religion as established by law, without mentioning what they were to have as to indulgence.

The Archbishop of Canterbury and four<sup>a</sup> other Bishops refusing to come to Parliament, it was deliberated whether they should incur *Præmunire* ; but it was thought fit to let this fall, and be connived at, for fear of the people, to whom these Prelates were very dear, for the opposition they had given to Popery.

Court-offices distributed amongst Parliament-men. No considerable fleet as yet sent forth. Things far from settled as was expected, by reason of the slothful, sickly temper of the new King, and the Parliament's unmindfulness of Ireland, which is likely to prove a sad omission.

The Confederates beat the French out of the Palatinate, which they had most barbarously ruined.

11th April. I saw the procession to and from the Abbey-Church of Westminster, with the great feast in Westminster-Hall, at the coronation of King William and Queen Mary. What was different from former coronations, was some alteration in the coronation-oath. Dr. Burnet, now made Bishop of Sarum, preached with great applause. The Parliament-men had scaffolds and places which took up the one whole side of the Hall. When the King and Queen had dined, the ceremony of the

<sup>a</sup> Burnet names only three besides the Archbishop, namely, Thomas of Worcester, Lake of Chichester, Ken of Bath and Wells. He says (in his *Own Times*) that at the first landing of the Prince, Ken declared heartily for him, and advised all to go to him ; but went with great heat into the notion of a Regent. After this, he changed his mind, came to town with intent to take the oaths, but again changed, and never did take them.



Champion, and other services by tenure were performed. The Parliament-men were feasted in the Exchequer-chamber, and had each of them a gold medal given them, worth five-and-forty shillings. On one side were the effigies of the King and Queen inclining one to the other ; on the reverse was Jupiter throwing a bolt at Phæton, with the words, '*Ne totus absumatur*' : which was but dull, seeing they might have had out of the poet something as apposite. The sculpture was very mean.

Much of the splendour of the proceeding was abated by the absences of divers who should have contributed to it, there being but five Bishope, four Judges (no more being yet sworn), and several noblemen and great ladies wanting ; the feast, however, was magnificent. The next day the House of Commons went and kissed their new Majesties' hands in the Banqueting-house.

*12th April.* I went with the Bishop of St. Asaph to visit my Lord of Canterbury at Lambeth, who had excused himself from officiating at the coronation, which was performed by the Bishop of London, assisted by the Archbishop of York. We had much private and free discourse with his Grace concerning several things relating to the Church, there being now a bill of comprehension to be brought from the Lords to the Commons. I urged that when they went about to reform some particulars in the Liturgy, Church-discipline, Canons, &c., the baptizing in private houses without necessity might be reformed, as likewise so frequent burials in churches ; the one proceeding much from the pride of women, bringing that into custom which was only indulged in case of imminent danger, and out of necessity during the rebellion, and persecution of the clergy in our late civil wars ; the other from the avarice of ministers, who, in some opulent parishes, made almost as much of permission to bury in the chancel and the church, as of their livings, and were paid with considerable advantage and gifts for baptizing in chambers. To this they heartily assented, and promised their endeavour to get it reformed, utterly disliking both practices as novel and indecent.

We discoursed likewise of the great disturbance and prejudice it might cause, should the new oath, now on the anvil, be imposed on any, save such as were in new office, without any retrospect to such as either had no office, or had been long in office, who it was likely would have some scruples about taking a new oath, having already sworn fidelity to the government as established by law. This we all knew to be the case of my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and some other persons who were not so fully satisfied with the Convention making it an abdication of King James, to whom they had sworn allegiance.

King James was now certainly in Ireland with the Marshal d'Estrades, whom he made a Privy Councillor ; and who caused the King to remove the Protestant Councillors, some whereof, it seems, had continued to sit, telling him that the King of France his master would never assist him if he did not immediately do it ; by which it is apparent how the poor Prince is managed by the French.

Scotland declares for King William and Queen Mary, with the reasons of their setting aside King James, not as abdicating, but forfeiting his right by mal-administration ; they proceeded with much more caution and prudence than we did, who precipitated all things to the great reproach of the nation, all which had been managed by some crafty ill-principled men.

The new Privy Council have a Republican spirit, manifestly undermining all future succession of the crown and prosperity of the Church of England, which yet I hope they will not be able to accomplish so soon as they expect, though they get into all places of trust and profit.

21st April. This was one of the most seasonable springs, free from the usual sharp east winds that I have observed since the year 1660 (the year of the Restoration), which was much such an one.

26th. I heard the lawyers plead before the Lords the writ of error in the judgment of Oates, as to the charge against him of perjury, which after debate they referred to the answer of Holloway, &c., who were his Judges. I then went with the Bishop of St. Asaph to the Archbishop at Lambeth, where they entered into discourse concerning the final destruction of Antichrist, both concluding that the third trumpet and vial were now pouring out. My Lord St. Asaph considered the killing of the two witnesses, to be the utter destruction of the Cevennes Protestants by the French and Duke of Savoy, and the other the Waldenses and Pyrenean Christians, who by all appearance from good history had kept the primitive faith from the very Apostles' time till now. The doubt his Grace suggested was, whether it could be made evident that the present persecution had made so great a havoc of those faithful people as of the other, and whether there were not yet some among them in being who met together, it being stated from the text, *Apoc.* xi., that they should both be slain together. They both much approved of Mr. Mede's way of interpretation, and that he only failed in resolving too hastily on the King of Sweden's (Gustavus Adolphus) success in Germany. They agreed that it would be good to employ some intelligent French minister<sup>a</sup> to travel as far as the Pyrenees to understand the present state of the Church there, it being a country where hardly any one travels.

There now came certain news that King James had not only landed in Ireland, but that he had surprised Londonderry, and was become master of that kingdom, to the great shame of our Government, who had been so often solicited to provide against it by timely succour, and which they might so easily have done. This is a terrible beginning of more troubles, especially should an army come thence into Scotland, people being generally disaffected here and everywhere else, so that the sea and land-men would scarce serve without compulsion.

A new oath was now fabricating for all the clergy to take, of obedience to the present Government, in abrogation of the former oaths of allegiance, which it is foreseen many of the Bishops and others of the clergy will not take. The penalty is to be the loss of their dignity and spiritual preferment. This is thought to have been driven on by the Presbyterians, our new governors. God in mercy send us help, and direct the counsels to His glory and good of His Church!

Public matters went very ill in Ireland: confusion and dissension amongst ourselves, stupidity, inconstancy, emulation, the governors employing unskilful men in greatest offices, no person of public spirit and ability appearing,—threaten us with a very sad prospect of what may be the conclusion, without God's infinite mercy.

A fight by Admiral Herbert with the French, he imprudently setting on them in a creek as they were landing men in Ireland, by which we

<sup>a</sup> They sent two. See afterwards.



came off with great slaughter and little honour—so strangely negligent and remiss were we in preparing a timely and sufficient fleet. The Scots Commissioners offer the crown to the *new King and Queen* on conditions. Act of Poll-money came forth, sparing none.—Now appeared the Act of Indulgence for the Dissenters, but not exempting them paying dues to the Church of England Clergy, or serving in office according to law, with several other clauses. A most splendid embassy from Holland to congratulate the King and Queen on their accession to the crown.

4th June. A solemn fast for success of the fleet, &c.

6th I dined with the Bishop of Asaph; Monsieur Capellus, the learned son of the most learned Ludovicus, presented to him his father's works, not published till now.

7th. I visited the Archbishop of Canterbury, and staid with him till about seven o'clock. He read to me the Pope's excommunication of the French King.

9th. Visited Dr. Burnet, now Bishop of Sarum; got him to let Mr. Kneller draw his picture.

16th. King James's declaration was now dispersed, offering pardon to all, if on his landing, or within twenty days after, they should return to their obedience.

Our fleet not yet at sea, through some prodigious sloth, and men minding only their present interest; the French riding masters at sea, taking many great prizes to our wonderful reproach. No certain news from Ireland; various reports of Scotland; discontents at home. The King of Denmark at last joins with the Confederates, and the two Northern Powers are reconciled. The East India Company likely to be dissolved by Parliament for many arbitrary actions. Oates acquitted of perjury, to all honest men's admiration.

20th. News of a *Plot* discovered, on which divers were sent to the Tower and secured.

23rd. An extraordinary drought, to the threatening of great wants as to the fruits of the earth.

8th July. I sat for my picture to Mr. Kneller, for Mr. Pepys, late Secretary to the Admiralty, holding my *Sylva* in my right hand. It was on his long and earnest request, and is placed in his library. Kneller never painted in a more masterly manner.

11th. I dined at Lord Clarendon's, it being his lady's wedding-day, when about three in the afternoon there was an unusual and violent storm of thunder, rain, and wind; many boats on the Thames were overwhelmed, and such was the impetuosity of the wind as to carry up the waves in pillars and spouts most dreadful to behold, rooting up trees and ruining some houses. The Countess of Sunderland afterwards told me that it extended as far as Althorpe at the very time, which is seventy miles from London. It did no harm at Deptford, but at Greenwich it did much mischief.

16th. I went to Hampton Court about business, the Council being there. A great apartment and spacious garden with fountains was beginning in the park at the head of the canal.

19th. The Marshal de Schomberg went now as General towards Ireland, to the relief of Londonderry. Our fleet lay before Brest. The Confederates

<sup>a</sup> Now at Wotton.

passing the Rhine, besiege Bonn and Mayence, to obtain a passage into France. A great victory got by the Muscovites, taking and burning Perecop. A new rebel against the Turks threatens the destruction of that tyranny. All Europe in arms against France, and hardly to be found in history so universal a face of war.

The Convention (or Parliament as some called it) sitting, exempt the Duke of Hanover from the succession to the crown, which they seem to confine to the present new King, his wife, and Princess Anne of Denmark, who is so monstrously swollen, that it's doubted whether her being thought with child may prove a *tympany* only, so that the unhappy family of the Stuarts seems to be extinguishing; and then what government is likely to be next set up is unknown, whether regal and by election, or otherwise, the Republicans and Dissenters from the Church of England evidently looking that way.

The Scots have now again voted down Episcopacy there.—Great discontents through this nation at the slow proceedings of the King, and the incompetent instruments and officers he advances to the greatest and most necessary charges.

23<sup>rd</sup> August. Came to visit me Mr. Firmin<sup>a</sup>.

25<sup>th</sup>. Hitherto it has been a most seasonable summer.—Londonderry relieved after a brave and wonderful holding out.

21<sup>st</sup> September. I went to visit the Archbishop of Canterbury since his suspension, and was received with great kindness.—A dreadful fire happened in Southwark.

2<sup>nd</sup> October. Came to visit us the Marquis de Ruvigné, and one Monsieur le Coque, a French refugee, who left great riches for his religion; a very learned, civil person; he married the sister of the Duchess de la Force. Ottobone, a Venetian Cardinal, eighty years old, made Pope<sup>b</sup>.

31<sup>st</sup>. My birthday, being now sixty-nine years old. Blessed Father, who hast prolonged my years to this great age, and given me to see so great and wonderful revolutions, and preserved me amidst them to this moment, accept, I beseech Thee, the continuance of my prayers and thankful acknowledgments, and grant me grace to be working out my salvation and redeeming the time, that Thou mayst be glorified by me here, and my immortal soul saved whenever Thou shall call for it, to perpetuate Thy praises to all eternity, in that heavenly kingdom where there are no more changes or vicissitudes, but rest, and peace, and joy, and consummate felicity, for ever. Grant this, O heavenly Father, for the sake of Jesus thine only Son and our Saviour. Amen!

5<sup>th</sup> November. The Bishop of St. Asaph, Lord Almoner, preached before the King and Queen, the whole discourse being an historical narrative of the Church of England's several deliverances, especially that of this anniversary, signalized by being also the birthday of the Prince of Orange,

<sup>a</sup> He was a man of the most amiable character, and unbounded charity: a great friend of Sir Robert Clayton, who, after his death, erected a monument for him in a walk which he had formed at Sir Robert's seat at Marden, in Surrey. He was very fond of gardens, and so far of a congenial spirit with Mr. Evelyn; and though Unitarian in creed, he lived in intimacy with many of the most eminent clergy. His life was printed in a small volume. See more of him in Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*, vol. ii, pp. 804, 805.

<sup>b</sup> Peter Otthobonus succeeded Innocent XI as Pope in 1689, by the title of Alexander VIII.



his marriage (which was on the 4th), and his landing at Torbay this day. There was a splendid ball and other rejoicings.

10th November. After a very wet season, the winter came on severely.

17th. Much wet, without frost, yet the wind north and easterly.—A Convocation of the Clergy meet about a reformation of our Liturgy, Canons, &c., obstructed by others of the clergy.

27th. I went to London with my family, to winter at Soho, in the great square.

1689–90. 11th January. This night there was a most extraordinary storm of wind, accompanied with snow and sharp weather; it did great harm in many places, blowing down houses, trees, &c., killing many people. It began about two in the morning, and lasted till five, being a kind of hurricane, which mariners observe have begun of late years to come northward. This winter has been hitherto extremely wet, warm, and windy.

12th. There was read at St. Ann's Church an exhortatory letter to the clergy of London from the Bishop, together with a Brief for relieving the distressed Protestants, the Vaudois, who fled from the persecution of the French and Duke of Savoy, to the Protestant Cantons of Switzerland.

The Parliament was unexpectedly prorogued to 2nd April, to the discontent and surprise of many members who, being exceeding averse to the settling of any thing, proceeding with animosities, multiplying exceptions against those whom they pronounced obnoxious, and producing as universal a discontent against King William and themselves, as there was before against King James—the new King resolved on an expedition into Ireland in person. About 150 of the members who were of the more royal party, meeting at a feast at the Apollo Tavern near St. Dunstan's, sent some of their company to the King, to assure him of their service; he returned his thanks, advising them to repair to their several counties and preserve the peace during his absence, and assuring them that he would be steady to his resolution of defending the Laws and Religion established.—The great Lord suspected to have counselled this prorogation, universally denied it. However, it was believed the chief adviser was the Marquis of Carmarthen<sup>a</sup>, who now seemed to be most in favour.

2nd February. The Parliament was dissolved by proclamation, and another called to meet the 20th of March. This was a second surprise to the former members; and now the Court-party, or, as they call themselves, Church of England, are making their interests in the country. The Marquis of Halifax lays down his office of Privy Seal, and pretends to retire.

16th. The Duchess of Monmouth's chaplain preached at St. Martin's an excellent discourse, exhorting to peace and sanctity, it being now the time of very great division and dissension in the nation; first, amongst the Churchmen, of whom the moderate and sober part were for a speedy reformation of divers things, which it was thought might be made in our Liturgy, for the inviting of Dissenters; others more stiff and rigid, were for no condescension at all. Books and pamphlets were published every day *pro* and *con.*; the Convocation were forced for the present to suspend any further progress.—There was fierce and great carousing about being elected in the new Parliament.—The King persists in his intention of

<sup>a</sup> Osborne, Lord Danby, afterwards Duke of Leeds.

going in person for Ireland, whither the French are sending supplies to King James, and we, the Danish horse to Schomberg.

*19th February.* I dined with the Marquis of Carmarthen (late Lord Danby), where was Lieutenant-general Douglas, a very considerate and sober commander, going for Ireland. He related to us the exceeding neglect of the English soldiers, suffering severely for want of clothes and necessities this winter, exceedingly magnifying their courage and bravery during all their hardships. There dined also Lord Lucas, Lieutenant of the Tower, and the Bishop of St. Asaph. The Privy Seal was again put in commission, Mr. Cheny (who married my kinswoman, Mrs. Pierrepont), Sir Thomas Knatchbull, and Sir P. W. Pultney.—The imprudence of both sexes was now become so great and universal, persons of all ranks keeping their courtesans publicly, that the King had lately directed a letter to the Bishops to order their clergy to preach against that sin, swearing, &c., and to put the ecclesiastical laws in execution without any indulgence.

*25th.* I went to Kensington, which King William had bought of Lord Nottingham, and altered, but was yet a patched building, but with the garden, however, it is a very sweet villa, having to it the park and a straight new way through this park.

*7th March.* I dined with Mr. Pepys, late Secretary to the Admiralty, where was that excellent shipwright and seaman (for so he had been, and also a Commission of the Navy), Sir Anthony Deane. Amongst other discourse, and deploring the sad condition of our navy, as now governed by inexperienced men since this Revolution, he mentioned what exceeding advantage we of this nation had by being the first who built frigates, the first of which ever built was that vessel which was afterwards called 'The Constant Warwick', and was the work of Pett<sup>a</sup> of Chatham, for a trial of making a vessel that would sail swiftly; it was built with low decks, the guns lying near the water, and was so light and swift of sailing, that in a short time he told us she had, ere the Dutch war was ended, taken as much money from privateers as would have laden her; and that more such being built, did in a year or two scour the Channel from those of Dunkirk and others which had exceedingly infested it. He added that it would be the best and only infallible expedient to be masters of the sea, and able to destroy the greatest navy of any enemy if, instead of building huge great ships and second and third rates, they would leave off building such high decks, which were for nothing but to gratify gentlemen-commanders, who must have all their effeminate accommodations, and for pomp; that it would be the ruin of our fleets, if such persons were continued in command, they neither having experience nor being capable of learning, because they would not submit to the fatigue and inconvenience which those who were bred seamen would undergo, in those so otherwise useful swift frigates. These being to encounter the greatest ships would be able to protect, set on, and bring off, those who should manage the fire-ships; and the Prince who should first store himself with numbers of such fire-ships would, through the help and countenance of such frigates, be able to ruin the greatest force of such vast ships as could be sent to sea, by the dexterity of working those light, swift ships to guard the fire-ships. He concluded there would shortly be no other method of sea-fight; and that great ships and men-of-war, however stored with guns and men, must

<sup>a</sup> *ante*, p. 261.



submit to those who should encounter them with far less number. He represented to us the dreadful effect of these fire-ships ; that he continually observed in our late maritime war with the Dutch that, when an enemy's fire-ship approached, the most valiant commander and common sailors were in such consternation, that though then, of all times, there was most need of the guns, bombs, &c., to keep the mischief off, they grew pale and astonished, as if of a quite other mean soul, that they slunk about, forsook their guns and work as if in despair, every one looking about to see which way they might get out of their ship, though sure to be drowned if they did so. This he said was likely to prove hereafter the method of sea-fight, likely to be the misfortune of England if they continued to put gentlemen-commanders over experienced seamen, on account of their ignorance, effeminacy, and insolence.

*9th March.* Preached at Whitehall Dr. Burnet, late Bishop of Sarum, on *Heb. iv. 13*, anatomically describing the texture of the eye ; and that, as it received such innumerable sorts of spies through so very small a passage to the brain, and that without the least confusion or trouble, and accordingly judged and reflected on them ; so God who made this sensory, did with the greatest ease and at once see all that was done through the vast universe, even to the very thought as well as action. This similitude he continued with much perspicuity and aptness ; and applied it accordingly, for the admonishing us how uprightly we ought to live and behave ourselves before such an allseeing Deity ; and how we were to conceive of other His attributes, which we could have no idea of than by comparing them by what we were able to conceive of the nature and power of things, which were the objects of our senses ; and therefore it was that in Scripture we attribute those actions and affections of God by the same of man, not as adequately or in any proportion like them, but as the only expedient to make some resemblance of His divine perfections ; as when the Scripture says, ' God will remember the sins of the penitent no more ' : not as if God could forget anything, but as intimating He would pass by such penitents and receive them to mercy.

I dined at the Bishop of St. Asaph's, Almoner to the new Queen, with the famous lawyer Sir George Mackenzie (late Lord Advocate of Scotland), against whom both the Bishop and myself had written and published books, but now most friendly reconciled<sup>a</sup>. He related to us many particulars of Scotland, the present sad condition of it, the inveterate hatred which the Presbyterians show to the family of the Stuarts, and the exceeding tyranny of those bigots who acknowledge no superior on earth, in civil or divine matters, maintaining that the people only have the right of government ; their implacable hatred to the Episcopal Order and Church of England. He observed that the first Presbyter-dissents from our discipline were introduced by the Jesuits' order, about the 20 of Queen Eliz., a famous Jesuit amongst them feigning himself a Protestant, and who was the first who began to pray extempore, and brought in that which they since called, and are still so fond of, praying by the Spirit. This Jesuit remained many years before he was discovered, afterwards died in Scotland, where he was buried at . . . having yet on his monument, '*Rosa inter spinas.*'

<sup>a</sup> Sir George, as we have seen (*ante*, p. 292), had written in praise of a Private Life, which Mr. Evelyn answered by a book in praise of Public Life and Active Employment.

*11th March.* I went again to see Mr. Charlton's curiosities<sup>a</sup> both of art and nature, and his full and rare collection of medals, which taken altogether, in all kinds, is doubtless one of the most perfect assemblages of rarities that can be any where seen. I much admired the contortions of the Thea root, which was so perplexed, large, and intricate, and withal hard as box, that it was wonderful to consider.—The French have landed in Ireland.

*16th.* A public fast.

*24th May.* City charter restored. Divers exempted from pardon.

*4th June.* King William set forth on his Irish expedition, leaving the Queen regent.

*10th.* Mr. Pepys read to me his Remonstrance, showing with what malice and injustice he was suspected with Sir Anthony Deane about the timber, of which the thirty ships were built by a late Act of Parliament, with the exceeding danger which the fleet would shortly be in, by reason of the tyranny and incompetency of those who now managed the Admiralty and affairs of the Navy, of which he gave an accurate state, and showed his great ability.

*18th.* Fast-day. Visited the Bishop of St. Asaph; his conversation was on the Vaudois in Savoy, who had been thought so near destruction and final extirpation by the French, being totally given up to slaughter, so that there were no hopes for them; but now it pleased God that the Duke of Savoy, who had hitherto joined with the French in their persecution, being now pressed by them to deliver up Saluzzo and Turin as cautionary towns, on suspicion that he might at last come into the Confederacy of the German Princes, did secretly concert measures with, and afterwards declared for them. He then invited these poor people from their dispersion amongst the mountains whither they had fled, and restored them to their country, their dwellings, and the exercise of their religion, and begged pardon for the ill-usage they had received, charging it on the cruelty of the French who forced him to it. These being the remainder of those persecuted Christians which the Bishop of St. Asaph had so long affirmed to be the two witnesses spoken of in the Revelation, who should be killed and brought to life again, it was looked on as an extraordinary thing that this prophesying Bishop should persuade two fugitive ministers of the Vaudois<sup>b</sup> to return to their country, and furnish them with 20*l.* towards their journey at that very time when nothing but universal destruction was to be expected, assuring them and showing them from the Apocalypse, that their countrymen should be returned safely to their country before they arrived. This happening contrary to all expectation and appearance, did exceedingly credit the Bishop's confidence how that prophecy of the witnesses should come to pass, just at the time, and the very month, he had spoken of some years before.

I afterwards went with him to Mr. Boyle and Lady Ranelagh his sister, to whom he explained the necessity of it so fully, and so learnedly made out, with what events were immediately to follow, viz., the French King's ruin, the calling of the Jews to be near at hand, but that the Kingdom of Antichrist would not yet be utterly destroyed till 30 years, when Christ should begin the Millennium, not as personally and visibly reigning on earth, but that the true religion and universal peace should obtain through all

<sup>a</sup> *ante*, p. 456.

<sup>b</sup> *ante*, p. 481.



the world. He showed how Mr. Brightman, Mr. Mede, and other interpreters of these events failed, by mistaking and reckoning the year as the Latins and others did, to consist of the present calculation, so many days to the year, whereas the Apocalypse reckons after the Persian account, as Daniel did, whose visions St. John all along explains as meaning only the Christian Church.

24th June. Dined with Mr. Pepys, who the next day was sent to the Gate-house<sup>a</sup>, and several great persons to the Tower, on suspicion of being affected to King James; amongst them was the Earl of Clarendon, the Queen's uncle. King William having vanquished King James in Ireland, there was much public rejoicing. It seems the Irish in King James's army would not stand, but the English-Irish and French made great resistance. Schomberg was slain, and Dr. Walker<sup>b</sup>, who so bravely defended Londonderry. King William received a slight wound by the grazing of a cannon bullet on his shoulder, which he endured with very little interruption of his pursuit. Hamilton, who broke his word about Tyrconnel, was taken. It is reported that King James is gone back to France. Drogheda and Dublin surrendered, and if King William be returning, we may say of him as Cæsar said, '*Veni, vidi, vici*'. But to alloy much of this, the French fleet rides in our channel, ours not daring to interpose, and the enemy threatening to land.

27th. I went to visit some friends in the Tower, when asking for Lord Clarendon, they by mistake directed me to the Earl of Torrington<sup>c</sup>, who about three days before had been sent for from the fleet, and put into the Tower for cowardice and not fighting the French fleet, which having beaten a squadron of the Hollanders, whilst Torrington did nothing, did now ride masters of the sea, threatening a descent.

20th July. This afternoon a camp of about 4000 men was begun to be formed on Blackheath.

30th. I dined with Mr. Pepys, now suffered to return to his house, on account of indisposition.

1st August. The Duke of Grafton<sup>d</sup> came to visit me, going to his ship at the mouth of the river, in his way to Ireland (where he was slain).

3rd. The French landed some soldiers at Teignmouth, in Devon, and burnt some poor houses. The French fleet still hovering about the western coast, and we having 300 sail of rich merchant-ships in the bay of

<sup>a</sup> Poor Pepys, as the reader knows, had already undergone an imprisonment, with perhaps just as much reason as the present, on the absurd accusation of having sent information to the French Court of the state of the English Navy.

<sup>b</sup> George Walker, an Irish clergyman, who distinguished himself more in the camp than in the pulpit, and after successfully defending Protestant Londonderry against the Popish army under James II, accompanied William III during his decisive campaign against his father-in-law, till he was slain at the battle of the Boyne.

<sup>c</sup> Arthur Herbert, grandson of the celebrated Lord Herbert of Cherbury. In 1689, William raised him to the Peerage for his eminent naval services, with the titles of Baron Torbay and Earl of Torrington; but not succeeding against the French fleet near Beachy Head, he was sent to the Tower, tried by a Court-martial, and, though acquitted, never again employed. He died April 14, 1716.

<sup>d</sup> Henry Fitzroy, second natural son of Charles II by the Duchess of Cleveland. His Grace was ancestor of the present Duke.

Plymouth, our fleet begin to move towards them, under three admirals. The country in the west all on their guard. A very extraordinary fine season ; but on the 12th was a very great storm of thunder and lightning, and on the 15th the season much changed to wet and cold. The militia and trained bands, horse and foot, which were up through England, were dismissed.—The French King having news that King William was slain, and his army defeated in Ireland, caused such a triumph at Paris, and all over France, as was never heard of ; when, in the midst of it, the unhappy King James being vanquished, by a speedy flight and escape, himself brought the news of his own defeat.

15th August. I was desired to be one of the bail of the Earl of Clarendon, for his release from the Tower, with divers noblemen. The Bishop of St. Asaph expounds his prophecies to me and Mr. Pepys, &c. The troops from Blackheath march to Portsmouth. That sweet and hopeful youth, Sir Charles Tuke, died of the wounds he received in the fight of the Boyne, to the great sorrow of all his friends, being (I think) the last male of that family, to which my wife is related. A more virtuous young gentleman I never knew ; he was learned for his age, having had the advantage of the choicest breeding abroad, both as to arts and arms ; he had travelled much, but was so unhappy as to fall in the side of the unfortunate King.

The unseasonable and most tempestuous weather happening, the naval expedition is hindered, and the extremity of wet causes the siege of Limerick to be raised, King William returned to England. Lord Sidney<sup>a</sup> left Governor of what is conquered in Ireland, which is near three parts [in four].

17th. A public fast. An extraordinary sharp, cold, east wind.

12th October. The French General, with Tyrconnel and their forces, gone back to France, beaten out by King William.—Cork delivered on discretion. The Duke of Grafton was there mortally wounded and dies. Very great storms of wind. The 8th of this month Lord Spencer wrote me word from Althorpe, that there happened an earthquake the day before in the morning, which, though short, sensibly, shook the house. The Gazette acquainted us that the like happened at the same time, half-past seven, at Barnstaple, Holyhead, and Dublin. We were not sensible of it here.

26th. Kinsale at last surrendered, meantime King James's party burn all the houses they have in their power, and amongst them that stately palace of Lord Ossory's, which lately cost, as reported, £40,000. By a disastrous accident, a third-rate ship, the Breda, blew up and destroyed all on board ; in it were twenty-five prisoners of war. She was to have sailed for England the next day.

3rd November. Went to the Countess of Clancarty<sup>b</sup>, to condole with her concerning her debauched and dissolute son, who had done so much mischief in Ireland, now taken and brought prisoner to the Tower.

16th. Exceeding great storms, yet a warm season.

<sup>a</sup> Henry, youngest brother of Robert, second Earl of Leicester ; created in 1689, Baron Sidney and Viscount Sidney, and in 1694 Earl of Romney. He died in 1704.

<sup>b</sup> Elizabeth Fitzgerald, daughter of the Earl of Kildare. Her son, the third Earl, for the services he had rendered James II, forfeited in the reign of his successor the whole of his vast estates.



23<sup>rd</sup> November. Carried Mr. Pepys's memorials to Lord Godolphin, now resuming the commission of the Treasury to the wonder of all his friends.

1<sup>st</sup> December. Having been chosen President of the Royal Society, I desired to decline it, and with great difficulty devolved the election on Sir Robert Southwell, Secretary of State to King William in Ireland.

20<sup>th</sup>. Dr. Hough, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, who was displaced with several of the Fellows for not taking the oath imposed by King James, now made a Bishop<sup>a</sup>.—Most of this month cold and frost. One Johnson, a Knight, was executed at Tyburn for being an accomplice with Campbell, brother to Lord Argyle, in stealing a young heiress.

1690—1. 4<sup>th</sup> January. This week a *plot* was discovered for a general rising against the new Government, for which (Henry) Lord Clarendon and others were sent to the Tower. The next day, I went to see Lord Clarendon. The Bishop of Ely<sup>b</sup> searched for. Trial of Lord Preston, as not being an English Peer, hastened at the Old Bailey.

18<sup>th</sup>. Lord Preston condemned about a design to bring in King James by the French. Ashton executed. The Bishop of Ely, Mr. Graham, &c., absconded.

13<sup>th</sup> March. I went to visit Monsieur Justell, and the Library at St. James's, in which that learned man had put the MSS. (which were in good number) into excellent order, they having lain neglected for many years. Divers medals had been stolen and embezzled.

21<sup>st</sup>. Dined at Sir William Fermor's, who showed me many good pictures. After dinner, a French servant played rarely on the lute. Sir William had now bought all the remaining statues collected with so much expense by the famous Thomas, Earl of Arundel, and sent them to his seat at Easton, near Towcester<sup>c</sup>.

25<sup>th</sup>. Lord Sidney, principal Secretary of State, gave me a letter to Lord Lucas, Lieutenant of the Tower, to permit me to visit Lord Clarendon ; which this day I did, and dined with him.

10<sup>th</sup> April. This night, a sudden and terrible fire burnt down all the buildings over the stone-gallery at Whitehall to the water-side, beginning at the apartment of the late Duchess of Portsmouth (which had been pulled down and rebuilt no less than three times to please her), and consuming other lodgings of such lewd creatures, who debauched both King Charles II. and others, and were his destruction.

The King returned out of Holland just as this accident happened—Proclamation against Papists, &c.

16<sup>th</sup>. I went to see Dr. Sloane's curiosities, being an universal collection of the natural productions of Jamaica, consisting of plants, fruits, corals, minerals, stones, earth, shells, animals, and insects, collected with great

<sup>a</sup> In 1699, Dr. Hough was translated to Lichfield and Coventry : in 1717, he became Bishop of Worcester, which he held till 1743, when he died, 8th May, at the great age of 93. His conversation and familiar letters, at the close of his life, had the cheerfulness and spirit of youth. He was a genuine patriot ; the delight of the Church ; a thorn in the side of oppression ; a pillar of religion ; a father of the indigent ; a friend to all. His *Memoirs* were published in a quarto volume, in 1812, by Mr. Wilmot.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. Turner, who, though one of the six Bishops sent to the Tower for the petition to the King, declined taking the oaths to William and Mary.

<sup>c</sup> They are now at Oxford, having been presented to the University in 1755 by Henrietta, Countess-dowager of Pomfret, widow of Thomas, the first Earl.

judgment ; several folios of dried plants, and one which had about 80 several sorts of ferns, and another of grasses ; the Jamaica pepper, in branch, leaves, flower, fruit, &c. This collection<sup>a</sup>, with his Journal and other philosophical and natural discourses and observations, indeed very copious and extraordinary, sufficient to furnish a history of that island, to which I encouraged him.

19th April. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishops of Ely, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, Gloucester, and the rest who would not take the oaths to King William, were now displaced ; and, in their rooms, Dr. Tillotson, Dean of St. Paul's, was made Archbishop : Patrick removed from Chichester to Ely ; Cumberland<sup>b</sup> to Gloucester.

22nd. I dined with Lord Clarendon in the Tower.

24th. I visited the Earl and Countess of Sunderland, now come to kiss the King's hand, after his return from Holland. This is a mystery. The King preparing to return to the army.

7th May. I went to visit the Archbishop of Canterbury [Sancroft] yet at Lambeth. I found him alone, and discoursing of the times, especially of the new designed Bishops ; he told me that by no canon or divine law they could justify the removing the present incumbents ; that Dr. Beveridge, designed Bishop of Bath and Wells, came to ask his advice ; that the Archbishop told him, though he should give it, he believed he would not take it ; the Doctor said he would ; why then, says the Archbishop, when they come to ask, say *Nolo*, and say it from the heart ; there is nothing easier than to resolve yourself what is to be done in the case : the Doctor seemed to deliberate. What he will do I know not, but Bishop Ken, who is to be put out, is exceedingly beloved in his diocese ; and, if he and the rest should insist on it, and plead their interest as freeholders, it is believed there would be difficulty in their case, and it may endanger a schism and much disturbance, so as wise men think it had been better to have let them alone, than to have proceeded with this rigour to turn them out for refusing to swear against their consciences. I asked at parting, when his Grace removed ; he said that he had not yet received any summons, but I found the house altogether disfurnished, and his books<sup>c</sup> packing up.

1st June. I went with my son, and brother-in-law, Glanville, and his son, to Wotton, to solemnize the funeral of my nephew, which was performed the next day very decently and orderly by the herald, in the afternoon, a very great appearance of the country being there. I was the chief mourner ; the pall was held by Sir Francis Vincent, Sir Richard Onslow, Mr. Thomas Howard (son to Sir Robert, and Captain of the King's Guard), Mr. Hyldiard, Mr. James, Mr. Herbert, nephew to Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and cousin-german to my deceased nephew. He

<sup>a</sup> It now forms part of the collections in the British Museum. In 1707, he published the first volume of his *Natural History of Jamaica*, in folio, with numerous plates ; but the second volume did not appear till 1725. Dr. Sloane, better known as Sir Hans Sloane, having been created a Baronet by George I, was an eminent physician and naturalist, Physician-general to the Army, Physician in Ordinary to the King, and in 1727 was elected President of the Royal Society. His monument may be seen in the churchyard of old St. Luke's, Chelsea, near the river. His extensive museum and library were purchased for 20,000*l.*, and transferred to the British Museum. Born 1660, died in 1752.

<sup>b</sup> A mistake. Dr. Edward Fowler was made Bishop of Gloucester in the place of Dr. Robert Frampton, deprived for not taking the oaths.



was laid in the vault at Wotton church, in the burying-place of the family. A great concourse of coaches and people accompanied the solemnity.

10th June. I went to visit Lord Clarendon, still prisoner in the Tower, though Lord Preston being pardoned was released.

17th. A fast.

11th July. I dined with Mr. Pepys, where was Dr. Cumberland, the new Bishop of Norwich<sup>a</sup>, Dr. Lloyd having been put out for not acknowledging the Government. Cumberland is a very learned, excellent man. Possession was now given to Dr. Tillotson, at Lambeth, by the Sheriff; Archbishop Sancroft was gone, but had left his nephew to keep possession; and he refusing to deliver it up on the Queen's message, was dispossessed by the Sheriff, and imprisoned. This stout demeanour of the few Bishops who refused to take the oaths to King William, animated a great party to forsake the churches, so as to threaten a schism; though those who looked further into the ancient practice, found that when (as formerly) there were Bishops displaced on secular accounts, the people never refused to acknowledge the new Bishops, provided they were not heretics. The truth is, the whole clergy had till now stretched the duty of passive obedience, so that the proceedings against these Bishops gave no little occasion of exceptions; but this not amounting to heresy, there was a necessity of receiving the new Bishops, to prevent a failure of that order in the Church. I went to visit Lord Clarendon in the Tower, but he was gone into the country for air by the Queen's permission, under the care of his warden.

18th. To London to hear Mr. Stringfellow preach his first sermon in the new-erected church of Trinity, in Conduit Street; to which I did recommend him to Dr. Tenison for the constant preacher and lecturer. This church, formerly built of timber on Hounslow-Heath by King James for the mass-priests, being begged by Dr. Tenison, rector of St. Martin's, was set up by that public-minded, charitable, and pious man near my son's dwelling in Dover Street, chiefly at the charge of the Doctor. I know him to be an excellent preacher and a fit person. This church, though erected in St. Martin's, which is the Doctor's parish, he was not only content, but was the sole industrious mover, that it should be made a separate parish, in regard of the neighbourhood having become so populous. Wherefore to countenance and introduce the new minister, and take possession of a gallery designed for my son's family, I went to London, where,

19th, in the morning Dr. Tenison preached the first sermon, taking his text from *Psalm* xxvi. 8. 'Lord, I have loved the habitation of thy house, and the place where thine honour dwelleth.' In concluding, he gave that this should be made a parish-church so soon as the Parliament sate, and was to be dedicated to the Holy Trinity<sup>b</sup>, in honour of the three undivided Persons in the Deity; and he minded them to attend to that faith of the Church, now especially that Arianism, Socinianism, and Atheism began to

<sup>a</sup> A mistake. Dr. Cumberland was made Bishop of Peterborough, and Dr. John Moore succeeded Dr. Lloyd in the see of Norwich.

<sup>b</sup> This was never made a parish-church, but still remains a chapel, and is private property. But, under the Act for building fifty new churches, one was built in the street between Conduit Street and Hanover Square, the first stone being laid 20th June, 1712; it was dedicated to St. George, and part of St. Martin's was made a separate parish, now called St. George's, Hanover Square.

spread amongst us. In the afternoon, Mr. Stringfellow preached on *Luke* vii. 5, 'The centurion who had built a synagogue'. He proceeded to the due praise of persons of such public spirit, and thence to such a character of pious benefactors in the person of the generous centurion, as was comprehensive of all the virtues of an accomplished Christian, in a style so full, eloquent, and moving, that I never heard a sermon more apposite to the occasion. He modestly insinuated the obligation they had to that person who should be the author and promoter of such public works for the benefit of mankind, especially to the advantage of religion, such as building and endowing churches, hospitals, libraries, schools, procuring the best editions of useful books, by which he handsomely intimated who it was that had been so exemplary for his benefaction to that place. Indeed, that excellent person, Dr. Tenison, had also erected and furnished a public library<sup>a</sup> [in St. Martin's]; and set up two or three free-schools at his own charges. Besides this, he was of an exemplary holy life, took great pains in constantly preaching, and incessantly employing himself to promote the service of God both in public and private. I never knew a man of a more universal and generous spirit, with so much modesty, prudence, and piety.

The great victory of King William's army in Ireland was looked on as decisive of that war. The French General, St. Ruth, who had been so cruel to the poor Protestants in France, was slain, with divers of the best commanders; nor was it cheap to us, having 1,000 killed, but of the enemy 4 or 5,000.

*26th July.* An extraordinary hot season, yet refreshed by some thunder-showers.

*28th.* I went to Wotton.

*2nd August.* No sermon in the church in the afternoon, and the curacy ill-served.

*16th.* A sermon by the curate; an honest discourse, but read without any spirit, or seeming concern; a great fault in the education of young preachers. Great thunder and lightning on Thursday, but the rain and wind very violent. Our fleet come in to lay up the great ships; nothing done at sea, pretending that we cannot meet the French.

*13th September.* A great storm at sea; we lost the Coronation and Harwich, above 600 men perishing.

*14th October.* A most pleasing autumn. Our navy come in without having performed any thing, yet there has been great loss of ships by negligence, and unskilful men governing the fleet and Navy-board.

*7th November.* I visited the Earl of Dover, who having made his peace with the King, was now come home. The relation he gave of the strength of the French King, and the difficulty of our forcing him to fight, and any way making impression into France, was very wide from what we fancied.

*8th—30th.* An extraordinary dry and warm season, without frost, and like a new spring; such as had not been known for many years. Part of the King's house at Kensington was burnt.

*6th December.* Discourse of another *plot*, in which several great persons were named, but believed to be a sham. A proposal in the House of Commons that every officer in the whole nation who received a salary above £500 or otherwise by virtue of his office, should contribute it wholly to the support of the war with France, and this upon their oaths.

<sup>a</sup> *ante*, p. 424.



25th December. My daughter-in-law was brought to bed of a daughter.

26th. An exceeding dry and calm winter, no rain for many past months.

28th. Dined at Lambeth with the new Archbishop. Saw the effect of my green-house furnace, set up by the Archbishop's son-in-law.

30th. I again saw Mr. Charlton's collection<sup>a</sup> of spiders, birds, scorpions, and other serpents, &c.

1691-2. 1st January. This last week died that pious admirable Christian, excellent philosopher, and my worthy friend, Mr. Boyle, aged about 65—a great loss to all that knew him, and to the public.

6th. At the funeral of Mr. Boyle, at St. Martin's. Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, preached on *Eccles.* ii. 26. He concluded with an eulogy due to the deceased, who made God and religion the scope of all his excellent talents in the knowledge of nature, and who had arrived to so high a degree in it, accompanied with such zeal and extraordinary piety, which he showed in the whole course of his life, particularly in his exemplary charity on all occasions—that he gave £1,000 yearly to the distressed refugees of France and Ireland; was at the charge of translating the Scriptures into the Irish and Indian tongues, and was now promoting a Turkish translation, as he had formerly done of Grotius 'on the Truth of the Christian Religion' into Arabic, which he caused to be dispersed in the Eastern countries; that he had settled a fund for preachers who should preach expressly against Atheists, Libertines, Socinians, and Jews; that he had in his will given £8,000 to charitable uses; but that his private charities were extraordinary. He dilated on his learning in Hebrew and Greek, his reading of the Fathers, and solid knowledge in theology, once deliberating about taking Holy Orders, and that at the time of restoration of King Charles II, when he might have made a great figure in the nation as to secular honour and titles, his fear of not being able to discharge so weighty a duty as the first, made him decline that, and his humility the other. He spake of his civility to strangers, the great good which he did by his experience in medicine and chemistry, and to what noble ends he applied himself to his darling studies; the works both pious and useful which he published; the exact life he led, and the happy end he made. Something was touched of his sister, the Lady Ranelagh, who died but a few days before him. And truly all this was but his due, without any grain of flattery.

This week, a most execrable murder was committed on Dr. Clench, father of that extraordinary learned child whom I have before noticed<sup>b</sup>. Under pretence of carrying him in a coach to see a patient, they strangled him in it; and, sending away the coachman under some pretence, they left his dead body in the coach, and escaped in the dusk of the evening.

12th. My grand-daughter was christened by Dr. Tenison, now Bishop of Lincoln, in Trinity Church, being the first that was christened there. She was named Jane.

24th. A frosty and dry season continued; many persons die of apoplexies, more than usual. Lord Marlborough, Lieutenant-General of the King's army in England, Gentleman of the Bed-chamber, &c., dismissed from all his charges, military and other, for his excessive taking of bribes,

<sup>a</sup> *ante*, pp. 456, 487.

<sup>b</sup> *ante*, p. 475. A man named Henry Harrison was tried for the murder of Dr. Clench, convicted, and hanged; but he left a paper, which was printed, denying his guilt.

covetousness, and extortion on all occasions from his inferior officers. Note, this was the Lord who was entirely advanced by King James, and was the first who betrayed and forsook his master. He was son of Sir Winston Churchill of the Green-cloth.

*7th February.* An extraordinary snow fell in most parts.

*13th.* Mr. Boyle, having made me one of the trustees for his charitable bequests, I went to a meeting of the Bishop of Lincoln, Sir Rob . . . wood, and Serjeant Rotheram, to settle that clause in the will which related to charitable uses, and especially the appointing and electing a minister to preach one sermon the first Sunday in the month, during the four summer months, expressly against Atheists, Deists, Libertines, Jews, &c., without descending to any other controversy whatever, for which £50 per annum is to be paid quarterly to the preacher; and, at the end of three years, to proceed to a new election of some other able divine, or to continue the same, as the trustees should judge convenient. We made choice of one Mr. Bentley<sup>a</sup>, chaplain to the Bishop of Worcester (Dr. Stillingfleet). The first sermon was appointed for the first Sunday in March, at St. Martin's; the second Sunday in April, at Bow-church, and so alternately.

*28th.* Lord Marlborough<sup>b</sup> having used words against the King, and been discharged from all his great places, his wife was forbid the Court, and the Princess of Denmark was desired by the Queen to dismiss her from her service; but she refusing to do so, goes away from Court to Sion-house. Divers new Lords made; Sir Henry Capel<sup>c</sup>, Sir William Fermor<sup>d</sup>, &c. Change of Commissioners in the Treasury. The Parliament adjourned, not well satisfied with affairs. The business of the East India Company, which they would have reformed, let fall.—The Duke of Norfolk does not succeed in his endeavour to be divorced.

*20th March.* My son was made one of the Commissioners of the Revenue and Treasury of Ireland, to which employment he had a mind, far from my wishes.—I visited the Earl of Peterborough, who showed me the picture of the Prince of Wales, newly brought out of France, seeming in my opinion very much to resemble the Queen his mother, and of a most vivacious countenance.

*April.* No spring yet appearing. The Queen-dowager went out of England towards Portugal, as pretended, against the advice of all her friends.

*4th.* Mr. Bentley preached Mr. Boyle's lecture at St. Mary-le-Bow. So excellent a discourse against the Epicurean system is not to be recapitulated in a few words. He came to me to ask whether I thought it should be printed, or that there was anything in it which I desired to be altered. I took this as a civility, and earnestly desired it should be printed, as one of the most learned and convincing discourses I had ever heard.

<sup>a</sup> Afterwards the celebrated scholar and critic, Librarian to the King, and Master of Trinity College, Cambridge.

<sup>b</sup> So celebrated in the reign of Queen Anne as John, first Duke of Marlborough. The real cause of his dismissal from his employments by William III was not the one mentioned by Evelyn, but a quarrel between Queen Mary and her sister, the Princess Anne, in which her friend Lady Marlborough was involved.

<sup>c</sup> Lord Capel, of Tewkesbury.

<sup>d</sup> Baron Leominster; afterwards Earl of Pomfret.



*6th April.* A fast. King James sends a letter written and directed by his own hand to several of the Privy Council, and one to his daughter the Queen Regent, informing them of the Queen being ready to be brought to bed, and summoning them to be at the birth by the middle of May, promising as from the French King, permission to come and return in safety.

*24th.* Much apprehension of a French invasion, and of an universal rising. Our fleet begins to join with the Dutch. Unkindness between the Queen and her sister. Very cold and unseasonable weather, scarce a leaf on the trees.

*5th May.* Reports of an invasion were very hot, and alarmed the City, Court, and people; nothing but securing suspected persons, sending forces to the sea-side, and hastening out the fleet. Continued discourse of the French invasion, and of ours in France. The eastern wind so constantly blowing, gave our fleet time to unite, which had been so tardy in preparation, that, had not God thus wonderfully favoured, the enemy would in all probability have fallen upon us. Many daily secured, and proclamations out for more conspirators.

*8th.* My kinsman, Sir Edward Evelyn, of Long Ditton, died suddenly.

*12th.* A fast.

*13th.* I dined at my cousin Cheny's, son to my Lord Cheny, who married my cousin Pierpoint.

*15th.* My niece, M. Evelyn, was now married to Sir Cyril Wyche, Secretary of State for Ireland. After all our apprehensions of being invaded, and doubts of our success by sea, it pleased God to give us a great naval victory, to the utter ruin of the French fleet, their admiral and all their best men of war, transport-ships, &c.

*29th.* Though this day was set apart expressly for celebrating the memorable birth, return, and restoration of the late King Charles II, there was no notice taken of it, nor any part of the office annexed to the Common Prayer-Book made use of, which I think was ill done, in regard his restoration not only redeemed us from anarchy and confusion, but restored the Church of England as it were miraculously.

*9th June.* I went to Windsor to carry my grandson to Eton School, where I met my Lady Stonehouse and other of my daughter-in-law's relations, who came on purpose to see her before her journey into Ireland. We went to see the Castle, which we found furnished and very neatly kept, as formerly, only that the arms in the guard-chamber and keep were removed and carried away. An exceeding great storm of wind and rain, in some places stripping the trees of their fruit and leaves as if it had been winter; and an extraordinary wet season, with great floods.

*23rd July.* I went with my wife, son, and daughter, to Eton, to see my grandson, and thence to my Lord Godolphin's, at Cranburn, where we lay, and were most honourably entertained. The next day to St. George's Chapel, and returned to London late in the evening.

*25th.* To Mr. Hewer's at Clapham, where he has an excellent, useful, and capacious house on the Common, built by Sir Den. Gauden, and by him sold to Mr. Hewer, who got a very considerable estate in the Navy, in which, from being Mr. Pepys's clerk, he came to be one of the principal officers, but was put out of all employment on the Revolution, as were all the best officers, on suspicion of being no friends to the change; such were put in their places, as were most shamefully ignorant and unfit.

Mr. Hewer lives very handsomely and friendly to every body<sup>a</sup>. Our fleet was now sailing on their long pretence of a descent on the French coast ; but, after having sailed one hundred leagues, returned, the admiral and officers disagreeing as to the place where they were to land, and the time of year being so far spent—to the great dishonour of those at the helm, who concerted their matters so indiscreetly, or, as some thought, designedly.

This whole summer was exceeding wet and rainy ; the like had not been known since the year 1648 ; whilst in Ireland they had not known so great a drought.

16th July. I went to visit the Bishop of Lincoln, when, amongst other things, he told me that one Dr. Chaplin, of University College in Oxford, was the person who wrote the *Whole Duty of Man* ; that he used to read it to his pupil, and communicated it to Dr. Sterne<sup>b</sup>, afterwards Archbishop of York, but would never suffer any of his pupils to have a copy of it.

19th August. A fast. Came the sad news of the hurricane and earthquake, which has destroyed almost the whole Island of Jamaica, many thousands having perished.

11th. My son, his wife, and little daughter, went for Ireland, there to reside as one of the Commissioners of the Revenue.

14th. Still an exceeding wet season.

15th September. There happened an earthquake, which, though not so great as to do any harm in England, was universal in all these parts of Europe. It shook the house at Wotton, but was not perceived by any save a servant or two, who were making my bed, and another in a garret. I and the rest being at dinner below in the parlour, were not sensible of it. The dreadful one in Jamaica this summer was profanely and ludicrously represented in a puppet-play, or some such lewd pastime, in the fair of Southwark, which caused the Queen to put down that idle and vicious mock show.

1st October. This season was so exceedingly cold, by reason of a long and tempestuous north-east wind, that this usually pleasant month was very uncomfortable. No fruit ripened kindly. Harboard dies at Belgrade ; Lord Paget sent Ambassador in his room.

6th November. There was a vestry called about repairing or new building of the church [at Deptford], which I thought unseasonable in regard of heavy taxes, and other improper circumstances, which I there declared.

10th. A solemn Thanksgiving for our victory at sea, safe return of the King, &c.

20th. Dr. Lancaster, the new Vicar of St. Martin's, preached.

A signal robbery in Hertfordshire of the tax-money bringing out of the north towards London. They were set upon by several desperate persons, who dismounted and stopped all travellers on the road, and guarding them in a field, when the exploit was done, and the treasure taken, they killed all

<sup>a</sup> Much will be found concerning him in the *Diary and Correspondence* of Samuel Pepys.

<sup>b</sup> Richard Sterne, grandfather of the author of *Tristram Shandy*. He attended Archbishop Laud to the scaffold as his chaplain. On the Restoration he was created Bishop of Carlisle, and subsequently Archbishop of York. He assisted in the Polyglott and in the revisal of the Book of Common Prayer. Born 1596, died 1683.



the horses of those whom they stayed, to hinder pursuit, being sixteen horses. They then dismissed those that they had dismounted.

14th December. With much reluctance we gratified Sir J. Rotherham, one of Mr. Boyle's trustees, by admitting the Bishop of Bath and Wells<sup>a</sup> to be lecturer for the next year, instead of Mr. Bentley, who had so worthily acquitted himself. We intended to take him in again the next year.

1692-3. January. Contest in Parliament about a self-denying Act, that no Parliament-man should have any office: it wanted only two or three voices to have been carried. The Duke of Norfolk's Bill for a divorce thrown out, he having managed it very indiscreetly. The quarrel between Admiral Russell and Lord Nottingham yet undetermined.

4th February. After five days' trial and extraordinary contest, the Lord Mohun was acquitted by the Lords of the murder of Montford, the player, notwithstanding the Judges, from the pregnant witnesses of the fact, had declared him guilty; but whether in commiseration of his youth, being not eighteen years old, though exceeding dissolute, or upon whatever other reason, the King himself present some part of the trial, and satisfied, as they report that he was culpable, 69 acquitted him, only 14 condemned him.

Unheard-of stories of the universal increase of witches in New England; men, women, and children devoting themselves to the devil, so as to threaten the subversion of the government<sup>b</sup>. At the same time there was a conspiracy amongst the negroes in Barbadoes to murder all their masters, discovered by overhearing a discourse of two of the slaves, and so preventing the execution of the design. Hitherto an exceeding mild winter. France in the utmost misery and poverty for want of corn and subsistence, whilst the ambitious King is intent to pursue his conquests on the rest of his neighbours both by sea and land. Our Admiral, Russell, laid aside for not pursuing the advantage he had obtained over the French in the past summer; three others chosen in his place. Dr. Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury's book burnt by the hangman for an expression of the King's title by conquest, on a complaint of Joseph How, a Member of Parliament, little better than a madman.

19th. The Bishop of Lincoln preached in the afternoon at the Tabernacle near Golden Square, set up by him. Proposals of a marriage between Mr. Draper and my daughter Susanna. Hitherto an exceeding warm winter, such as has seldom been known, and portending an unprosperous spring as to the fruits of the earth; our climate requires more cold and winterly weather. The dreadful and astonishing earthquake swallowing up Catania and other famous and ancient cities, with more than 100,000 persons in Sicily, on 11th January last, came now to be reported amongst us.

26th. An extraordinary deep snow, after almost no winter, and a sudden gentle thaw. A deplorable earthquake at Malta, since that of Sicily, nearly as great.

<sup>a</sup> Bishop Kidder.

<sup>b</sup> Some account of these poor people is given in Bray and Manning's *History of Surrey*, ii, 714, from the papers of the Rev. Mr. Miller, Vicar of Effingham, in that county, who was Chaplain to the King's forces in the Colony from 1692 to 1695. Some of the accused were convicted and executed; but Sir William Phipps, the Governor, had the good sense to reprieve, and afterwards pardon, several; and the Queen approved his conduct.

19<sup>th</sup> March. A new Secretary of State, Sir John Trenchard<sup>a</sup>; the Attorney-General, Somers, made Lord-Keeper, a young lawyer of extraordinary merit. King William goes towards Flanders; but returns, the wind being contrary.

31<sup>st</sup>. I met the King going to Gravesend to embark in his yacht for Holland.

23<sup>rd</sup> April. An extraordinary wet spring.

27<sup>th</sup>. My daughter Susanna was married to William Draper, Esq., in the chapel of Ely House, by Dr. Tenison, Bishop of Lincoln (since Archbishop). I gave her in portion 4,000*l.*, her jointure is 500*l.* per annum. I pray Almighty God to give His blessing to this marriage! She is a good child, religious, discreet, ingenious, and qualified with all the ornaments of her sex. She has a peculiar talent in design, as painting in oil and miniature, and an extraordinary genius for whatever hands can do with a needle. She has the French tongue, has read most of the Greek and Roman authors and poets, using her talents with great modesty; exquisitely shaped, and of an agreeable countenance. This character is due to her, though coming from her father. Much of this week spent in ceremonies, receiving visits and entertaining relations, and a great part of the next in returning visits.

11<sup>th</sup> May. We accompanied my daughter to her husband's house<sup>b</sup>, where with many of his and our relations we were magnificently treated. There we left her in an apartment very richly adorned and furnished, and I hope in as happy a condition as could be wished, and with the great satisfaction of all our friends; for which God be praised!

14<sup>th</sup>. Nothing yet of action from abroad. Muttering of a design to bring forces under colour of an expected descent, to be a standing army for other purposes. Talk of a declaration of the French King, offering mighty advantages to the Confederates, exclusive of King William; and another of King James, with an universal pardon, and referring the composing of all differences to a Parliament. These were yet but discourses; but something is certainly under it. A Declaration or Manifesto from King James, so written, that many thought it reasonable, and much more to the purpose than any of his former.

June. Whit-Sunday. I went to my Lord Griffith's chapel; the common church-office was used for the King without naming the person, with some other, opposite to the necessity and circumstances of the time.

11<sup>th</sup>. I dined at Sir William Godolphin's; and, after evening prayer, visited the Duchess of Grafton.

<sup>a</sup> Of Bloxworth, in Dorsetshire. He had been engaged with the Duke of Monmouth, but escaped out of England, and lived some time abroad, where he acquired a large and correct knowledge of foreign affairs. He was a calm and sedate man, and more moderate than could have been expected from his previous party connection. He was the confidential friend of King William, by whom he had been commissioned to concert measures with his friends on this side of the water, and ensure his favourable reception. Previously to his appointment of Secretary-of-State, the King had made him Serjeant-at-law, and Chief Justice of Chester. He died in 1694, at the age of forty-six, and is buried at Bloxworth. There is an engraved portrait of Sir John Trenchard in mezzotinto, by James Watson, representing him in the dress of his office, and expressing a weakness which he had in his right hand and arm: also another in armour, from a miniature after the original, by Osias Humphrey, R.A., engraved by Cantlo Bestland. See Hutchins's *History of Dorsetshire*, vol. iii.

<sup>b</sup> At Addiscombe, near Croydon.



21st June. I saw a great auction of pictures in the Banqueting-house, Whitehall. They had been my Lord Melford's, now Ambassador from King James at Rome, and engaged to his creditors here. Lord Mulgrave and Sir Edward Seymour came to my house, and desired me to go with them to the sale. Divers more of the great lords, &c., were there, and bought pictures dear enough. There were some very excellent of Vandyke, Rubens, and Bassan. Lord Godolphin bought the picture of the Boys, by Murillo the Spaniard, for 80 guineas, dear enough; my nephew Glanville, the old Earl of Arundel's head by Rubens, for £20. Growing late, I did not stay till all were sold.

24th. A very wet hay-harvest, and little summer as yet.

9th July. Mr. Tippin, successor of Dr. Parr at Camberwell, preached an excellent sermon.

13th. I saw the Queen's rare cabinets and collection of china; which was wonderfully rich and plentiful, but especially a large cabinet, looking-glass frame and stands, all of amber, much of it white, with historical bass-reliefs and statues, with medals carved in them, esteemed worth £4000, sent by the Duke of Brandenburg, whose country, Prussia, abounds with amber, cast up by the sea; divers other China and Indian cabinets, screens, and hangings. In her library were many books in English, French, and Dutch, of all sorts; a cupboard of gold plate; a cabinet of silver filigree, which I think was our Queen Mary's<sup>a</sup>, and which, in my opinion, should have been generously sent to her.

18th. I dined with Lord Mulgrave, with the Earl of Devonshire, Mr. Hampden (a scholar and fine gentleman), Dr. Davenant<sup>b</sup>, Sir Henry Vane, and others. and saw and admired the Venus of Correggio, which Lord Mulgrave had newly bought of Mr. Daun for £250; one of the best paintings I ever saw.

1st August. Lord Capel, Sir Cyril Wyche, and Mr. Duncomb, made Lord-Justices in Ireland; Lord Sydney recalled, and made Master of the Ordnance.

6th. Very lovely harvest-weather, and a wholesome season, but no garden-fruit.

31st October. A very wet and uncomfortable season.

12th November. Lord Nottingham resigned as Secretary of State<sup>c</sup>; the Commissioners of the Admiralty outed, and Russell<sup>d</sup> restored to his office. The season continued very wet, as it had nearly all the summer, if one might call it summer, in which there was no fruit, but corn was very plentiful.

14th. In the lottery set up after the Venetian manner by Mr. Neale, Sir R. Haddock, one of the Commissioners of the Navy, had the greatest lot, £3000; my coachman £40.

17th. Was the funeral of Captain Young, who died of the stone and great age. I think he was the first who in the first war with Cromwell against Spain<sup>e</sup>, took the Governor of Havannah, and another rich prize, and struck the first stroke against the Dutch fleet in the first war with Holland in the time of the Rebellion; a sober man and an excellent seaman.

<sup>a</sup> Mary of Esté, King James's Queen, now with him in France.

<sup>b</sup> Charles, eldest son of Sir William Davenant, joint inspector of plays, Commissioner of Excise, and Inspector-general of Exports and Imports. His chief work was called *Essays on Trade*, in five volumes. Born 1656, died 1714.

<sup>c</sup> He was succeeded by Charles Earl of Shrewsbury.

<sup>d</sup> Edward Russell, afterwards Earl of Orford.

<sup>e</sup> See p. 220.

30th November. Much importuned to take the office of President of the Royal Society, but I again declined it. Sir Robert Southwell was continued. We all dined at Pontac's, as usual.

3rd December. Mr. Bentley preached at the Tabernacle, near Golden Square. I gave my voice for him to proceed on his former subject the following year in Mr. Boyle's lecture, in which he had been interrupted by the importunity of Sir J. Rotherham that the Bishop of Chichester<sup>a</sup> might be chosen the year before, to the great dissatisfaction of the Bishop of Lincoln and myself. We chose Mr. Bentley again. The Duchess of Grafton's Appeal to the House of Lords for the Prothonotary's place given to the late Duke and to her son by King Charles II, now challenged by the Lord Chief Justice. The Judges were severely reprov'd on something they said.

10th. A very great storm of thunder and lightning.

1693-4. 1st January. Prince Lewis of Baden came to London, and was much feasted. Danish ships arrested carrying corn and naval stores to France.

11th. Supped at Mr. Edward Sheldon's, where was Mr. Dryden, the poet, who now intended to write no more plays, being intent on his translation of Virgil. He read to us his prologue and epilogue to his valedictory play now shortly to be acted.

21st. Lord Macclesfield, Lord Warrington, and Lord Westmorland, all died within about one week. Several persons shot, hanged, and made away with themselves.

11th February. Now was the great trial of the appeal of Lord Bath and Lord Montagu before the Lords, for the estate of the late Duke of Albemarle.

10th March. Mr. Stringfellow preached at Trinity parish, being restored to that place, after the contest between the Queen and the Bishop of London who had displaced him.

22nd. Came the dismal news of the disaster befallen our Turkey fleet by tempest, to the almost utter ruin of that trade, the convoy of three or four men-of-war, and divers merchant-ships, with all their men and lading, having perished.

25th. Dr. Goode, minister of St. Martin's, preached; he was likewise put in by the Queen, on the issue of her process with the Bishop of London.

30th. I went to the Duke of Norfolk, to desire him to make cousin Evelyn of Nutfield one of the Deputy-Lieutenants of Surrey, and entreat him to dismiss my brother, now unable to serve by reason of age and infirmity. The Duke granted the one, but would not suffer my brother to resign his commission, desiring he should keep the honour of it during his life, though he could not act. He professed great kindness to our family.

1st April. Dr. Sharp, Archbishop of York, preached in the afternoon at the Tabernacle, by Soho.

13th. Mr. Bentley, our Boyle Lecturer, Chaplain to the Bishop of Worcester, came to see me.

15th. One Mr. Stanhope<sup>b</sup> preached a most excellent sermon.

22nd. A fiery exhalation rising out of the sea, spread itself in Mont-

<sup>a</sup> A mistake for Bath and Wells. Bishop Kidder is referred to; see p. 498.

<sup>b</sup> Afterwards Dean of Canterbury, a respectable and worthy divine, who made no scruple to praise and adopt what he found truly pious in the works of a Roman Catholic Priest. See p. 508.



gomeryshire a furlong broad, and many miles in length, burning all straw, hay, thatch, and grass, but doing no harm to trees, timber, or any solid things, only firing barns, or thatched houses. It left such a taint on the grass as to kill all the cattle that eat of it. I saw the attestations in the hands of the sufferers. It lasted many months. 'The Berkeley Castle' sunk by the French coming from the East Indies, worth £200,000. The French took our castle of Gamboo in Guinea, so that the Africa Actions fell to £30, and the India to £80. Some regiments of Highland Dragoons were on their march through England; they were of large stature, well appointed and disciplined. One of them having reproached a Dutchman for cowardice in our late fight, was attacked by two Dutchmen, when with his sword he struck off the head of one, and cleft the skull of the other down to his chin.

A very young gentleman named Wilson, the younger son of one who had not above £200 a year estate, lived in the garb and equipage of the richest nobleman, for house, furniture, coaches, saddle-horses, and kept a table, and all things accordingly, redeemed his father's estate, and gave portions to his sisters, being challenged by one Laws, a Scotchman, was killed in a duel, not fairly. The quarrel arose from his taking away his own sister from lodging in a house where this Laws had a mistress, which the mistress of the house thinking a disparagement to it, and losing by it, instigated Laws to this duel. He was taken and condemned for murder. The mystery is how this so young a gentleman, very sober and of good fame, could live in such an expensive manner; it could not be discovered by all possible industry, or entreaty of his friends to make him reveal it. It did not appear that he was kept by women, play, coining, padding, or dealing in chymistry; but he would sometimes say that if he should live ever so long, he had wherewith to maintain himself in the same manner. He was very civil and well-natured, but of no great force of understanding. This was a subject of much discourse.

24th April. I went to visit Mr. Waller, an extraordinary young gentleman of great accomplishments, skilled in mathematics, anatomy, music, painting both in oil and miniature to great perfection, an excellent botanist, a rare engraver on brass, writer in Latin, and a poet; and with all this exceeding modest. His house is an academy of itself. I carried him to see Brompton Park [by Knightsbridge<sup>a</sup>], where he was in admiration at the store of rare plants, and the method he found in that noble nursery, and how well it was cultivated. A public bank of £140,000, set up by Act of Parliament among other Acts, and Lotteries for money to carry on the war. The whole month of April without rain. A great rising of people in Buckinghamshire, on the declaration of a famous preacher<sup>b</sup>, till now reputed a sober and religious man, that our Lord Christ appearing to him on the

<sup>a</sup> Belonging to Mr. Wise. See p. 527.

<sup>b</sup> John Mason, who was presented to the rectory of Walter Stratford, in 1674. Granger calls him a man of unaffected piety, and says that he was esteemed to be possessed of learning and abilities above the common level, till he became bewildered in the mysteries of Calvinism. Great numbers of his deluded followers left their homes, and filled all the houses and barns in the neighbourhood of Walter Stratford; and, when prevented from assembling in their chosen field, they congregated in the town. Three pamphlets on the subject were published in 1694, the year after Mr. Mason's death, one of which has been privately reprinted by the late Rev. Edward Cooke, Rector of Haversham, in the same county.

16th of this month, told him he was now come down, and would appear publicly at Pentecost, and gather all the saints, Jews and Gentiles, and lead them to Jerusalem, and begin the Millennium, and destroying and judging the wicked, deliver the government of the world to the saints. Great multitudes followed this preacher, divers of the most zealous brought their goods and considerable sums of money, and began to live in imitation of the primitive saints, minding no private concerns, continually dancing and singing Hallelujah night and day. This brings to mind what I lately happened to find in Alstedius, that the thousand years should begin this very year 1694 : it is in his *Encyclopædia Biblica*. My copy of the book printed near sixty years ago.

4th May. I went this day with my wife and four servants from Sayes Court, removing much furniture of all sorts, books, pictures, hangings, bedding, &c., to furnish the apartment my brother assigned me, and now, after more than forty years, to spend the rest of my days with him at Wotton, where I was born ; leaving my house at Deptford well furnished and three servants, to my son-in-law Draper, to pass the summer in, and such longer time as he should think fit to make use of it.

6th. This being the first Sunday in the month, the blessed Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ought to have been celebrated at Wotton Church, but in this parish it is exceedingly neglected, so that, unless at the four great Feasts, there is no communion hereabouts ; which is a great fault both in ministers and people. I have spoken to my brother, who is the patron, to discourse the Minister about it. Scarcely one shower has fallen since the beginning of April.

30th. This week we had news of my Lord Tiviot having cut his own throat, through what discontent not yet said. He had been, not many years past, my colleague in the commission of the Privy Seal. an old acquaintance, very soberly and religiously inclined. Lord, what are we without Thy continual grace !

Lord Falkland, grandson to the learned Lord Falkland, Secretary of State to King Charles I, and slain in his service, died now of the small-pox. He was a pretty, brisk, understanding, industrious young gentleman ; had formerly been faulty, but now much reclaimed ; had also the good luck to marry a very great fortune, besides being entitled to a vast sum, his share of the Spanish wreck, taken up at the expense of divers adventurers. From a Scotch Viscount he was made an English Baron, designed Ambassador for Holland ; had been Treasurer of the Navy, and advancing extremely in the new Court. All now gone in a moment, and I think the title is extinct. I know not whether the estate devolves to my cousin Carew. It was at my Lord Falkland's, whose lady importuned us to let our daughter be with her some time, so that that dear child took the same infection, which cost her valuable life<sup>a</sup>.

3rd June. Mr. Edwards, minister of Denton, in Sussex, a living in my brother's gift, came to see him. He had suffered much by a fire. Seasonable showers.

14th. The public Fast. Mr. Wotton<sup>b</sup>, that extraordinary learned young man, preached excellently.

<sup>a</sup> See pp. 425 and 429.

<sup>b</sup> The Reverend William Wotton, author of *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*, *The History of Rome, from the Death of Antoninus Pius, &c.*, and other works. Born 1666, died 1726.



1st July. Mr. Duncomb, minister of Albury, preached at Wotton, a very religious and exact discourse.

The first great Bank for a fund of money being now established by Act of Parliament, was filled and completed to the sum of £120,000, and put under the government of the most able and wealthy citizens of London. All who adventured any sum had four per cent. so long as it lay in the Bank, and had power either to take it out at pleasure, or transfer it. Glorious steady weather; corn and all fruits in extraordinary plenty generally.

13th. Lord Berkeley burnt Dieppe and Havre-de-Grace with bombs, in revenge for the defeat at Brest. This manner of destructive war was begun by the French, is exceedingly ruinous, especially falling on the poorer people, and does not seem to tend to make a more speedy end of the war; but rather to exasperate and incite to revenge. Many executed at London for clipping money, now done to that intolerable extent, that there was hardly any money that was worth above half the nominal value.

4th August. I went to visit my cousin, George Evelyn of Nutfield, where I found a family of ten children, five sons and five daughters—all beautiful women grown, and extremely well-fashioned. All painted in one piece, very well, by Mr. Lutterell, in crayon on copper, and seeming to be as finely painted as the best miniature. They are the children of two extraordinary beautiful wives. The boys were at school.

5th. Stormy and unseasonable wet weather this week.

5th October. I went to St. Paul's to see the choir, now finished as to the stone work, and the scaffold struck both without and within, in that part. Some exception might perhaps be taken as to the placing columns on pilasters at the East tribunal. As to the rest it is a piece of architecture without reproach. The pulling out the forms, like drawers, from under the stalls, is ingenious. I went also to see the building beginning near St. Giles's, where seven streets make a star from a Doric pillar placed in the middle of a circular area; said to be built by Mr. Neale<sup>a</sup>, introducer of the late lotteries, in imitation of those at Venice, now set up here, for himself twice, and now one for the State.

28th. Mr. Stringfellow preached at Trinity church.

22nd November. Visited the Bishop of Lincoln [Tenison] newly come on the death of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who a few days before had a paralytic stroke—the same day and month that Archbishop Sancroft was put out. A very sickly time, especially the small-pox, of which divers considerable persons died. The State Lottery<sup>b</sup> drawing, Mr. Cock, a French refugee, and a President in the Parliament of Paris for the Reformed, drew a lot of £1,000 per annum.

29th. I visited the Marquis of Normanby, and had much discourse concerning King Charles II being poisoned. Also concerning the *Quinquina* which the physicians would not give to the King, at a time when, in a dangerous ague, it was the only thing that could cure him (out of envy

<sup>a</sup> This Mr. Neale took a large piece of ground on the north side of Piccadilly, of Sir Walter Clarges, agreeing to lay out £15,000 in building thereon; but failing to complete his engagement, Sir Walter himself, after great trouble, got the lease out of his hands, and built what is now called Clarges-street. *Malcolm's London*, p. 329.

<sup>b</sup> State Lotteries finally closed October 18, 1826.

because it had been brought into vogue by Mr. Tudor, an apothecary), till Dr. Short, to whom the King sent to know his opinion of it privately, he being reputed a Papist (but who was in truth a very honest good Christian), sent word to the King that it was the only thing which could save his life, and then the King enjoined his physicians to give it to him, which they did, and he recovered. Being asked by this Lord why they would not prescribe it, Dr. Lower said it would spoil their practice, or some such expression, and at last confessed it was a remedy fit only for kings. Exception was taken that the late Archbishop did not cause any of his chaplains to use any office for the sick during his illness.

*9th December.* I had news that my dear and worthy friend, Dr. Tenison, Bishop of Lincoln, was made Archbishop of Canterbury, for which I thank God and rejoice, he being most worthy of it, for his learning, piety, and prudence.

*13th.* I went to London to congratulate him. He being my proxy, gave my vote for Dr. Williams, to succeed Mr. Bentley in Mr. Boyle's lectures.

*29th.* The small-pox increased exceedingly, and was very mortal. The Queen died of it on the 28th.

*13th January, 1694-5.* The Thames was frozen over. The deaths by small-pox increased to five hundred more than in the preceding week. The King and Princess Anne reconciled, and she was invited to keep her Court at Whitehall, having hitherto lived privately at Berkeley-house; she was desired to take into her family divers servants of the late Queen; to maintain them the King has assigned her 5,000*l.* a-quarter.

*20th.* The frost and continual snow have now lasted five weeks.

*February.* Lord Spencer married the Duke of Newcastle's daughter, and our neighbour, Mr. Hussey, married a daughter of my cousin George Evelyn, of Nutfield.

*3rd.* The long frost intermitted, but not gone.

*17th.* Called to London by Lord Godolphin, one of the Lords of the Treasury, offering me the treasurership of the hospital designed to be built at Greenwich for worn-out seamen.

*24th.* I saw the Queen lie in state.

*27th.* The Marquis of Normanby told me King Charles had a design to buy all King Street, and build it nobly, it being the street leading to Westminster. This might have been done for the expense of the Queen's funeral, which was 50,000*l.*, against her desire.

*5th March.* I went to see the ceremony. Never was so universal a mourning; all the Parliament-men had cloaks given them, and four hundred poor women; all the streets hung, and the middle of the street boarded and covered with black cloth. There were all the Nobility, Mayor, Aldermen, Judges, &c.

*8th.* I supped at the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, who related to me the pious behaviour of the Queen in all her sickness, which was admirable. She never inquired of what opinion persons were, who were objects of charity; that, on opening a cabinet, a paper was found wherein she had desired that her body might not be opened, or any extraordinary expense at her funeral, whenever she should die. This paper was not found in time to be observed. There were other excellent things under her own hand, to the very least of her debts, which were very small, and every thing in that exact method, as seldom is found in any private person. In sum,



she was such an admirable woman, abating for taking the Crown without a more due apology, as does, if possible, outdo the renowned Queen Elizabeth.

10th March. I dined at the Earl of Sunderland's with Lord Spencer. My Lord showed me his library, now again improved by many books brought at the sale of Sir Charles Scarborough, an eminent physician<sup>a</sup>, which was the very best collection, especially of mathematical books, that was I believe in Europe, once designed for the King's Library at St. James's; but the Queen's dying, who was the great patroness of that design, it was let fall, and the books were miserably dissipated.

The new edition of Camden's Britannia was now published (by Bishop Gibson), with great additions; those to Surrey were mine, so that I had one presented to me. Dr. Gale showed me a MS. of some parts of the New Testament in vulgar Latin, that had belonged to a monastery in the North of Scotland, which he esteemed to be about eight hundred years old; there were some considerable various readings observable, as in *John* i., and genealogy of St. Luke.

24th. Easter-day. Mr. Duncomb, parson of this parish, preached, which he hardly comes to above once a year though but seven or eight miles off<sup>b</sup>; a florid discourse, read out of his notes. The Holy Sacrament followed, which he administered with very little reverence, leaving out many prayers and exhortations; nor was there any oblation. This ought to be reformed, but my good brother did not well consider when he gave away this living and the next [Abinger].

March. The latter end of the month sharp and severe cold, with much snow and hard frost; no appearance of spring.

31st. Mr. Lucas preached in the afternoon at Wotton.

7th April. Lord Halifax died suddenly at London, the day his daughter was married to the Earl of Nottingham's son at Burleigh. Lord H. was a very rich man, very witty, and in his younger days somewhat positive.

14th. After a most severe, cold, and snowy winter, without almost any shower for many months, the wind continuing N. and E. and not a leaf appearing; the weather and wind now changed, some showers fell, and there was a remission of cold.

21st. The spring begins to appear, yet the trees hardly leafed. Sir T. Cooke discovers what prodigious bribes have been given by some of the East India Company out of the stock, which makes a great clamour. Never were so many private bills passed for unsettling estates, showing the wonderful prodigality and decay of families.

5th May. I came to Deptford from Wotton, in order to the first meeting of the Commissioners for endowing an Hospital for Seamen at Greenwich; it was at the Guildhall, London. Present, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord-Keeper, Lord Privy Seal, Lord Godolphin, Duke of Shrewsbury, Duke of Leeds, Earls of Dorset and Monmouth, Commissioners of the Admiralty and Navy, Sir Robert Clayton, Sir Christopher Wren, and several more. The Commission was read by Mr. Lowndes, Secretary to the Lords of the Treasury, Surveyor-General.

17th. Second meeting of the Commissioners, and a Committee appointed to go to Greenwich to survey the place, I being one of them.

<sup>a</sup> See p. 193.

<sup>b</sup> This was William Duncomb, Rector of Ashted, in Surrey, not Mr. Duncomb, of Albury, mentioned in pp. 504 and 507.

21st May. We went to survey Greenwich, Sir Robert Clayton, Sir Christopher Wren, Mr. Travers, the King's Surveyor, Captain Sanders, and myself.

24th. We made report of the state of Greenwich House, and how the standing part might be made serviceable at present for £6,000, and what ground would be requisite for the whole design. My Lord-Keeper ordered me to prepare a book for subscriptions, and a preamble to it.

31st. Met again. Mr. Vanbrugh<sup>a</sup> was made Secretary to the Commission, by my nomination of him to the Lords, which was all done that day.

7th June. The Commissioners met at Guildhall, when there were scruples and contests of the Lord Mayor<sup>b</sup>, who would not meet, not being named as one of the quorum, so that a new Commission was required, though the Lord-Keeper and the rest thought it too nice a punctilio.

14th. Met at Guildhall, but could do nothing for want of a quorum.

5th July. At Guildhall; account of subscriptions, about 7 or £8,000.

6th. I dined at Lambeth, making my first visit to the Archbishop, where there was much company, and great cheer. After prayers in the evening my Lord made me stay to show me his house, furniture, and garden, which were all very fine, and far beyond the usual Archbishops, not as affected by this, but being bought ready furnished by his predecessor. We discoursed of several public matters, particularly of the Princess of Denmark, who made so little figure.

11th. Met at Guildhall: not a full Committee, so nothing done.

14th. No sermon at Church; but, after prayers, the names of all the parishioners were read, in order to gathering the tax of 4s. for marriages, burials, &c. A very imprudent tax, especially this reading the names, so that most went out of the church.

19th. I dined at Sir Purbeck Temple's, near Croydon; his lady is aunt to my son-in-law, Draper; the house exactly furnished. Went thence with my son and daughter to Wotton. At Wotton, Mr. Duncomb, parson of Albury, preached excellently.

28th. A very wet season.

11th August. The weather now so cold, that greater frosts were not always seen in the midst of winter; this succeeded much wet, and set harvest extremely back.

25th September. Mr. Offley preached at Abinger; too much of controversy on a point of no consequence, for the country people here. This was the first time I had heard him preach<sup>c</sup>. Bombarding of Cadiz; a cruel and brutish way of making war, first begun by the French. The season wet, great storms, unseasonable harvest weather. My good and worthy friend, Captain Gifford, who that he might get some competence to live decently, adventured all he had in a voyage of two years to the East Indies, was, with another great ship, taken by some French men-of-

<sup>a</sup> Sir John Vanbrugh, the famous dramatist, architect of Blenheim and Castle Howard; also Clarendieux King at Arms, Comptroller of the Board of Works, and Surveyor of Greenwich Hospital. Born 1672, died 1726.

<sup>b</sup> Sir William Ashurst, Knt.

<sup>c</sup> This gentleman gave good farms in Sussex for the better endowment of Oakwood Chapel, a Chapel of ease for the lower parts of Abinger and Wotton, both of which livings are in the gift of the owner of Wotton; many of the inhabitants thereabouts being distant five miles from their parish churches, and the roads also in winter being extremely bad.



war, almost within sight of England, to the loss of near £70,000, to my great sorrow, and pity of his wife, he being also a valiant and industrious man. The losses of this sort to the nation have been immense, and all through negligence, and little care to secure the same near our own coasts ; of infinitely more concern to the public than spending their time in bombarding and ruining two or three paltry towns, without any benefit, or weakening our enemies, who, though they began, ought not to be imitated in an action totally averse to humanity, or Christianity.

*29th September.* Very cold weather. Sir Purbeck Temple, uncle to my son Draper, died suddenly. A great funeral at Addiscombe. His lady being own aunt to my son Draper, he hopes for a good fortune, there being no heir. There had been a new meeting of the Commissioners about Greenwich Hospital, on the new Commission, where the Lord Mayor, &c., appeared, but I was prevented by indisposition from attending. The weather very sharp, winter approaching apace. The King went a progress into the north, to show himself to the people against the elections, and was everywhere complimented, except at Oxford, where it was not as he expected, so that he hardly stopped an hour there, and, having seen the Theatre, did not receive the banquet proposed. I dined with Dr. Gale at St. Paul's school, who showed me many curious passages out of some ancient Platonists' MSS. concerning the Trinity, which this great and learned person would publish, with many other rare things, if he was encouraged, and eased of the burden of teaching.

*25th October.* The Archbishop and myself went to Hammersmith, to visit Sir Samuel Morland<sup>a</sup>, who was entirely blind ; a very mortifying sight. He showed us his invention of writing, which was very ingenious ; also his wooden kalendar, which instructed him all by feeling ; and other pretty and useful inventions of mills, pumps, &c., and the pump he had erected that serves water to his garden, and to passengers, with an inscription, and brings from a filthy part of the Thames near it a most perfect and pure water. He had newly buried £200 worth of music-books six feet under ground, being, as he said, love-songs and vanity. He plays himself psalms and religious hymns on the theorbo. Very mild weather the whole of October.

*10th November.* Mr. Stanhope<sup>b</sup>, Vicar of Lewisham, preached at Whitehall. He is one of the most accomplished preachers I ever heard, for matter, eloquence, action, voice, and I am told, of excellent conversation.

*13th.* Famous fireworks and very chargeable, the King being returned from his progress. He stayed seven or eight days at Lord Sunderland's at Althorpe, where he was mightily entertained. These fireworks were showed before Lord Romney, master of the ordnance, in St. James's great square, where the King stood.

*17th.* I spoke to the Archbishop of Canterbury to interest himself for restoring a room belonging to St. James's library, where the books want place.

*21st.* I went to see Mr. Churchill's collection of rarities.

*23rd.* To Lambeth, to get Mr. Williams continued in Boyle's lectures another year. Amongst others who dined there was Dr. Covell<sup>c</sup>, the great Oriental traveller.

<sup>a</sup> *ante*, p. 296.

<sup>b</sup> *ante*, p. 501.

<sup>c</sup> Dr. John Covell, Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, and Chancellor of York. He wrote an account of the Greek Church, which he published just before his death in 1722 in his 85th year.

*1st December.* I dined at Lord Sunderland's, now the great favourite and underhand politician, but not adventuring on any character, being obnoxious to the people for having twice changed his religion.

*23rd.* The Parliament wondrous intent on ways to reform the coin ; setting out a Proclamation prohibiting the currency of half-crowns, &c. ; which made much confusion among the people.

*25th.* Hitherto mild, dark, misty weather. Now snow and frost.

*1695-6. 12th January.* Great confusion and distraction by reason of the clipped money, and the difficulty found in reforming it.

*2nd February.* An extraordinary wet season, though temperate as to cold. The 'Royal Sovereign' a man-of-war burnt at Chatham. It was built in 1637, and having given occasion to the levy of Ship-money, was perhaps the cause of all the after-troubles to this day. An earthquake in Dorsetshire by Portland, or rather a sinking of the ground suddenly for a large space, near the quarries of stone, hindering the conveyance of that material for the finishing St. Paul's.

*23rd.* They now began to coin new money.

*26th.* There was now a conspiracy of about thirty knights, gentlemen, captains, many of them Irish and English Papists, and Nonjurors or Jacobites (so called), to murder King William on the first opportunity of his going either from Kensington, or to hunting, or to the chapel ; and, upon signal of fire to be given from Dover Cliff to Calais, an invasion was designed. In order to it there was a great army in readiness, men-of-war and transports, to join a general insurrection here, the Duke of Berwick having secretly come to London to head them, King James attending at Calais with the French army. It was discovered by some of their own party. £1000 reward was offered to whoever could apprehend any of the thirty named. Most of those who were engaged in it, were taken and secured. The Parliament, City, and all the nation, congratulate the discovery ; and votes and resolutions were passed that, if King William should ever be assassinated, it should be revenged on the Papists and party through the nation ; an Act of Association drawing up to empower the Parliament to sit on any such accident, till the Crown should be disposed of according to the late settlement at the Revolution. All Papists, in the mean time, to be banished ten miles from London. This put the nation into an incredible disturbance and general animosity against the French King and King James. The militia of the nation was raised, several regiments were sent for out of Flanders, and all things put in a posture to encounter a descent. This was so timed by the enemy, that whilst we were already much discontented by the greatness of the taxes, and corruption of the money, &c., we had like to have had very few men-of-war near our coasts ; but so it pleased God that Admiral Rooke wanting a wind to pursue his voyage to the Straits, that squadron, with others at Portsmouth and other places, were still in the Channel, and were soon brought up to join with the rest of the ships which could be got together, so that there is hope this plot may be broken. I look on it as a very great deliverance and prevention by the providence of God. Though many did formerly pity King James's condition, this design of assassination and bringing over a French army, alienated many of his friends, and was likely to produce a more perfect establishment of King William.

<sup>a</sup> See p. 12.



1st March. The wind continuing N. and E. all this week, brought so many of our men-of-war together that, though most of the French finding their design detected and prevented, made a shift to get into Calais and Dunkirk roads, we wanting fire-ships and bombs to disturb them; yet they were so engaged among the sands and flats, that 'tis said they cut their masts and flung their great guns overboard to lighten their vessels. We are yet upon them. This deliverance is due solely to God. French were to have invaded at once England, Scotland, and Ireland.

8th. Divers of the conspirators tried and condemned.

Vesuvius breaking out, terrified Naples.—Three of the unhappy wretches, whereof one was a priest, were executed<sup>a</sup> for intending to assassinate the King; they acknowledged their intention, but acquitted King James of inciting them to it, and died very penitent. Divers more in danger, and some very considerable persons.

Great frost and cold.

6th April. I visited Mr. Graham in the Fleet.

10th. The quarters of Sir William Perkins and Sir John Friend, lately executed on the plot, with Perkins's head, were set up at Temple Bar, a dismal sight, which many pitied. I think there never was such at Temple Bar till now, except once in the time of King Charles II, namely, of Sir Thomas Armstrong<sup>b</sup>.

12th. A very fine spring season.

19th. Great offence taken at the three ministers<sup>c</sup> who absolved Sir William Perkins and Friend at Tyburn. One of them (Snatt) was a son of my old schoolmaster. This produced much altercation as to the canonicalness of the action<sup>d</sup>.

21st. We had a meeting at Guildhall of the Grand Committee about settling the draught of Greenwich Hospital.

23rd. I went to Eton, and dined with Dr. Godolphin, the provost. The schoolmaster assured me there had not been for twenty years a more pregnant youth in that place than my grandson. I went to see the King's House at Kensington. It is very noble, though not great. The gallery furnished with the best pictures [from] all the houses, of Titian, Raphael, Correggio, Holbein, Julio Romano, Bassan, Vandyke, Tintoretto, and others; a great collection of porcelain; and a pretty private library. The gardens about it very delicious.

26th. Dr. Sharp preached at the Temple. His prayer before the sermon was one of the most excellent compositions I ever heard.

28th. The Venetian Ambassador made a stately entry with fifty footmen, many on horseback, four rich coaches, and a numerous train of gallants. More executions this week of the assassins. Oates dedicated a most villainous reviling book against King James, which he presumed to present to King William, who could not but abhor it, speaking so infamously and untruly of his late beloved Queen's own father.

2nd May. I dined at Lambeth, being summoned to meet my co-trustees, the Archbishop, Sir Henry Ashurst, and Mr. Serjeant Rhtherham, to consult

<sup>a</sup> Robert Charnock, Edward King, and Thomas Keys.

<sup>b</sup> He was concerned in the Rye-House Plot, fled into Holland, was given up, and executed in his own country, 1684. See p. 415.

<sup>c</sup> Mr. Collier, Mr. Snatt, and Mr. Cook, all nonjuring clergymen.

<sup>d</sup> Pamphlets upon the subject were written *pro* and *con.*, now altogether forgotten.

about settling Mr. Boyle's lecture for a perpetuity; which we concluded upon, by buying a rent-charge of £50 per annum, with the stock in our hands.

6th May. I went to Lambeth, to meet at dinner the Countess of Sunderland and divers ladies. We dined in the Archbishop's wife's apartment with his Grace, and stayed late; yet I returned to Deptford at night.

13th. I went to London to meet my son, newly come from Ireland, indisposed. Money still continuing exceeding scarce, so that none was paid or received, but all was on trust, the Mint not supplying for common necessities. The Association with an oath required of all lawyers and officers, on pain of *præmunire*, whereby men were obliged to renounce King James as no rightful king, and to revenge King William's death, if happening by assassination. This to be taken by all the Counsel by a day limited, so that the Courts of Chancery and King's Bench hardly heard any cause in Easter Term, so many crowded to take the oath. This was censured as a very entangling contrivance of the Parliament in expectation, that many in high office would lay down, and others surrender. Many gentlemen taken up on suspicion of the late plot, were now discharged out of prison.

29th. We settled divers officers, and other matters relating to workmen, for the beginning of Greenwich Hospital.

June 1st. I went to Deptford to dispose of our goods, in order to letting the house for three years to Vice Admiral Benbow, with condition to keep up the garden. This was done soon after.

4th. A Committee met at Whitehall about Greenwich Hospital, at Sir Christopher Wren's, his Majesty's Surveyor-General. We made the first agreement with divers workmen and for materials; and gave the first order for proceeding on the foundation, and for weekly payments to the workmen, and a general account to be monthly.

11th. Dined at Lord Pembroke's, Lord Privy Seal, a very worthy gentleman. He showed me divers rare pictures of very many of the old and best masters, especially one of M. Angelo of a man gathering fruit to give to a woman, and a large book of the best drawings of the old masters. Sir John Fenwick, one of the conspirators, was taken<sup>a</sup>. Great subscriptions in Scotland to their East India Company. Want of current money to carry on the smallest concerns, even for daily provisions in the markets. Guineas lowered to twenty-two shillings, and great sums daily transported to Holland, where it yields more, with other treasure sent to pay the armies, and nothing considerable coined of the new and now only current stamp, cause such a scarcity that tumults are every day feared, nobody paying or receiving money; so imprudent was the late Parliament to condemn the old though clipped and corrupted, till they had provided supplies. To this add the fraud of the bankers and goldsmiths, who having gotten immense riches by extortion, keep up their treasure in expectation of enhancing its value. Duncombe, not long since a mean goldsmith, having made a purchase of the late Duke of Buckingham's estate<sup>b</sup> at near £90,000,

<sup>a</sup> He was taken at a house by the side of the road from Great Bookham to Stoke Dabernon, in Surrey, near Slyfield-mill, as the first editor of this work, Mr. Bray, was told by the great grandson of Mr. Evelyn.

<sup>b</sup> At Helmsley, in Yorkshire.

'And Helmsley, once proud Buckingham's delight,  
Slides to a Scrivener or a City-Knight.'—POPE.





*7th July.* A northern wind altering the weather with a continual and impetuous rain of three days and nights, changed it into perfect winter.

*12th.* Very unseasonable and uncertain weather.

*26th.* So little money in the nation that Exchequer Tallies, of which I had for £2,000 on the best fund in England, the Post-Office, nobody would take at 30 per cent. discount.

*3rd August.* The Bank lending the £200,000 to pay the army in Flanders, that had done nothing against the enemy, had so exhausted the treasure of the nation, that one could not have borrowed money under 14 or 15 per cent. on bills, or on Exchequer Tallies under 30 per cent.—Reasonable good harvest-weather. I went to Lambeth and dined with the Archbishop, who had been at Court on the complaint against Dr. Thomas Watson, Bishop of St. David's, who was suspended for simony<sup>a</sup>. The Archbishop told me how unsatisfied he was with the Canon-law, and how exceedingly unreasonable all their pleadings appeared to him.

*September.* Fine seasonable weather, and a great harvest after a cold wet summer. Scarcity in Scotland.

*6th.* I went to congratulate the marriage of a daughter of Mr. Boscawen to the son of Sir Philip Meadows; she is niece to my Lord Godolphin, married at Lambeth by the Archbishop 30th August. After above six months' stay in London about Greenwich Hospital, I returned to Wotton.

*24th October.* Unseasonable stormy weather, and an ill seed-time.

*November.* Lord Godolphin retired from the Treasury, who was the first Commissioner and most skilful manager of all.

*8th.* The first frost began fiercely, but lasted not long.—More plots talked of. Search for Jacobites so called.

*15th-23rd.* Very stormy weather, rain, and inundations.

*13th December.* Continuance of extreme frost and snow.

*1696-7. 17th January.* The severe frost and weather relented, but again froze with snow. Conspiracies continue against King William. Sir John Fenwick was beheaded.

*7th February.* Severe frost continued with snow. Soldiers in the armies and garrison-towns frozen to death on their posts.

(Here a leaf of the MS. is lost<sup>b</sup>.)

mittee for the fabric of Greenwich Hospital, Nov. 4, 1696.—Expense of the work already done, £5,000 and upwards, towards which the Treasurer had not received above £800, so that they must be obliged to stop the work, unless there can be a supply of money both from the tallies that have been assigned for payment of his Majesty's £2,000, and the money subscribed by several noblemen and gentlemen; the Secretary was ordered to attend Mr. Lowndes, Secretary to the Lords of the Treasury, to move for an order that the tallies may be fixed on such fund as may be ready money, or that the Treasurer of the Hospital may be directed to dispose of them on the best terms he can; and that the Solicitor, with the Treasurer's clerk, do attend the noblemen and gentlemen that have subscribed, to acquaint them herewith.'

<sup>a</sup> Afterwards deprived: see p. 518.

<sup>b</sup> In a letter to Dr. Bohun, dated Wotton, 18th January, 1696-7, Evelyn gives a minute and agreeable account of his domestic life and circumstances at this time: 'Having been told that you have lately inquired what is become of your now old friends of Sayes Court, the date hereof will acquaint you where they are, and the sequel much of what they do and think. I believe I need not tell you that, after the marriage of my daughter, and the so kind offer of my good brother here, my then circumstances and times considered, I had reason to embrace it, not



17th August. I came to Wotton after three months' absence.

September. Very bright weather, but with sharp east wind. My son came from London in his melancholy indisposition.

12th. Mr. Duncombe, the rector, came and preached after an absence of two years, though only living seven or eight miles off [at Ashted]. Welcome tidings of the Peace.

3rd October. So great were the storms all this week, that near a thousand people were lost going into the Texel.

16th November. The King's entry very pompous; but is nothing approaching that of King Charles II.

merely out of inclination to the place where I was born and have now an interest.

' Amongst other things, I had paid £300 for the renewing of my lease [at Deptford] with some augmentation of what I hold from the Crown, which the Duke of Leeds was supplanting me of—but I am not here on free cost.

' My Lord Godolphin (my ever noble patron and steady friend, now retired from a fatiguing station) got me to be named Treasurer to the Marine College erecting at Greenwich, with the salary of £200 per annum, of which I have never yet received one penny of the tallies assigned for it, now two years at our Lady-day; my son-in-law, Draper, is my substitute. I have only had this opportunity to place my old (indeed faithful) servant J. Strd. in an employment at Greenwich, which with my other business, not small, among so many beggarly tenants as you know I have at Deptford [is some provision for him]. I have let my house to Captain Benbow, and have the mortification of seeing every day much of my labours and expense there impairing, for want of a more polite tenant.

' My grandson is so delighted in books, that he professes a library is to him the greatest recreation, so I give him free scope here, where I have near upon 22,000 [2,000 ?] (with my brother's), and whither I would bring the rest had I any room, which I have not, to my great regret; having here so little conversation with the learned, unless it be when Mr. Wotton [Dr. Bentley's friend] comes now and then to visit me, he being tutor to Mr. Finch's son at Albury, but which he is now leaving to go to his living, that without books, and the best wife and brother in the world, I were to be pitied; but, with these subsidiaries, and the revising some of my old impertinences, to which I am adding a *Discourse* I made on Medals (lying by me long before Obadiah Walker's Treatise appeared), I pass some of my attic nights, if I may be so vain as to name them, with the author of those Criticisms. For the rest, I am planting an evergreen grove here to an old house ready to drop, the economy and hospitality of which my good old brother will not depart from, but *more veterum* kept a Christmas, in which we had not fewer than three hundred bumpkins every holy-day.

' We have here a very convenient apartment of five rooms together besides a pretty closet, which we have furnished with the spoils of Sayes Court, and is the raree-show of the whole neighbourhood, and in truth we live easy as to all domestic cares. Wednesday and Saturday nights we call Lecture-nights, when my wife and myself take our turns to read the packets of all the news sent constantly from London, which serves us for discourse till fresh news comes; and so you have the history of a very old man and his no young companion, whose society I have enjoyed more to my satisfaction these three years here, than in almost fifty before, but am now every day trussing up to be gone, I hope to a better place.

' My daughter, Draper, being brought to bed in the Christmas-holidays of a fine boy, has given an heir to a most deserving husband, a prudent, well-natured gentleman, a man of business, like to be very rich, and deserving to be so, among the happiest pairs I think in England, and to my daughter's and our hearts' desire. She has also a fine girl, and a mother-in-law exceedingly fond of my daughter, and a most excellent woman, charitable and of a very sweet disposition. They all live together, keep each their coach, and with as suitable an equipage as any in town.

2nd December. Thanksgiving-day for the Peace. The King and a great Court at Whitehall. The Bishop of Salisbury<sup>a</sup>, preached, or rather made a florid panegyric, on 2 *Chron.* ix. 7, 8. The evening concluded with fireworks and illuminations of great expense.

5th. Was the first Sunday that St. Paul's had had service performed in it since it was burnt in 1666.

6th. I went to Kensington with the Sheriff, Knights, and chief gentlemen of Surrey, to present their address to the King. The Duke of Norfolk promised to introduce it, but came so late, that it was presented before he came. This insignificant ceremony was brought in in Cromwell's time, and has ever since continued with offers of life and fortune to whoever happened to have the power. I dined at Sir Richard Onslow's, who treated almost all the gentlemen of Surrey. When we had half dined, the Duke of Norfolk came in to make his excuse.

12th. At the Temple Church ; it was very long before the service began, staying for the Comptroller of the Inner Temple, where was to be kept a riotous and revelling Christmas, according to custom.

18th. At Lambeth, to Dr. Bentley, about the Library at St. James's.

23rd. I returned to Wotton.

1697-8. A great Christmas kept at Wotton, open house, much company. I presented my book of Medals, &c., to divers Noblemen, before I exposed it to sale.

2nd January. Dr. Fulham, who lately married my niece, preached against Atheism, a very eloquent discourse, somewhat improper for most of the audience at [Wotton], but fitted for some other place, and very apposite to the profane temper of the age.

5th. Whitehall burnt, nothing but walls and ruins left.

30th. The imprisonment of the great banker, Duncombe : censured by Parliament ; acquitted by the Lords ; sent again to the Tower by the Commons<sup>b</sup>.

The Czar of Muscovy being come to England, and having a mind to see the building of ships, hired my house at Sayes Court, and made it his court and palace, new furnished for him by the King<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Burnet.

<sup>b</sup> 25th Jan. 1697-8. Charles Duncombe, Esq., M.P., was charged with making false endorsements on Exchequer-bills, and was committed close prisoner to the Tower. 29th. Being ill, his apothecary and his brother Anthony Duncombe were permitted to see him. He confessed his guilt, and was expelled the House. A Bill was brought in for seizure of his estate, which was passed 26th Feb. after great opposition, 138 against 103. It was entitled *An Act for punishing C. Duncombe, Esq., for contriving and advising the making false endorsements of several Bills made forth at Receipt of the Exchequer commonly called Exchequer-Bills.* This being sent to the Lords, they desired a conference with the Commons, and not being satisfied, though he had acknowledged the fact, they discharged him from the Tower. 31st March the Commons re-committed him. We do not find, however, in the Journals of the House of Commons, that anything further was done.

<sup>c</sup> While the Czar was in his house, Evelyn's servant writes to him : ' There is a house full of people, and right nasty. The Czar lies next your library, and dines in the parlour next your study. He dines at ten o'clock and six at night, is very seldom at home a whole day, very often in the King's Yard, or by water, dressed in several dresses. The King is expected here this day ; the best parlour is pretty clean for him to be entertained in. The King pays for all he has.'



21st April. The Czar went from my house to return home. An exceeding sharp and cold season.

8th May. An extraordinary great snow and frost, nipping the corn and other fruits. Corn at nine shillings a bushel [£18 a load].

30th. I dined at Mr. Pepys, where I heard the rare voice of Mr. Pule, who was lately come from Italy, reputed the most excellent singer we had ever had. He sung several compositions of the late Dr. Purcell.

5th June. Dr. White, late Bishop of Norwich, who had been ejected for not complying with Government, was buried in St. Gregory's churchyard, or vault, at St. Paul's. His hearse was accompanied by two non-juror Bishops, Dr. Turner of Ely, and Dr. Lloyd, with forty other non-juror clergymen, who would not stay the Office of the burial, because the Dean of St. Paul's had appointed a conforming minister to read the Office; at which all much wondered, there being nothing in that Office which mentioned the present King.

8th. I went to congratulate the marriage of Mr. Godolphin with the Earl of Marlborough's daughter.

9th. To Deptford, to see how miserably the Czar had left my house, after three months making it his Court. I got Sir Christopher Wren, the King's Surveyor, and Mr. London his gardener, to go and estimate the repairs, for which they allowed £150 in their report to the Lords of the Treasury. I then went to see the foundation of the Hall and Chapel at Greenwich Hospital.

6th August. I dined with Mr. Pepys, where was Captain Dampier<sup>a</sup>, who had been a famous buccaneer, had brought hither the painted Prince Job<sup>b</sup>, and printed a relation of his very strange adventure, and his observations. He was now going abroad again by the King's encouragement, who furnished a ship of 290 tons<sup>c</sup>. He seemed a more modest man than one would imagine by the relation of the crew he had assorted with. He brought a map of his observations of the course of the winds in the South Sea, and assured us that the maps hitherto extant were all false as to the Pacific Sea, which he makes on the south of the line, that on the north end running by the coast of Peru being extremely tempestuous.

25th September. Dr. Foy came to me to use my interest with Lord Sunderland for his being made Professor of Physic at Oxford, in the King's gift. I went also to the Archbishop in his behalf.

7th December. Being one of the Council of the Royal Society, I was named to be of the Committee to wait on our new President, the Lord Chancellor<sup>d</sup>, our Secretary, Dr. Sloane, and Sir R. Southwell, last Vice-president, carrying our book of statutes; the Office of the President being read, his Lordship subscribed his name, and took the oaths according to our statutes as a Corporation for the improvement of natural knowledge. Then his Lordship made a short compliment concerning the honour the Society had done him, and how ready he would be to promote so noble a design, and

<sup>a</sup> The celebrated navigator, born in 1652, the time of whose death is uncertain. His *Voyage round the World* has gone through many editions, and the substance of it has been transferred to many collections of voyages.

<sup>b</sup> Giolo, of whom there is a very curious portrait, engraved by Savage, to which is subjoined a singular narrative of his wonderful adventures; there is also a smaller one, copied from the above, prefixed to a fictitious account of his life, printed in a 4to pamphlet. Evelyn mentions him in his *Numismata*.

<sup>c</sup> Noticed in Parliamen<sup>t</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Lord Somers.

come himself among us, as often as the attendance on the public would permit ; and so we took our leave.

18th December. Very warm, but exceeding stormy.

1698-9. January. My cousin Pierrepont died. She was daughter to Sir John Evelyn, of Wilts, my father's nephew ; she was widow to William Pierrepont, brother to the Marquis of Dorchester, and mother to Evelyn Pierrepont, Earl of Kingston ; a most excellent and prudent lady.

The House of Commons persist in refusing more than 7,000 men to be a standing army, and no strangers to be in the number. This displeased the Court party. Our county member, Sir R. Onslow, opposed it also ; which might reconcile him to the people, who began to suspect him.

17th February. My grandson went to Oxford with Dr. Mander, the Master of Balliol College<sup>a</sup>, where he was entered a fellow-commoner.

19th. A most furious wind, such as has not happened for many years, doing great damage to houses and trees, by the fall of which several persons were killed.

5th March. The old East India Company lost their business against the new Company, by ten votes in Parliament, so many of their friends being absent, going to see a tiger baited by dogs.

The persecuted Vaudois, who were banished out of Savoy, were received by the German Protestant Princes.

24th. My only remaining son died after a tedious languishing sickness, contracted in Ireland, and increased here, to my exceeding grief and affliction ; leaving me one grandson, now at Oxford, whom I pray God to prosper and be the support of the Wotton family. He was aged forty-four years and about three months. He had been six years one of the Commissioners of the Revenue in Ireland, with great ability and reputation.

26th. After an extraordinary storm, there came up the Thames a whale which was fifty-six feet long. Such, and a larger of the spout kind, was killed there forty years ago (June 1658). That year died Cromwell.

30th. My deceased son was buried in the vault at Wotton, according to his desire.

The Duke of Devon lost £1,900 at a horse-race at Newmarket.

The King preferring his young favourite Earl of Albemarle<sup>b</sup> to be first Commander of his Guard, the Duke of Ormond laid down his commission. This of the Dutch Lord passing over his head, was exceedingly resented by everybody.

April. Lord Spencer purchased an incomparable library<sup>c</sup> of . . . wherein, among other rare books, were several that were printed at the first invention of that wonderful art, as particularly 'Tully's *Offices*,' &c. There was a Homer and a Suidas in a very good Greek character and good paper, almost as ancient. This gentleman is a very fine scholar, whom from a child I have known. His tutor was one Florival of Geneva.

29th. I dined with the Archbishop ; but my business was to get him to persuade the King to purchase the late Bishop of Worcester's library, and

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Roger Mander was elected Master of his College, in the place of Dr. John Venn, deceased, 23 Oct. 1687 (Wood's *Fasti Oxoniensis*).

<sup>b</sup> Arnold Joost Van Keppel, created Earl of Albemarle, Viscount Bury, &c. in Feb. 1695-6 ; K.G. 1700 ; died in 1718, at the Hague, æt. 48.

<sup>c</sup> The foundation of the noble library now at Blenheim.



build a place for his own library at St. James's, in the Park, the present one being too small.

3<sup>rd</sup> May. At a meeting of the Royal Society I was nominated to be of the Committee to wait on the Lord Chancellor to move the King to purchase the Bishop of Worcester's library (Dr. Edward Stillingfleet).

4<sup>th</sup>. The Court party have little influence in this Session.

7<sup>th</sup>. The Duke of Ormond restored to his commission. All Lotteries, till now cheating the people, to be no longer permitted than to Christmas, except that for the benefit of Greenwich Hospital. Mr. Bridgman, chairman of the committee for that charitable work, died; a great loss to it. He was Clerk of the Council, a very industrious useful man. I saw the library of Dr. John Moore<sup>a</sup>, Bishop of Norwich, one of the best and most ample collection of all sorts of good books in England, and he, one of the most learned men.

11<sup>th</sup> June. After a long drought, we had a refreshing shower. The day before, there was a dreadful fire at Rotherhithe, near the Thames side, which burnt divers ships, and consumed near three hundred houses. Now died the famous Duchess of Mazarine; she had been the richest lady in Europe. She was niece of Cardinal Mazarine, and was married to the richest subject in Europe, as is said. She was born at Rome, educated in France, and was an extraordinary beauty and wit, but dissolute and impatient of matrimonial restraint, so as to be abandoned by her husband, and banished, when she came into England for shelter, lived on a pension given her here, and is reported to have hastened her death by intemperate drinking strong spirits. She has written her own story and adventures, and so has her other extravagant sister, wife to the noble family of Colonna.

15<sup>th</sup>. This week died Conyers Seymour, son of Sir Edward Seymour, killed in a duel caused by a slight affront in St. James's Park, given him by one who was envious of his gallantries; for he was a vain foppish young man, who made a great *éclat* about town by his splendid equipage and boundless expense. He was about twenty-three years old; his brother, now at Oxford, inherited an estate of £7,000 a year, which had fallen to him not two years before.

19<sup>th</sup>. My cousin, George Evelyn of Nutfield, died suddenly.

25<sup>th</sup>. The heat has been so great, almost all this month, that I do not remember to have felt much greater in Italy, and this after a winter the wettest, though not the coldest, that I remember for fifty years last past.

28<sup>th</sup>. Finding my occasions called me so often to London, I took the remainder of the lease my son had in a house in Dover Street, to which I now removed, not taking my goods from Wotton.

23<sup>rd</sup> July. Seasonable showers, after a continuance of excessive drought and heat.

August. I drank the Shooters' Hill waters. At Deptford, they had been building a pretty new church. The Bishop of St. David's [Watson] deprived for simony<sup>b</sup>. The city of Moscow burnt by the throwing of squibs.

<sup>a</sup> Afterwards Bishop of Ely. He died 31 July, 1714. King George the First purchased this library after the Bishop's death, for £6000, and presented it to the University of Cambridge, where it now is. The gift occasioned two epigrams on the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge: a troop of horse being at this time sent to the former, holding high Tory opinions; the books to the latter, holding those of the Whigs. The reader will find them printed in Noble's *Continuation of Grainger*.

<sup>b</sup> *ante*, p. 513.

*3rd September.* There was in this week an eclipse of the sun, at which many were frightened by the predictions of the astrologers. I remember fifty years ago that many were so terrified by Lilly, that they durst not go out of their houses. A strange earthquake at New Batavia, in the East Indies.

*4th October.* My worthy brother died at Wotton, in the 83rd year of his age, of perfect memory and understanding. He was religious, sober, and temperate, and of so hospitable a nature, that no family in the country maintained that ancient custom of keeping, as it were, open house the whole year in the same manner, or gave more noble or free entertainment to the county on all occasions, so that his house was never free. There were sometimes twenty persons more than his family, and some that stayed there all the summer, to his no small expense; by this he gained the universal love of the county. He was born at Wotton, went from the free-school at Guildford to Trinity College, Oxford, thence to the Middle Temple, as gentlemen of the best quality did, but without intention to study the law as a profession. He married the daughter of Colwall<sup>a</sup>, of a worthy and ancient family in Leicestershire, by whom he had one son; she dying in 1643, left George her son an infant, who being educated liberally, after travelling abroad<sup>b</sup>, returned and married one<sup>c</sup> Mrs. Gore, by whom he<sup>d</sup> had several children, but only three daughters survived. He was a young man of good understanding, but, over-indulging his ease and pleasure, grew so very corpulent, contrary to the constitution of the rest of his father's relations, that he died. My brother afterwards married<sup>e</sup> a noble and honourable lady relict of Sir John Cotton, she being an Offley, a worthy and ancient Staffordshire family, by whom he had several children of both sexes. This lady died, leaving only two daughters and a son. The younger daughter died before marriage; the other afterwards married Sir Cyril Wych, a noble and learned gentleman (son of Sir — Wych), who had been Ambassador at Constantinople, and was afterwards made one of the Lords Justices of Ireland. Before this marriage, her only brother married the daughter of — Eversfield, of Sussex, of an honourable family, but left a widow without any child living; he died about 1691, and his wife not many years after, and my brother resettled the whole estate on me. His sister, Wych, had a portion of £6000, to which was added about £300 more; the three other daughters, with what I added, had about £5000 each. My brother died on the 5th October, in a good old age and great reputation, making his beloved daughter, Lady Wych, sole executrix, leaving me only his library and some pictures of my father, mother, &c. She buried him with extraordinary solemnity, rather as a nobleman than as a private gentleman. There were, as I computed, above 2000 persons at the funeral, all the gentlemen of the county doing him the last honours. I returned to London, till my lady should dispose of herself and family.

<sup>a</sup> Mary, daughter and co-heiress of Daniel Caldwell, of Horndon, in Essex.  
See pedigree.

<sup>b</sup> In a letter to his nephew, George Evelyn, then on his travels in Italy, dated 30th March, 1664, Evelyn tells him that his father complained of his expenses, as much exceeding those of his own, which were known to the young gentleman's father, as all the money passed through his hands. He says that when he travelled he kept a servant, sometimes two, entertained several masters, and made no inconsiderable collection of curiosities, all within £300 *per ann.* In the same letter, he desires seeds of the ilex, phyllera, myrtle, jessamine, which he says are rare in England.



21st October. After an unusual warm and pleasant season, we were surprised with a very sharp frost. I presented my *Acetaria*<sup>a</sup>, dedicated to my Lord Chancellor, who returned me thanks in an extraordinary civil letter.

15th November. There happened this week so thick a mist and fog, that people lost their way in the streets, it being so intense that no light of candles, or torches, yielded any (or but very little) direction. I was in it, and in danger. Robberies were committed between the very lights which were fixed between London and Kensington on both sides, and whilst coaches and travellers were passing. It begun about four in the afternoon, and was quite gone by eight, without any wind to disperse it. At the Thames, they beat drums to direct the watermen to make the shore.

19th. At our chapel in the evening there was a sermon preached by young Mr. Horneck<sup>b</sup>, chaplain to Lord Guilford, whose lady's funeral had been celebrated magnificently the Thursday before. A panegyric was now pronounced, describing the extraordinary piety and excellently employed life of this amiable young lady. She died in childbed a few days before, to the excessive sorrow of her husband, who ordered the preacher to declare that it was on her exemplary life, exhortations and persuasion, that he totally changed the course of his life, which was before in great danger of being perverted; following the mode of this dissolute age. Her devotion, early piety, charity, fastings, economy, disposition of her time in reading, praying, recollections in her own hand-writing of what she heard and read, and her conversation were most exemplary.

24th. I signed Dr. Blackwall's election to be the next year's Boyles Lecturer.

Such horrible robberies and murders were committed, as had not been known in this nation; atheism, profaneness, blasphemy, amongst all sorts, portended some judgment if not amended; on which a society was set on foot, who obliged themselves to endeavour the reforming of it, in London and other places, and began to punish offenders and put the laws in more strict execution: which God Almighty prosper<sup>c</sup>!—A gentle, calm, dry, temperate weather all this season of the year, but now came sharp, hard frost, and mist, but calm.

3rd December. Calm, bright, and warm as in the middle of April. So continued on 21st Jan. A great earthquake in Portugal.

The Parliament reverses the prodigious donations of the Irish forfeitures, which were intended to be set apart for discharging the vast national debt. They called some great persons in the highest offices in question for setting the Great Seal to the pardon of an arch-pirate<sup>d</sup>, who had turned pirate again, and brought prizes into the West Indies, suspected to be connived at on sharing the prey; but the prevailing part in the House called Courtiers out-voted the complaints, not by being more in number, but by the country-party being negligent in attendance.

1699–1700. 14th January. Dr. Lancaster, Vicar of St. Martin's, dismissed Mr. Stringfellow, who had been made the first preacher at our chapel by the Bishop of Lincoln [Dr. Tenison, now Archbishop], whilst

<sup>a</sup> See Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings*, pp. 721–812.

<sup>b</sup> Of the character of this gentleman's father, see p. 398.

<sup>c</sup> *post*, p. 521.

<sup>d</sup> Captain Kidd; he was hanged about two years afterwards with some of his accomplices. This was one of the charges brought by the Commons against Lord Somers.

he held St. Martin's by dispensation, and put in one Mr. Sandys, much against the inclination of those who frequented the chapel.—The Scotch book about Darien<sup>a</sup> was burnt by the hangman by vote of Parliament<sup>a</sup>.

21st January. Died the Duke of Beaufort<sup>b</sup>, a person of great honour, prudence, and estate.

25th. I went to Wotton, the first time after my brother's funeral, to furnish the house with necessaries, Lady Wych and my nephew Glanville, the executors having sold and disposed of what goods were there of my brother's. The weather was now altering into sharp and hard frost.

One Stephens<sup>c</sup>, who preached before the House of Commons on King Charles's Martyrdom, told them that the observation of that day was not intended out of any detestation of his murder, but to be a lesson to other Kings and Rulers, how they ought to behave themselves towards their subjects, lest they should come to the same end. This was so resented that, though it was usual to desire these anniversary-sermons to be printed, they refused thanks to him, and ordered that in future no one should preach before them, who was not either a Dean or a Doctor of Divinity.

4th February. The Parliament voted agansit the Scots settling in Darien as being prejudicial to our trade with Spain. They also voted that the exorbitant number of attorneys be lessened (now indeed swarming, and evidently causing lawsuits and disturbance, eating out the estates of people, provoking them to go to law).

18th. Mild and calm season, with gentle frost, and little mizzling rain. The Vicar of St. Martin's frequently preached at Trinity chapel in the afternoon.

8th March. The season was like April for warmth and mildness.

11th. On Wednesday, was a sermon at our chapel, to be continued during Lent.

13th. I was at the funeral of my Lady Temple, who was buried at Islington, brought from Addiscombe, near Croydon. She left my son-in-law Draper (her nephew) the mansion house of Addiscombe, very nobly and completely furnished, with the estate about it, with plate and jewels, to the value in all of about £20,000. She was a very prudent lady, gave many great legacies, with £500 to the poor of Islington, where her husband, Sir Purbeck Temple, was buried, both dying without issue.

24th. The season warm, gentle, and exceeding pleasant.—Divers persons of quality entered into the Society for Reformation<sup>d</sup> of Manners; and some lectures were set up, particularly in the City of London. The most eminent of the Clergy preached at Bow Church, after reading a declaration set forth by the King to suppress the growing wickedness; this began already

<sup>a</sup> The volume alluded to was *An Enquiry into the causes of the Miscarriage of the Scots Colony at Darien: Or an Answer to a Libel, intituled, A Defence of the Scots abdicating Darien*. See Votes of the House of Commons, 15th January, 1699–1700.

<sup>b</sup> Henry Somerset, the first Duke, who exerted himself against the Monmouth Rebellion in 1685, and in 1688 endeavoured to secure Bristol against the adherents of the Prince of Orange; upon whose elevation to the throne, the Duke, refusing to take the oaths, lived in retirement till his death.

<sup>c</sup> William Stephens, Rector of Sutton, in Surrey. After the censure of his sermon by the House of Commons, he published it as in defiance. See more of this and of him in Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*, ii, 487.

<sup>d</sup> ante, p. 520.



to take some effect as to common swearing, and oaths in the mouths of people of all ranks.

*25th March.* Dr. Burnet preached to-day before the Lord Mayor and a very great congregation, on *Proverbs* xxvii. 5, 6. 'Open rebuke is better than secret love; the wounds of a friend are better than the kisses of an enemy.' He made a very pathetic discourse concerning the necessity and advantage of friendly correction.

*April.* The Duke of Norfolk now succeeded in obtaining a divorce from his wife by the Parliament for adultery with Sir John Germaine, a Dutch gamester, of mean extraction, who had got much by gaming; the Duke had leave to marry again, so that if he should have children, the Dukedom will go from the late Lord Thomas's children, Papists indeed, but very hopeful and virtuous gentlemen, as was their father. The now Duke their uncle is a Protestant.

The Parliament nominated fourteen persons to go into Ireland, as Commissioners to dispose of the forfeited estates there, towards payment of the debts incurred by the late war, but which the King had in great measure given to some of his favourites of both sexes, Dutch and others of little merit, and very unseasonably. That this might be done without suspicion of interest in the Parliament, it was ordered that no member of either House should be in the Commission. The great contest between the Lords and Commons concerning the Lords' power of amendments and rejecting bills tacked to the money-bill, carried for the Commons. However, this tacking of bills is a novel practice, suffered by King Charles II, who, being continually in want of money, let anything pass rather than not have wherewith to feed his extravagance. This was carried but by one voice in the Lords, all the Bishops following the Court, save one; so that near sixty bills passed, to the great triumph of the Commons and Country-party, but high regret of the Court, and those to whom the King had given large estates in Ireland. Pity it is, that things should be brought to this extremity, the government of this nation being so equally poised between King and subject; but we are satisfied with nothing: and, whilst there is no perfection on this side Heaven, methinks both might be contented without straining things too far. Amongst the rest, there passed a law as to Papists' estates, that if one turned not Protestant before eighteen years of age, it should pass to his next Protestant heir. This indeed seemed a hard law, but not only the usage of the French King to his Protestant subjects, but the indiscreet insolence of the Papists here, going in triumphant and public processions with their Bishops, with banners and trumpets in divers places (as is said) in the northern counties, has brought it on their party.

*24th.* This week there was a great change of State-officers. The Duke of Shrewsbury resigned his Lord Chamberlainship to the Earl of Jersey, the Duke's indisposition requiring his retreat. Mr. Vernon, Secretary of State, was put out. The Seal was taken from the Lord Chancellor Somers, though he had been acquitted by a great majority of votes for what was charged against him in the House of Commons<sup>a</sup>. This being in term-time, put some stop to business, many eminent lawyers refusing to accept the office, considering the uncertainty of things in this fluctuating conjuncture. It is certain that this Chancellor was a most

<sup>a</sup> *post*, p. 524.

excellent lawyer, very learned in all polite literature, a superior pen, master of a handsome style, and of easy conversation ; but he is said to make too much haste to be rich, as his predecessor, and most in place in this age did, to a more prodigious excess than was ever known. But the Commons had now so mortified the Court-party, and property and liberty were so much invaded in all the neighbouring kingdoms, that their jealousy made them cautious, and every day strengthened the law which protected the people from tyranny.

A most glorious spring, with hope of abundance of fruit of all kinds, and a propitious year.

10th May. The great trial between Sir Walter Clarges and Mr. Sherwin concerning the legitimacy of the late Duke of Albemarle, on which depended an estate of £1500 a year ; the verdict was given for Sir Walter. 19th. Serjeant Wright<sup>a</sup> at last accepted the Great Seal.

24th. I went from Dover Street to Wotton, for the rest of the summer, and removed thither the rest of my goods from Sayes Court.

2nd June. A sweet season, with a mixture of refreshing showers.

9th–16th. In the afternoon, our clergyman had a Catechism, which was continued for some time.

July. I was visited with illness, but it pleased God that I recovered, for which praise be ascribed to Him by me, and that He has again so graciously advertised me of my duty to prepare for my latter end, which at my great age cannot be far off.

The Duke of Gloucester, son of the Princess Anne of Denmark, died of the small-pox.

13th. I went to Marden, which was originally a barren warren bought by Sir Robert Clayton, who built there a pretty house, and made such alteration by planting not only an infinite store of the best fruit ; but so changed the natural situation of the hill, valleys, and solitary mountains about it, that it rather represented some foreign country, which would produce spontaneously pines, firs, cypress, yew, holly, and juniper ; they were come to their perfect growth, with walks, mazes, &c., amongst them, and were preserved with the utmost care, so that I who had seen it some years before in its naked and barren condition, was in admiration of it. The land was bought of Sir John Evelyn, of Godstone, and was thus improved for pleasure and retirement by the vast charge and industry of this opulent citizen. He and his lady received us with great civility. The tombs in the church at Croydon of Archbishops Grindal, Whitgift, and other Archbishops, are fine and venerable ; but none comparable to that of the late Archbishop Sheldon, which, being all of white marble, and of a stately ordinance and carvings, far surpassed the rest, and I judge could not cost less than 700*l.* or 800*l.*<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Sir Nathan Wright, appointed Lord-Keeper, who purchased the manor of and resided at Gothurst, near Newport Pagnall, Bucks. He lies buried in that church, in which are whole-length figures in white marble of the Lord-Keeper in his robes and his son, George Wright, Esquire, Clerk of the Crown, in his official dress.

<sup>b</sup> There is a print of this very beautiful monument in Lysons' *Environs of London*, article Croydon, vol. i, p. 193. In the same volume, p. 52, &c., will be found also an ample account of the family of Carew, named in the succeeding entry, of the house as it now is, with a portrait of Sir Richard Carew, views of the church, monuments, &c.



*20th September.* I went to Beddington, the ancient seat of the Carews, in my remembrance a noble old structure, capacious, and in form of the buildings of the age of Henry VIII and Queen Elizabeth, and proper for the old English hospitality, but now decaying with the house itself, heretofore adorned with ample gardens, and the first orange-trees<sup>a</sup> that had been seen in England, planted in the open ground, and secured in winter only by a tabernacle of boards and stoves removable in summer, that, standing 120 years, large and goodly trees, and laden with fruit, were now in decay, as well as the grotto, fountains, cabinets, and other curiosities in the house and abroad, it being now fallen to a child under age, and only kept by a servant or two from utter dilapidation. The estate and park about it also in decay.

*23rd.* I went to visit Mr. Pepys at Clapham, where he has a very noble and wonderfully well-furnished house, especially with Indian and Chinese curiosities. The offices and gardens well accommodated for pleasure and retirement.

*31st October.* My birthday, now completed the 80th year of my age. I with my soul render thanks to God, who, of His infinite mercy, not only brought me out of many troubles, but this year restored me to health, after an ague and other infirmities of so great an age, my sight, hearing, and other senses and faculties tolerable, which I implore Him to continue, with the pardon of my sins past, and grace to acknowledge by my improvement of His goodness the ensuing year, if it be His pleasure to protract my life, that I may be the better prepared for my last day, through the infinite merits of my blessed Saviour, the Lord Jesus, Amen !

*5th November.* Came the news of my dear grandson (the only male of my family now remaining) being fallen ill of the small-pox at Oxford, which after the dire effects of it in my family exceedingly afflicted me ; but so it pleased my most merciful God that being let blood at his first complaint, and by the extraordinary care of Dr. Mander, (Head of the college and now Vice-Chancellor) who caused him to be brought and lodged in his own bed and bed-chamber, with the advice of his physician and care of his tutor, there were all fair hopes of his recovery, to our infinite comfort. We had a letter every day either from the Vice-Chancellor himself, or his tutor.

*17th.* Assurance of his recovery by a letter from himself.

There was a change of great officers at Court. Lord Godolphin returned to his former station of first Commissioner of the Treasury ; Sir Charles Hedges Secretary of State.

*30th.* At the Royal Society, Lord Somers, the late Chancellor, was continued President.

*8th December.* Great alterations of officers at Court, and elsewhere—Lord Chief Justice Treby died ; he was a learned man in his profession, of which we have now few, never fewer ; the Chancery requiring so little skill in deep law-learning, if the practiser can talk eloquently in that Court ; so that probably few care to study the law to any purpose. Lord Marlborough Master of the Ordnance, in place of Lord Romney made Groom of the Stole. The Earl of Rochester goes Lord Lieutenant to Ireland.

*1700-1. January.* I finished the sale of North Stoake in Sussex to Robert Michell, Esq., appointed by my brother to be sold for payment of portions to my nieces, and other incumbrances on the estate.

<sup>a</sup> Oranges were eaten in this kingdom much earlier than the time of King James I.

4th January. An exceeding deep snow, and melted away as suddenly.

19th. Severe frost, and such a tempest as threw down many chimneys, and did great spoil at sea, and blew down above twenty trees of mine at Wotton.

9th February. The old Speaker laid aside<sup>a</sup>, and Mr. Harley<sup>b</sup>, an able gentleman, chosen. Our countryman, Sir Richard Onslow, had a party for him.

27th. By an order of the House of Commons, I laid before the Speaker the state of what had been received and paid towards the building of Greenwich Hospital<sup>c</sup>.

Mr. Wye, Rector of Wotton, died, a very worthy good man. I gave it to Dr. Bohun, a learned person and excellent preacher, who had been my son's tutor, and lived long in my family.

18th March. I let Sayes Court to Lord Carmarthen, son to the Duke of Leeds. 28th. I went to the funeral of my sister Draper<sup>d</sup>, who was buried at Edmonton in great state. Dr. Davenant displeased the clergy, now met in Convocation by a passage in his book, p. 40<sup>e</sup>.

April. A Dutch boy of about eight or nine years old was carried about

<sup>a</sup> Sir Thomas Lyttelton, Bart.

<sup>b</sup> Robert Harley, Speaker in three Parliaments in the reign of Queen Anne, Secretary of State, Lord High Treasurer; attempted to be stabbed by Guiscard, a Frenchman, under examination before the Lords of the Privy Council. Afterwards created Earl of Oxford and Mortimer; impeached upon the succession of the House of Hanover; died 1724.

<sup>c</sup> JOHN EVELYN, Esq. Dr. to GREENWICH HOSPITAL

Received in the year	£	s.	d.
1696 . . .	3,416	0	0
1697 . . .	6,836	16	3
1698 . . .	14,967	8	4
1699 . . .	14,024	13	4
1700 . . .	19,241	1	3
1701, June 16 .	10,834	2	3
	£69,320	1	5

Per Contra

Per Contra, Creditor

By the Accompt in	£	s.	d.
1696 . . .	5,915	18	7
1697 . . .	8,971	10	4
1698 . . .	11,585	15	1
1699 . . .	19,614	9	8
1700 . . .	18,013	8	5
1701 . . .	3,000	0	0
Remain in Cash .	219	1	4
	£69,320	3	5
	£69,320	3	5

Remain in Lottery Tickets to be paid  
in ten years . . . } £11,434

More in Malt Tickets . . . } 1,000

69,320

12,434

In all . . . 81,754

Besides His Majesty 6,000, and Subscriptions.

<sup>d</sup> Mother of Evelyn's son-in-law.

<sup>e</sup> Charles Davenant, LL.D. (son of Sir William). The book was *Essays upon the Balance of Power*, and the objectionable passage was that in which he says that many of those lately in power have used their utmost endeavours to discountenance all revealed religion. 'Are not many of us able to point to several persons, whom nothing has recommended to places of the highest trust, and often to rich benefices and dignities, but the open enmity which they have, almost from their cradles, professed to the Divinity of Christ?' The Convocation on reading the book, ordered papers to be fixed on several doors in Westminster Abbey, inviting the author, whoever he be, or any one of the many, to point out such persons, that they may be proceeded against.



by his parents to show, who had about the iris of one eye, the letters of *Deus meus*, and of the other *Elohim*, in the Hebrew character. How this was done by artifice none could imagine ; his parents affirming that he was so born. It did not prejudice his sight, and he seemed to be a lively playing boy. Everybody went to see him ; physicians and philosophers examined it with great accuracy, some considered it as artificial, others as almost supernatural.

4th April. The Duke of Norfolk died of an apoplexy, and Mr. Thomas Howard of complicated disease since his being cut for the stone ; he was one of the Tellers of the Exchequer. Mr. How made a Baron.

May. Some Kentish men delivering a petition to the House of Commons, were imprisoned<sup>a</sup>.

A great dearth, no considerable rain having fallen for some months.

17th. Very plentiful showers, the wind coming west and south. The Bishops and Convocation at difference concerning the right of calling the assembly and dissolving. Atterbury<sup>b</sup> and Dr. Wake<sup>c</sup> writing one against the other.

20th June. The Commons demanded a conference with the Lords on the trial of Lord Somers, which the Lords refused, and proceeding on the trial, the Commons would not attend, and he was acquitted<sup>d</sup>.

22nd. I went to congratulate the arrival of that worthy and excellent person my Lord Galway, newly come out of Ireland, where he had behaved himself so honestly, and to the exceeding satisfaction of the people ; but he was removed thence for being a Frenchman<sup>e</sup>, though they had not a more worthy, valiant, discreet, and trusty person in the two kingdoms, on whom they could have relied for his conduct and fitness. He was one who had deeply suffered, as well as the Marquis his father, for being Protestants.

July. My Lord Treasurer made my grandson one of the Commissioners of the prizes, salary £500 per annum.

8th. My grandson went to Sir Simon Harcourt, the Solicitor-General, to Windsor, to wait on my Lord Treasurer. There had been for some time a proposal of marrying my grandson to a daughter of Mrs. Boscawen, sister of my Lord Treasurer, which was now far advanced.

14th. I subscribed towards re-building Oakwood Chapel<sup>f</sup>, now, after 200 years, almost fallen down.

August. The weather changed from heat not much less than in Italy or Spain for some few days, to wet, dripping, and cold, with intermissions of fair.

<sup>a</sup> Justinian Champneys, Thomas Culpepper, William Culpepper, William Hamilton, and David Polhill, gentlemen of considerable property and family in the county. There is a very good print of them in fine ovals on one plate, engraved by R. White, in 1701. They desired the Parliament to mind the public more, and their private heats less. They were confined till the prorogation, and were much visited. Burnet gives an account of them.

<sup>b</sup> Afterwards Bishop of Rochester.

<sup>c</sup> Afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

<sup>d</sup> *ante*, p. 522.

<sup>e</sup> Henry Rouvigné, Earl of Galway, in Ireland, son of the Marquis, who was Ambassador from France to Charles II. He was created a Peer by King William for his gallantry at the battle of the Boyne, where his brother also fought and was killed. He commanded afterwards both in Italy and in Spain, where the fatal battle of Almanza put an end to his military glory. There is a mezzotinto portrait of him by Simon.

<sup>f</sup> In the lower part of the parish of Wotton.

2nd September. I went to Kensington, and saw the house, plantation, and gardens, the work of Mr. Wise<sup>a</sup>, who was there to receive me.

The death of King James happening on the 15th of this month, N.S., after two or three days' indisposition, put an end to that unhappy Prince's troubles, after a short and unprosperous reign, indiscreetly attempting to bring in Popery, and make himself absolute, in imitation of the French, hurried on by the impatience of the Jesuits; which the nation would not endure.

Died the Earl of Bath, whose contest with Lord Montague about the Duke of Albemarle's estate, claiming under a will supposed to have been forged, is said to have been worth £10,000 to the lawyers. His eldest son shot himself a few days after his father's death; for what cause is not clear. He was a most hopeful young man, and had behaved so bravely against the Turks at the siege of Vienna, that the Emperor made him a Count of the Empire. It was falsely reported that Sir Edward Seymour was dead, a great man; he had often been Speaker, Treasurer of the Navy, and in many other lucrative offices. He was of a hasty spirit, not at all sincere, but head of the party at any time prevailing in Parliament.

29th. I kept my first courts in Surrey, which took up the whole week. My steward was Mr. Hervey<sup>b</sup>, a Counsellor, Justice of Peace, and Member of Parliament, and my neighbour. I gave him six guineas, which was a guinea a day, and to Mr. Martin, his clerk, three guineas.

31st October. I was this day 81 complete, in tolerable health, considering my great age.

December. Great contentions about elections. I gave my vote and interest to Sir R. Onslow and Mr. Weston<sup>c</sup>.

27th. My grandson quitted Oxford.

1701-2. 21st January. At the Royal Society there was read and approved the delineation and description of my Tables of Veins and Arteries<sup>d</sup>, by Mr. Cooper, the chirurgion, in order to their being engraved.

8th March. The King had a fall from his horse, and broke his collar-bone, and having been much indisposed before, and agueish, with a long cough and other weakness, died this Sunday morning, about four o'clock.

I carried my accounts of Greenwich Hospital to the Committee.

12th April. My brother-in-law, Glanville, departed this life this morning after a long languishing illness, leaving a son by my sister, and two grand-daughters<sup>e</sup>. Our relation and friendship had been long and great. He

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Wise was the great gardener of Brompton Park, *ante*, p. 502. See Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings*, pp. 714, 715.

<sup>b</sup> Of Betchworth.

<sup>c</sup> Of Ockham; but Mr. Wessell of Bansted (a merchant) carried it against Mr. Weston.

<sup>d</sup> *ante*, pp. 146, 168, 193, 300.

<sup>e</sup> One of these daughters became heiress of the family, and married William Evelyn of St. Cleer, in Kent, son of George Evelyn, of Nutfield. He assumed the name of Glanville; but there being only daughters by this marriage, he had two sons by a second wife, and they resumed the name of Evelyn. The first of those sons left a son who died unmarried before he came of age, and a daughter who married Colonel Hume, who took the name of Evelyn, but had no child; the second son of Mr. Glanville Evelyn married Lady Jane Leslie, who became Countess of Rothes, in her own right, and left a son, George William, who became Earl of Rothes in right of his mother, and died in 1817, leaving no issue male.



was a man of excellent parts. He died in the 84th year of his age, and willed his body to be wrapped in lead and carried down to Greenwich, put on board a ship, and buried in the sea, between Dover and Calais, about the Goodwin Sands; which was done on the Tuesday, or Wednesday after. This occasioned much discourse, he having no relation at all to the sea. He was a gentleman of an ancient family in Devonshire, and married my sister Jane. By his prudent parsimony he much improved his fortune. He had a place in the Alienation-Office, and might have been an extraordinary man, had he cultivated his parts.

My steward at Wotton gave a very honest account of what he had laid out on repairs, amounting to 1900*l*.

*3rd May.* The Report of the Committee sent to examine the state of Greenwich Hospital was delivered to the House of Commons, much to their satisfaction. Lord Godolphin made Lord High Treasurer.

Being elected a member of the Society lately incorporated for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, I subscribed 10*l*. per annum towards the carrying it on. We agreed that every missionary, besides the 20*l*. to set him forth, should have 50*l*. per annum out of the stock of the Corporation, till his settlement was worth to him 100*l*. per annum. We sent a young divine to New York.

*22nd June.* I dined at the Archbishop's with the new-made Bishop of Carlisle, Dr. Nicolson, my worthy and learned correspondent.

*27th.* I went to Wotton with my family for the rest of the summer, and my son-in-law, Draper, with his family, came to stay with us, his house at Addiscombe being new-building, so that my family was above thirty. Most of the new Parliament were chosen of Church of England principles, against the peevish party. The Queen was magnificently entertained at Oxford and all the towns she passed through on her way to Bath.

*31st October.* Arrived now to the 82nd year of my age, having read over all that passed since this day twelvemonth in these notes, I render solemn thanks to the Lord, imploring the pardon of my past sins, and the assistance of His grace; making new resolutions, and imploring that He will continue His assistance, and prepare me for my blessed Saviour's coming, that I may obtain a comfortable departure, after so long a term as has been hitherto indulged me. I find my many infirmities this year (especially nephritic pains) that I much decline; and yet of His infinite mercy retain my intellects and senses in great measure above most of my age. I have this year repaired much of the mansion-house and several tenants' houses, and paid some of my debts and engagements. My wife, children, and family in health: for all which I most sincerely beseech Almighty God to accept of these my acknowledgments, and that if it be His holy will to continue me yet longer, it may be to the praise of His infinite grace, and salvation of my soul. Amen!

*8th November.* My kinsman, John Evelyn, of Nutfield, a young and very hopeful gentleman, and Member of Parliament<sup>a</sup>, after having come to Wotton to see me, about fifteen days past, went to London and there died, of the small-pox. He left a brother, a commander in the army in Holland, to inherit a fair estate.

Our affairs in so prosperous a condition both by sea and land, that there has not been so great an union in Parliament, Court, and people, in memory

<sup>a</sup> For Blechingley, in Surrey.

of man, which God in mercy make us thankful for, and continue ! The Bishop of Exeter preached before the Queen and both Houses of Parliament at St. Paul's ; they were wonderfully huzzaed in their passage, and splendidly entertained in the city.

*December.* The expectation now is, what treasure will be found on breaking bulk of the galleon brought from Vigo by Sir George Rooke, which being made up in an extraordinary manner in the hold, was not begun to be opened till the 5th of this month, before two of the Privy Council, two of the chief magistrates of the city, and the Lord Treasurer.

After the excess of honour conferred by the Queen on the Earl of Marlborough by making him a Knight of the Garter and a Duke, for the success of but one campaign, that he should desire £5000 a-year to be settled on him by Parliament out of the Post-office, was thought a bold and unadvised request, as he had, besides his own considerable estate, above £30,000 a-year in places and employments, with £50,000 at interest. He had married one daughter to the son of my Lord Treasurer Godolphin, another to the Earl of Sunderland, and a third to the Earl of Bridgewater. He is a very handsome person, well-spoken and affable, and supports his want of acquired knowledge by keeping good company.

1702-3. News of Vice-Admiral Benbow's conflict with the French fleet in the West Indies, in which he gallantly behaved himself, and was wounded, and would have had extraordinary success, had not four of his men-of-war stood spectators without coming to his assistance ; for this, two of their commanders were tried by a Council of War, and executed<sup>a</sup> ; a third was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, loss of pay, and incapacity to serve in future. The fourth died.

Sir Richard Onslow and Mr. Oglethorpe (son of the late Sir Theo. O.) fought on occasion of some words which passed at a Committee of the House. Mr. Oglethorpe was disarmed. The Bill against occasional Conformity was lost by one vote. Corn and provisions so cheap that the farmers are unable to pay their rents.

*February.* A famous cause at the King's Bench between Mr. Fenwick and his wife<sup>b</sup>, which went for him with a great estate. The Duke of Marlborough lost his only son at Cambridge by the small-pox.—A great earthquake at Rome, &c. A famous young woman, an Italian, was hired by our comedians to sing on the stage, during so many plays, for which they gave her £500 ; which part by her voice alone at the end of three scenes she performed with such modesty and grace, and above all with such skill, that there was never any who did anything comparable with their voices. She was to go home to the Court of the King of Prussia, and I believe carried with her out of this vain nation above £1000, everybody coveting to hear her at their private houses.

*26th May.* This day died Mr. Samuel Pepys, a very worthy, industrious

<sup>a</sup> The Captains Kirby and Wade, having been tried and condemned to die by a Court-Martial held on them in the West Indies, were sent home in the ' Bristol ' ; and, on its arrival at Portsmouth, were both shot on board, not being suffered to land on English ground.

<sup>b</sup> She was daughter and heir of Sir Adam Brown, of Betchworth Castle, in Dorking, and married Mr. Fenwick. This suit probably related to a settlement which she had consented to make, by which the estate was limited to them and their issue, and the heir of the survivor. They had one son, who died without issue, and she survived her husband, thereby becoming entitled to dispose of it.



and curious person, none in England exceeding him in knowledge of the navy, in which he had passed through all the most considerable offices, Clerk of the Acts and Secretary of the Admiralty, all which he performed with great integrity. When King James II went out of England, he laid down his office, and would serve no more ; but withdrawing himself from all public affairs, he lived at Clapham with his partner, Mr. Hewer, formerly his clerk, in a very noble house and sweet place, where he enjoyed the fruit of his labours in great prosperity. He was universally beloved, hospitable, generous, learned in many things, skilled in music, a very great cherisher of learned men of whom he had the conversation. His library<sup>a</sup> and collection of other curiosities were of the most considerable, the models of ships especially. Besides what he published of an account of the navy, as he found and left it, he had for divers years under his hand the History of the Navy, or *Navalia*, as he called it ; but how far advanced, and what will follow of his, is left, I suppose, to his sister's son, Mr. Jackson, a young gentleman, whom Mr. Pepys had educated in all sorts of useful learning, sending him to travel abroad, from whence he returned with extraordinary accomplishments, and worthy to be heir. Mr. Pepys had been for near forty years so much my particular friend, that Mr. Jackson sent me complete mourning, desiring me to be one to hold up the pall at his magnificent obsequies ; but my indisposition hindered me from doing him this last office.

13th June. Rains have been great and continual, and now, near midsummer, cold and wet.

11th July. I went to Addiscombe, sixteen miles from Wotton, to see my son-in-law's new house, the outside, to the coving, being such excellent brickwork, based with Portland stone, with the pilasters, windows, and within, that I pronounced it in all the points of good and solid architecture to be one of the very best gentlemen's houses in Surrey, when finished. I returned to Wotton in the evening, though weary.

25th. The last week in this month an uncommon long-continued rain, and the Sunday following, thunder and lightning.

12th August. The new Commission for Greenwich Hospital was sealed and opened, at which my son-in-law, Draper, was present, to whom I resigned my office of Treasurer. From August 1696, there had been expended in building £89,364 14s. 8d.

31st October. This day, being eighty-three years of age, upon examining what concerned me, more particularly the past year, with the great mercies of God preserving me, and in the same measure making my infirmities tolerable, I gave God most hearty and humble thanks, beseeching Him to confirm to me the pardon of my sins past, and to prepare me for a better life by the virtue of His grace and mercy, for the sake of my blessed Saviour.

21st November. The wet and uncomfortable weather staying us from church this morning, our Doctor officiated in my family ; at which were present above twenty domestics. He made an excellent discourse on 1 Cor. xv., v. 55, 56, of the vanity of this world and uncertainty of life, and the inexpressible happiness and satisfaction of a holy life, with per-

<sup>a</sup> His valuable library he gave to Magdalen College, Cambridge, together with his fine collection of prints, where they now remain in a handsome room, and are to this day among the more interesting of the treasures of that University.

tinent inferences to prepare us for death and a future state. I gave him thanks, and told him I took it kindly as my funeral sermon.

*26-27th November.* The effects of the hurricane and tempest of wind, rain, and lightning, through all the nation, especially London, were very dismal. Many houses demolished, and people killed. As to my own losses, the subversion of woods and timber, both ornamental and valuable, through my whole estate, and about my house the woods crowning the garden-mount, and growing along the park-meadow, the damage to my own dwelling, farms, and outhouses, is almost tragical, not to be paralleled with any thing happening in our age. I am not able to describe it; but submit to the pleasure of Almighty God.

*7th December.* I removed to Dover Street, where I found all well; but houses, trees, garden, &c., at Sayes Court, suffered very much.

*31st.* I made up my accounts, paid wages, gave rewards and new-year's gifts, according to custom.

*1703-4. January.* The King of Spain<sup>a</sup> landing at Portsmouth, came to Windsor, where he was magnificently entertained by the Queen, and behaved himself so nobly, that everybody was taken with his graceful deportment. After two days, having presented the great ladies, and others, with very valuable jewels, he went back to Portsmouth, and immediately embarked for Spain.

*16th.* The Lord Treasurer gave my grandson the office of Treasurer of the Stamp Duties, with a salary of £300 a-year.

*30th.* The fast on the martyrdom of King Charles I was observed with more than usual solemnity.

*May.* Dr. Bathurst, President of Trinity College, Oxford, now died<sup>b</sup>, I think the oldest acquaintance now left me in the world. He was eighty-six years of age, stark blind, deaf, and memory lost, after having been a person of admirable parts and learning. This is a serious alarm to me. God grant that I may profit by it! He built a very handsome chapel to the college, and his own tomb. He gave a legacy of money, and the third part of his library, to his nephew, Dr. Bohun, who went hence to his funeral.

*7th September.* This day was celebrated the thanksgiving for the late great victory<sup>c</sup>, with the utmost pomp and splendour by the Queen, Court, great Officers, Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Companies, &c. The streets were scaffolded from Temple Bar, where the Lord Mayor presented her Majesty with the sword, which she returned. Every Company was ranged under its banners, the City militia without the rails, which were all hung with cloth suitable to the colour of the banner. The Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, were in their scarlet robes, with caparisoned horses; the Knight Marshal on horseback; the Foot-Guards; the Queen in a rich coach with eight horses, none with her but the Duchess of Marlborough in a very plain garment, the Queen full of jewels. Music and trumpets at every City Company. The great officers of the Crown, Nobility, and Bishops, all in coaches with six horses, besides innumerable servants,

<sup>a</sup> Charles the Third, afterwards Emperor of Germany, by the title of Charles the Sixth.

<sup>b</sup> There is a very good Life of him, with his portrait prefixed, by Thomas Warton, Fellow of Trinity College, and Poetry Professor at Oxford.

<sup>c</sup> Over the French and Bavarians, at Blenheim, 13th August, 1704.



went to St. Paul's, where the Dean preached. After this, the Queen went back in the same order to St. James's. The City Companies feasted all the Nobility and Bishops, and illuminated at night. Music for the church and anthems composed by the best masters. The day before was wet and stormy, but this was one of the most serene and calm days that had been all the year.

*October.* The year has been very plentiful.

*31st.* Being my birthday and the 84th year of my life, after particular reflections on my concerns and passages of the year, I set some considerable time of this day apart, to recollect and examine my state and condition, giving God thanks, and acknowledging His infinite mercies to me and mine, begging His blessing, and imploring His protection for the year following.

*December.* Lord Clarendon presented me with the three volumes of his father's History of the Rebellion.

My Lord of Canterbury wrote to me for suffrage for Mr. Clarke's continuance this year in the Boyle Lecture, which I willingly gave for his excellent performance of this year.

*9th February.* I went to wait on my Lord Treasurer, where was the victorious Duke of Marlborough, who came to me and took me by the hand with extraordinary familiarity and civility, as formerly he was used to do, without any alteration of his good-nature. He had a most rich George in a sardonyx set with diamonds of very great value; for the rest, very plain. I had not seen him for some years, and believed he might have forgotten me.

*21st.* Remarkable fine weather. Agues and small-pox much in every place.

*11th March.* An exceeding dry season. Great loss by fire, burning the outhouses and famous stable of the Earl of Nottingham, at Burleigh [Rutlandshire], full of rich goods and furniture, by the carelessness of a servant. A little before, the same happened at Lord Pembroke's, at Wilton. The old Countess of Northumberland, Dowager of Algernon Percy, Admiral of the Fleet to King Charles I, died in the 83rd year of her age. She was sister to the Earl of Suffolk, and left a great estate, her jointure to descend to the Duke of Somerset<sup>a</sup>.

*May.* The Bailiff of Westminster hanged himself. He had an ill report.

On the death of the Emperor, there was no mourning worn at Court, because there was none at the Imperial Court on the death of King William.

*18th.* I went to see Sir John Chardine<sup>b</sup>, at Turnham-Green, the garden being very fine, and exceeding well planted with fruit.

*20th.* Most extravagant expense to debauch and corrupt votes for Parliament members. I sent my grandson with his party of my freeholders to vote for Mr. Harvey, of Combe<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> This Duke had married Elizabeth Percy, widow of Lord Cole, only daughter and heir to Joceline Percy, the eleventh and last Earl of Northumberland.

<sup>b</sup> See p. 410.

<sup>c</sup> Sir Richard Onslow and Sir William Scawen were the other candidates, and succeeded. Harvey was a violent Tory.

1704-5. 4<sup>th</sup> January. I dined at Lambeth with the Archbishop of Dublin, Dr. King, a sharp ready man in politics, as well as very learned.

June. The season very dry and hot. I went to see Dr. Dickinson the famous chemist. We had long conversation about the philosopher's elixir, which he believed attainable, and had seen projection himself by one who went under the name of Mundanus, who sometimes came among the adepts, but was unknown as to his country, or abode; of this the Doctor has written a treatise in Latin, full of very astonishing relations. He is a very learned person, formerly a Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford<sup>b</sup>, in which city he practised physic, but has now altogether given it over, and lives retired, being very old and infirm, yet continuing chymistry.

I went to Greenwich Hospital, where they now began to take in wounded and worn-out seamen, who are exceeding well provided for. The buildings now going on are very magnificent.

October. Mr. Cowper<sup>c</sup> made Lord Keeper. Observing how uncertain great officers are of continuing long in their places, he would not accept it, unless £2,000 a-year were given him in reversion when he was put out, in consideration of his loss of practice. His predecessors, how little time soever they had the seal, usually got £100,000 and made themselves Barons. A new Secretary of State<sup>d</sup>. Lord Abington, Lieutenant of the Tower, displaced, and General Churchill, brother to the Duke of Marlborough, put in. An indication of great unsteadiness somewhere, but thus the crafty Whig party (as called) begin to change the face of the Court, in opposition to the High Churchmen, which was another distinction of a party from the Low Churchmen. The Parliament chose one Mr. Smith, Speaker<sup>e</sup>. There had never been so great an assembly of members on the first day of sitting, being more than 450. The votes both of the old, as well as the new, fell to those called Low Churchmen, contrary to all expectation.

31<sup>st</sup>. I am this day arrived to the 85<sup>th</sup> year of my age. Lord teach me so to number my days to come, that I may apply them to wisdom!

1705-6. 1<sup>st</sup> January. Making up my accounts for the past year, paid bills, wages, and new-year's-gifts, according to custom. Though much indisposed and in so advanced a stage, I went to our chapel [in London]

<sup>a</sup> Edmund Dickinson, of Merton College, Oxford, took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, 22<sup>nd</sup> June, 1647. He was living in Westminster, in 1692, in good repute for his practice in the faculty of physic. He published several things (Wood's *Fasti Oxon.*, p. 741).

<sup>b</sup> He was afterwards a Fellow of Merton. He died in 1707, aged 84. Campbell, in his edition of the *Biog. Brit.* speaks very highly of him; but Kippis, in his new edition of that Work, differs much from the Doctor's opinions, though he allows him to have been a very learned man. Evelyn must have mistaken Dr. Dickinson as to his not knowing who Mundanus was, for in 1686 the Doctor printed a letter to him with his answer from Paris; and in the latter Mundanus says he made two projections in his presence. *Biog. Brit.*, art. Dickinson.

<sup>c</sup> William Cowper, created a Baron in 1706, and Lord Chancellor, afterwards Viscount Fordwich and Earl Cowper, by George the First.

<sup>d</sup> Charles, Earl of Sunderland.

<sup>e</sup> John Smith, Esq., Member for Andover.



to give God public thanks, beseeching Almighty God to assist me and my family the ensuing year, if He should yet continue my pilgrimage here, and bring me at last to a better life with Him in His heavenly kingdom. Divers of our friends and relations dined with us this day.

*27th January.* My indisposition increasing, I was exceeding ill this whole week.

*3rd February.* Notes of the sermons at the chapel in the morning and afternoon, written with his own hand, conclude this Diary.

\* \* Mr. Evelyn died on the 27th of this month.

END OF THE DIARY

# CORRESPONDENCE

OF

## JOHN EVELYN, F.R.S.

*Dr. Isaac Basire<sup>a</sup> to John Evelyn*

*Rouen, October 2nd, 1642*

SIR,—I had a good hope of an occasion to come over myself in person to give you thanks for your favourable communication of that twin of printed letters, which you were pleased to send me. They came opportunely, for I made present use of one of them to disabuse some of the many who mistake the king's person and his cause. What success it may further have I shall acquaint you at my coming over, God willing, within these few weeks. Meanwhile, my work here is with tongue and pen (with the advice of the king's public ministers here) to save the king and the church, which service is reward sufficient, considering the goodness, truth, and justice of the cause, for which my heart deceives me greatly, if I durst not even die. To God Almighty I betake it, for support and speedy good success, and shall bear witness of your always ready co-operation towards it; and the servants of it, indeed, increase and multiply the number of the king's faithful ministers, in which number, Sir, we shall honour you as one of the chief, who is your most humble servant,

ISAAC BASIRE.

P.S.—I do reserve a few observations upon the printed letter, for conference on, for my next.

*John Evelyn to Sir Richard Browne*

[The succeeding twenty-four letters were written secretly by Evelyn to Sir Richard Browne, at this time ambassador from England to the Court of France, and whose daughter Evelyn had married in the previous summer. The signature principally adopted, 'Aplanos', was the corruption of a Greek word, expressive of the constancy of his opinions; and the fictitious address was to 'Mr. Peters'. The letters throw considerable light on the party feelings and movements of the stirring time they describe. It was the period known in the history of the 'Great Rebellion' as that of the Second Civil War, when the attitude of the Independents had alarmed the more timid of the Presbyterians in the city and elsewhere, and simultaneous tumults in Kent, Essex, and other counties, seconded by a rising in Wales, seemed to threaten a general recommencement of strife. The letters of Evelyn embrace this period, and that which immediately succeeded the death of the King, when the daring policy of Cromwell and the parliamentary leaders suggested more wary tactics to the partisans of the King's son. They are full of error and mis-statement, which it is not necessary to correct, and which on the writer's part implied no intention to mislead, except so far as the ardent expectations of his party heightened and coloured his views. A comparison of the authentic accounts with those of Aplanos, in the matter of the Surrey petitioners, as of other well-known incidents referred to, suggests simply to what extent the immediate excitement of those momentous days told upon the respective hopes and fears of all who were engaged in

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<sup>a</sup> Allusions to Basire will be found in the first vol. of the *Diary*, pp. 248 and 258. His loyalty was rewarded by preferment under Charles the Second, to whom he was wont to preach sermons of considerable unction, proving the perfection of the English Church, and that England was 'the very land of Goshen.' The letter before us confirms the statements in the *Diary* as to the early period of the Civil Wars at which Evelyn was engaged and active.



them. And it is most interesting to observe the change of tone in these communications after the tragedy in Whitehall. The letter dated the 26th of March (see p. 552) may be called in some sort the manifesto of that intelligent party of royalists among whom Evelyn became afterwards more distinguished, and whose watchwords, derived from the experience of Charles's melancholy reign, were 'the Protestant profession', 'the old way of a free parliament', and 'the known laws of the land'.]

London, 6 December, 1647

SIR,—Being about a day old in town, since my Sussex journey, where I have put mine estate in some better posture than it was, and am much obliged to my uncle William for his company, I have employed yesterday and a part of the present to inform myself of intelligence fit to furnish you withal; for which purpose I went yesterday as far as Chelsea, and dined with Sir John 31, who shewed me extraordinary courtesy, and more than twice conjured me to make trial of his friendship upon all occasions, as if somebody had expressly bespoken him; that evening I made a visit to my Lord of 36, and my character goes among all mine acquaintance for the civilest traveller that ever returned; for I was expected all ribbon, feather, and romanço, which has turned much to my account, though better spoken from another. I have been this day at St. James's to have moved Mr. 118 in the fresh prosecution of our business, and brought it to a personal treaty with his friend the Colonel; but he being gone to visit his uncle, who lies a-dying, as others think, sick out of design, as usually he is once a month, to have leisure to tell and dispose of his vast treasure, I could not compass mine intention as I hope very shortly to do. From here I called upon 131, where, though I found your cousin Fanshawe and my Lord Arundel of Wardour (very good company), yet I brought back little news but what you will find enclosed in this pamphlet, being very ingeniously the full substance of what is positively true.

It is said that his Majesty is in straiter custody in the Isle of Wight than ever he was at Hampton Court, but this is not generally believed. The propositions are certainly to be sent him some time this present week, and many there are who are confident he will sign them. For my part, I think the personal treaty a mere juggle, and that his Majesty shall never be the nearer to London, if they have power to adjourn, where and when they please. The King's case is just like the disarmed man, who, whether he agree that his antagonist shall keep his weapon or not, is forced to let him have it. The Parliament have gotten the power, and now they ask his Majesty by these propositions whether he assent they should keep it, when, as in truth, they are agreed upon it already, in despite of his teeth. From whence I conclude that if he sign them, he will be but *in statu quo nunc*; and if he refuse them, in far greater peril than ever he was yet, since he was sold to those tyrants. But, that which is news indeed, the agitators are for certain reconciled with the army, and, since the last council, held by them (as I take it) on Saturday last, as high and strong as ever they were; which is a mutation that makes us all at a maze what project is now a-working. You will shortly hear of Cromwell's vision, and how on Friday night last he being stricken blind for the space of four hours, during which he had a conference with God, persuading him to adjust with the holy agitators, he next day put it in execution. To-morrow we look for strange things; these monsters and some principal of the army being expected at the parliament, some say, absolutely to dissolve them, others, more discerning, to purge them again of about 70 moderate humours that hinder operations. *Quorsum hæc?* O Heavens! we are now more in the dark than ever, and I protest unto you things were never more unriddleable than at this instant of time, after so many fair and promising expectations. I have lately newly learned that the army are generally marching into Hampshire: what that signifies I give you leave to judge; as well as conjecture of their affections to the settling of his Majesty, by those letters of my Lord Digby, published on purpose to enfever the people against him, as one that practised a parley in Ireland to subdue them in England.

This, Sir, is all our news at present; and I cordially wish that, in case it be no better, it would suddenly be worse, that so we may know where to apply ourselves and interest, in which (I do not doubt) but I shall prove serviceable unto you effectually. In the mean time I must not forget to advise you of a secret which was imparted me by a real friend who wishes you well for my sake, my old cousin



34, 51, 7, 13, 20, 2, 14, a quick, honest, shrewd man, and one I dare confide in ; and it was that he should be told by one, who was very intimate with his Majesty, that 82 had an ill opinion of you, as if you had held intelligence with some here, for which (seeing there was no conjuring him to discover me the persons) I rendered him many thanks : but conjecture, from the daily conversation of your brother Sir D. 41, and Mr. 32 with him, that it must be one of them ; and of them rather the first, because, for the latter, I have ever heard him declare himself so much your friend : but this is a time that shall well warrant all suspicion ; and as I hope it will nothing discourage you, as innocence and a good conscience is a perpetual feast, so I am confident you will not forget to make such use thereof as stands with your interest, and excuse me for this impartial boldness which I always assume in rendering you the best intelligence I can learn ; for so is my duty, and I am resolved to discharge that so long as I have the honour to remain, Sir, yours,

APLANOS

I counsel you to make God your friend and trust, nor fear what men can do. My next shall inform you how far my brother and I are proceeded ; but the time now prevents me, and he in the country, to fetch up money.

Sir, I beseech you to make what inquiry you can, to inform me how I may write to my co. Thom. ; for I have important business with him, which I may do him service in, if I knew how to convey him advice.

Superscribed 'A Monsieur, MONSIEUR PETERS, Au Lion d'Argent vis-à-vis le Grand Moysse, rue de Fours Faubourges, St. Germain, Paris.' And endorsed 'From my son EVELYN, 6 December, 1647'.

*London, 21st April, 1648*

SIR,—These two posts having failed me of intelligence from your parts, makes me a little pause, it being now a time amongst us of many expectations from you in order to the motion of His Highness the Prince of Wales. Since my last to you, which was April 13th, the good news from Scotland holds, though haply their pretensions prove more specious than the conclusion real ; I make no recapitulation, because I know they are amongst your weekly extraordinaries. There is no fear of the compliance of the parliament, city, and army, with their demands, which are covenant and presbytery, if our brethren will be content to tolerate independency, out of hope to be masters of that, when they shall have obtained the other ; but on the other side, if the army have the wit to see this, I have answered mine own objection as I wished, and do verily believe that if the Parliament join issue with the Scots in this sense, the independent part of the army with the discontents and loyal subjects both of city and country, will bring his Majesty in upon another score. But these are only my private suggestions, for which there is yet little presumption. Poyer<sup>a</sup>, whose forces are not above 3000 horse and foot, my last intelligence being erroneous, has in Wales very newly defeated a considerable party of horse lately sent against him ; and if Inchiquin so far overpower him in those parts as to make a handsome head, and protect such as shall recruit, without doubt that may prove a great advantage to the affairs and expectations now on foot : but of this nothing can be said till he land, which is more talked of than believed. God bless Poyer till that time.

Letters are come this day from the north, altogether owning Sir Thomas Glenham and the rest as no incendiaries, and making good our former intelligence of their realities and preparation for the field, in pursuance of those resolutions you have heard ; which gives small satisfaction to our states here. That there has been, and is, tampering with the King is certain ; I both hear, and hope he will be wise.

Sir John Geare appeared yesterday before the Lords, where he, refusing to kneel, was fined 500*l*. His charge was only read ; but in his going through the

<sup>a</sup> Poyer, a dissolute but brave Welshman, and a Colonel in the army of the party called Presbyterian royalists, took a prominent part in the Second Civil War. by holding out Pembroke Castle for several days against the siege of Cromwell. He surrendered on the 11th July, 1648, and on the 8th March, 1648-9, having been voted guilty of treason, was shot in Covent Garden. He, and two other Welsh Colonels, found guilty at the same time, had been allowed to draw lots to determine which single life should expiate the guilt of all ; and the lot fell to Poyer.



Hall he dispersed among the people a thousand printed papers, wherein he summoned all the free subjects of England to stand stoutly to their ancient privileges, affirming them to have no power to try him as a delinquent, nor acknowledging them any other than a surreptitious and arbitrary authority ; which was a thing so well and rationally penned, that the gallant spirit of the yet living Judge Jenkins is evidently seen to act, maugre all their malice and endeavours to the contrary. The very same course took resolute John Lilburne, who, in the same manner, scattering his papers about the Hall, was suddenly accompanied by divers gentlemen and strangers to the bar, where he obtained (against all opposition) an Habeas Corpus, and is now, with others of his crew, in the army, prosecuting our Great Cromwell as an unjust usurper and murderer of the free people of England.

Besides the business in Wales, other parts are in great suspicion ; so that you see upon what threads the affairs of this kingdom depend, the issue whereof none can conjecture other than strange and dangerous on all sides ; for I am verily persuaded that the Grandees<sup>a</sup> here will push it to the uttermost, and make a bloody catastrophe of it if the Scots be but resolute ; for they are so affrighted with what they have done, that they can neither look back nor advance but with a strange despair or extraordinary hazard ; and they would certainly run where their treasure is, had they not engaged so many men of fortune, whom they have fooled to believe themselves as desperate as they, which I fear will gain them a strong party, being already masters of the City by a mere plot of their own, in pursuance of others in hand. But God is above all, and I hope will convert all to the best. On Monday next is the general call, and then we shall be full of news : this being all at present.

Sir, I do herein enclose other letters, which I shall request you to convey. In the meantime, having (by much diligence) recovered the box, I delivered it the same day unto the lady, who returns you many great acknowledgments for the favour. My brother is in town ; and I think I shall suddenly dispose of some monies in very good hands to my best advantage, being now quite off from purchasing, till the times be better, and the lands more supportable, which are now coming on us afresh. My uncle John came yesterday to see me, my nephew William failing of his promise, which was to have prevented the visit with my first addresses. He still holds his resolutions for France ; which I do very much approve ; and, when this term is done, I shall make bold to air myself at Deptford till these broils be over. I desire to hear news of the Prince, and likewise whether the Marquis of Ormond have taken his leave of France. It is reported here that the States retain his Highness, and will not let him move. You must rectify all, and so I conclude, yours, as I ever was, to honour and serve, APLANOS

*London, 4th May, 1648*

SIR,—Yours of the 6th and 9th of May received, challenges this account from me. And first I perceive you are fully satisfied in the particular of my L. Mon<sup>b</sup>, whom I shall soon inform touching the diamonds, as likewise perform your other commands to the C. of Clare. My uncle resolves to visit you about fifteen days hence, with whom Mr. L., who, in the meantime, shall be advised how th' affair concerns him with Mr. L. G. I do remember also your advertisement touching the gold. As to the point of Mr. F., I do much incline to your opinion ; so that, if you can procure the money, I am willing to relinquish all ; yet I presume the favour which I did him (being wholly unknown to him) was worth a reply to my last letter. And now for news : first, I acknowledge the obligation of yours of the 6th and the 9th, and in exchange assure you that things are in an extraordinary fair overture here. Monday, late, came one Colonel Marshall with the Scots' demands, which were, for a personal treaty ; a full vindication touching his disposal<sup>c</sup> without their privity ; the pressing of the covenant, establishment of presbytery, and speedy disbanding of the army of schismatics and sectaries under the command of Thomas Lord Fairfax (for so are the terms) ; and a positive answer to be expedited within fifteen days, which is their uttermost limitation. Upon this, the opinion of the wise is divers ; some apprehending that

<sup>a</sup> By the Grandees, he means the men in power on the Parliament side.

<sup>b</sup> Lord Montague.

<sup>c</sup> The King's.



if our brethren see presbytery and the covenant put into speedy advancement, they will agree both together in desertion of the rest ; for that the loyal party are beginning to appear so formidable, both amongst them and in every corner of England, as puts them in fear that when they are once engaged, it will not be in their power to make good their propositions, which are only made use of to drive along their own interest (for without doubt the Parliament are now in such a condition that the Scots cannot demand what they shall be denied) ; so these will be quiet and proceed no further. Thus some ; others are of a quite contrary sense, because of that bitter mixture in their ink touching the army, which will, I believe, extremely gravel their resolutions. The surprise of Berwick and Carlisle in my judgment should signify that their intentions are more than nominal. But as yet there hath been no faith in the sons of men. Hope we do, and indeed there is good reason so to do, since that gallant and unanimous appearance of your Essex men, who (contrary to all expectations until the very nick) came in a body of about 15,000 men, whereof 2,000 horse and foot rode quite through London ; the rest stayed at Stratford-Langton, bearing their petitions before each hundred of the country ; and were so well and so advantageously marshalled even unto the very Parliament doors, that nothing was, nor is like to be of greater consequence than this very day's appearances. And that you may know what an extraordinary cortège it was, there were thirty knights, 500 gentlemen, gallantly attended, and the rest all freeholders without exception, as it appeared upon debate of those who strove all that they could to suppress it. For this they were constrained (though highly against their stomachs) to give them thanks ; and for the present, in the name of the Houses, they promised them that the first thing which they took in hand, should be the contents of their petition, containing a personal treaty, disbanding of the army, and other things of the like concernment, tending altogether to the wished-for settling these distractions. This petition (to-morrow it will be in print, so that yet particulars are not generally known) was presented by Sir William Hicks ; and if you had but heard the bells of every church ring as they passed the streets, with those strange and cordial acclamations of the people as they marched, I am sure it would have more cheered your heart than this imperfect relation can possibly imagine to do. But this cold answer which they received, hath, it seems, appeared to them so unsatisfactory, that they are resolute not to leave it until matters be in better posture ; and in pursuance of their steps, our county of Surrey are in a very great forwardness to do the like. Divers other counties likewise resolved to follow them, which strange alterations (after all this security of theirs, and subornation of mock counterfeit petitions to take them for their votes of non-address) shows plainly that it is only the finger and power of God, who can unravel all this bottom of confusion, by beginning their destruction, where they began our miseries.

This day's work has struck such a damp in them<sup>a</sup> that they all concurred in the House this morning, that either they must accommodate with his Majesty, or resolve to despatch with monarchy, and run a most desperate course, which I tremble to consider. In the mean time Cromwell is not in such grace with his soldiers as to make that force he believed he should to accompany him into Wales, where (if Lahorne<sup>b</sup> be not treacherous) he may yet find a difficult employment. It was whispered that he is not to be found, upon which it is imagined that he is again tampering with the King, or else hatching some cockatrice' egg, which will suddenly break forth. I assure you this day's example is like to be such a shoeing-horn to the good expectations on foot, that no conjuncture could be more lucky ; and I augur much satisfaction in the rest of my expresses to you hereafter. By the next we shall see more clearly, for it cannot be long now but we shall see what we have to trust to. God in His mercy put a conclusion to this tragedy, and so I end.

POSTSCRIPT.—Extraordinary haste, occasioned by visitants, just at the writing hereof, with the lateness, before I was well informed of the truth, makes me write thus confusedly. If you approve it, my sister and brother Granville (who are

<sup>a</sup> The 'Grande'es' of Parliament.

<sup>b</sup> Major-General Langhern is here meant. He resisted at Pembroke in company with Poyer, was sentenced to death, and escaped at the throw of the dice by which Poyer suffered.



truly persons not unworthy of friendship), hearing that I intend to spend the heats of this summer at Deptford, at my request will bear me company, which will be an ease to my expenses (they being but frugal), and no little satisfaction ; else they go to a stranger's, and I shall be alone : but till we have your approbation, nothing is resolved.

*London, May 12th, 1648*

SIR,—I come now (with a great deal of regret, God knows) to relate you the catastrophe of the Kentish design and engagement, they having, as it were, universally abandoned themselves to no better conditions than the mercies of the men of Westminster. For indemnity is no more granted them, than if they had still persisted in their loyalty ; so that many of them being imprisoned (as Sir Payton Brockman, &c.), the rest are become slaves, and the whole county at their devotion. Behold the fruits of your wise consultations in France ; from whence it was stedfastly hoped and confidently believed some person of conduct and quality would have been sent unto them, with such a commission as might have determined all disputes of precedency in a conjuncture of so much advantage and opportunity, the like whereof we henceforth altogether despair of. When I reflect upon the strange miscarriage of that poor county (not for want of hands, but heads), I cannot but accuse you abroad, as well as lay the blame upon our proceedings at home. When Maydeston<sup>a</sup> might have been relieved during the fatal conflict there, by one thousand men, which waited on my Lord Norwich and others, not a commander would stir for want of orders, or (to say truly) obedience to some person that had a more proper delegation than any there pretended. The people were numerous ; the country was full of arms and provisions ; the sea, the river, and the ships were their guard ; the adjacent shires were their confederates ; the enemy was weak, far off, and full of apprehensions ; in fine, there was nothing wanting, but temper, discretion, and valour, in some individual and particular men, to have (ere this) freed us from the most detestable and sordid oppression that ever befel a nation. But God was not yet pleased to think us fit for deliverance, and we must attend His leisure.

Sir, I have held you too long on a sad theme, but really my passion is guilty, and I must beg you pardon.

All our talk now is of my Lord of Norwich, his march and accessions in Essex, which, with some hopeful planets in the north, and a few faithful ships, is the small glimpse and little light which now guide us from falling on the rocks of despair. And now I have spoken of my Lord of Norwich (I beseech you be nothing discouraged), he is strong and in a very good posture ; there being come to his assistance my Lord Capell, with numbers of gallant men out of this town and Sir Charles Lucas, by whose counsel and valour we do promise ourselves a great deal better success, both from the example of their neighbours and the handsome constitution of their followers. Their number is about 5,000 horse and foot well armed, and stout men. In this engagement none were compelled, or, indeed, invited, but only such of the country as were absolutely resolved to dispense with all private interests and run the uttermost hazards ; so that such as would accept of indemnity were not restrained, nor such as declared for them refused ; in the mean time many of the trained bands accompany them, fearing to return upon submission (so much are their very mercies obnoxious), and the whole army march towards Cambridgeshire, where it is reported they will this night encounter an adjunct of 500 horse more. Nor are they at all afraid of those who follow them seeing the General (who is this day come out of Kent with 1,500 foot and 500 horse, having left 2,000 men to take the two forts which still refuse him), as the cream of their whole forces in these parts are conceived to be fully equivalent to him in number and resolution. If they can attain the north without great impeachment, it is nothing doubted but the game may yet be balanced to the purpose ; for which purpose we heartily pray here to God. We pray to God that He may establish the resolutions of those who command the navy, for the *Rich*<sup>b</sup> is sent empty away from Portsmouth (whatever they brag), and we are made to believe here six or seven more are come in to them. Many of our ships are under sail for Holland, where we hope they may receive a gallant Admiral : yet it was practised by our grandees here to have tempted them both with money

<sup>a</sup> Maidstone.

<sup>b</sup> A pun upon *Rich* Earl of Warwick.



and promises, for which end, besides the stratagem of *manning a ship*<sup>a</sup> with women (not Sirens) to entice them (the sailors' wives), Sir H. Vane and Mr. Green were despatched with golden hooks and stranger instruments to have prevailed with them.

This is the news at sea ; and indeed, if it hold fair weather there, the Storm cannot last long at land, as the citizens and merchants very well foresee, who are now forming a more peremptory petition for an effectual compliance with his Majesty ; that trade may live again, which is now giving the last gasp. For if these wooden walls hold out, the merchant must keep in, and the retail men (who are numerous and depend on them) will be compelled to farther some strange and sudden alteration, which God send us. On Saturday next seven night there will of course be a Common-Hall for the election of a new mayor and sheriffs. What that may produce, none can tell ; if the threatening army be far enough, perhaps something of consequence.

In the north, Pomfract Castle is relieved and reinforced with 400 men ; God grant the governor prove honest. Langdale still augments : but whether advanced, retreated, or happily engaged with Lambert, nothing can be collected of truth. The Scots are at a stand, and many affirm they will not come in, the Duke of Hamilton having laid down his commission (as they report) ; but if Calender<sup>b</sup> resume it (who is more for the King, less for the crown, than the other), it is hoped the change is not for the worst. In North Wales, the good party received an unlucky defeat ; in the South, Cromwell is fortunately repulsed ; which particular expect in my next. Ireland does nothing but remonstrate. So has Essex done this morning extremely well. Sussex had a general answer to their petition, and all things are as much out of frame as ever : *Orate pro nobis*. If his Highness were on the coast of any voisin country, it would add great influence in our proceedings. It is said Prince Rupert is designed for this place, but believe it altogether unseasonable : happy for us Norwich had stayed. Yours,

APLANOS

*From the old hand and place, 15th May, 1648*

SIR,—This succeeds my last of the seventh current, which I wish heartily there were just cause to retract ; our Welsh news running still as high as ever (whatsoever may be the report with you), so that you may be assured all expectations from those parts are absolutely frustrated ; this victory being so unseasonable, so unfortunate, in so hopeful a conjuncture. But it has fallen out (as I was ever fearful it would), the Royal party engaging themselves in all places so preposterously, that it is now conceived it will be no difficulty for the army to weed them out. And who can tell but that our brethren (who always apprehended that party might overpower them in conclusion, and turn head against Covenant) do willingly contribute to their ruin, by their slow advance and manifest cunctation. However, not to discourage you altogether, we hear there is yet a remnant of them left in the castles, who will be able to give them some trouble ; and it is reported that Langhorne<sup>c</sup>, and such troops as escaped, are advanced and gotten to Langdale, who appears numerous and far engaged in the kingdom. And if the Scots (as all our confident party do verily believe) be as good as their outside, there will be yet another difficulty for the game. It is rumoured that their Parliament being adjourned till the 31st of July (as I take it), they will out of hand be marching ; and that letters now come to the House with us are no way satisfactory. Others, again, offer to lay wagers that they come not in at all.

It hath been moved that the forces of the army might still abide in London, even by Skippon himself, notwithstanding that they had a late grant for the return of their ancient militia, which is not well taken (as I conceive) by the citizens. Essex does still persist in putting their whole county into a defensive posture against all taxes, quarterings, sequestrations, and the like oppressions. Surrey comes up unanimously with their petition ; Kent are vigorously in hand

<sup>a</sup> Evelyn elsewhere remarks, 'This was a new sea-term.'

<sup>b</sup> The Earl of Calender, who fought for the Parliament in England, had now taken up the King's cause in Scotland. His disputes with the Duke of Hamilton at and after the Rout of Preston are matters of history. The report that the Duke had 'laid down his commission' was premature.

<sup>c</sup> See p. 539, note.



with theirs ; which are the best signs that I can possibly discern of a timely change. And without doubt (if the army were but conveniently diverted), both this city and the adjacents to it would be so associate, as we might have a blessed conclusion of these distractions, without Scot or devil. And now I spake of Kent, you are to know that those who were to be tried by the Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer were all acquitted by the several juries, and an *ignoramus* brought in ; several jurors, a strange charge, and all the rigour that malice could invent, having been tempered together to despatch them, which so much incensed the country, that when the verdict was finished, all of them cried out aloud, ' God, King Charles, and Judge Tresham ! ' who, it seems, did, in his instructions to those of the county jury, declare his opinion with less vehemence and rigour than did Wilde. Which event of theirs hath so much vexed the thirsty ones of the Parliament, that it was moved this day martial law might pass upon them ; but it was not assented unto. So that you may see what the common law is like to come unto, if our constitution cannot preserve it.

One observable I must not omit, which was, the judges being to pass by in a coach, there were three halts delivered, like a present, from a country fellow, with addresses ; one to the judge, another for the under-sheriff, and a third for Mr. Major. Tresham confessed to the Speaker but this morning (as an ear-witness assured me) that the affections of that county were totally lost ; and that if there had not been a guard of two troops of horse and a regiment of foot, nothing could have rescued them from the violence of the people.

Just as I am come to this period, my brother surprises me that he now spake with two or three gentlemen, who had it from the mouth of the Gloucester carrier (but now arrived), that Horton, in this action of Wales, has been since totally routed, and the other still in posture ; which sudden change of scene does so amaze me, that I know not what to add, until a farther inquiry, which time will now prevent me of. God grant it may hold to the next !

[The end of this letter has been torn off.]

London, 18th May, 1648

SIR,—The news of this interval is so strange, and the scene of such a look, there is no ink black enough to express the horror and impiety of the act ; but because I have not time to anatomize circumstances, I shall only present you with the naked relation.

Tuesday was the day of our Surrey men's petition, the contents whereof I make bold to enclose. It was much opposed in the county by Sir R. Onslow (one of the Knights of the Shire), and others of that party, as the complexion and nature thereof, aiming honestly at the true mark, will readily discover : notwithstanding, being bravely animated both by men of quality and honour, it was subscribed unto by many thousands, and brought up according to the usual manner by near upon 5,000 knights, gentlemen, and freeholders of the best qualifications in our county, and presented by Sir Edward Boyer to the Lords, and one Mr. Price to the Commons. But so it happened that, after the Lords had returned them a civil answer, the Commons of purpose retarding theirs (as it is believed), whilst many of our county, naked and disarmed men, expected in the Palace-yard their reply (more than a third part of them being dismounted, and scattered by means of an extreme shower of rain, which then fell abundantly), there rushed in upon them two troops of horse and a full regiment of foot, invited privately from Whitehall, and, falling upon our poor countrymen (after they had slain some watermen and secured the stairs), most barbarously not only wounded but utterly stript and murdered a great number of them<sup>a</sup>, by which means they not only failed of their expectations in petitioning, but lost many of their horses and lives too. Upon this the Parliament gave thanks to the Lieutenant who guided the action, after they had substituted false witnesses, who deposed that some disorderly person of the multitude cried out twice, ' God bless King Charles ! ' which is crime enough here to put a man to death. Behold now, if this be not a satisfactory answer to our petition, and if the right of the subject be not highly asserted ! This was the tragedy of Tuesday.

Wednesday, a committee was ordered to examine the particulars more accu-

<sup>a</sup> ' About 20 slayne and wounded more than 100 ', is a note attached to this letter.



rately, wherein you may be sure our poor Surrey men shall have little favour, if you well observe the premises ; and in order to that nothing is yet done which gives any honest man satisfaction, seeing that it hath hitherto extended no further than to the restoring of their horses taken, and the prohibition that for the future no petition shall be brought through the town by above five or six persons at the most, whereby you may easily conjecture for what reason our poor petitioners were so inhumanly butchered. Since this fatality, some talk of an inclination in Surrey to associate ; but I fear their enemies are too potent. If Kent be not discouraged, there are great hopes of a sudden change ; but that Essex does most magnanimously proceed, a very little time will fully acquaint you : meantime, thanksgiving has been given for the mock victory in South Wales ; though it is feared the forces there are but in a bad condition, Cromwell pressing very hard upon them, so that, if more speedy succour do not arrive from Ireland, proceedings there will be in great disadvantage. That Langdale is strong there, nobody disputes. And it is affirmed, that the Scots will be suddenly upon English ground, though I (for my part) do much doubt it ; their general being (as we hear) not yet approved, and their rendezvous of so long a date, that it is feared the animosities of those injured and oppressed people will be utterly and irrevocably suppressed.

This day the city of London obtained a complete order for the speedy reinstating them into the Tower and ancient militia ; but, so long as Skippon is to continue their major, it is not to be expected that any good should come from them. And indeed it is more than suspected, that they will forthwith comply in all respects to their masters the army. For which end, they have granted them liberty to collect £30,000, as a small gratification for their several good services. So that you see what hopes we have of the happy days, which you believe in France are breaking upon us ; now in more obscurity, thralldom, error, and confusion than ever we were since these wars began.

They talk of treating with his Majesty, but defer it ; to-morrow, some say, they go about it ; but, if I do not sleep till they intend it, I shall never lay mine eyes together, unless proceedings have a strange turn, and an unexpected catastrophe.

This is all our news in brief. I pray God give us patience and hope, which is the only refuge of miserable men.

But he that endureth to the end, shall be saved.

*London, Whitsunday, 1648*

SIR,—Upon hope you have received my last, which gave you notice of our Surrey success, I continue this present ; wherein you will find no more satisfaction touching that miscarriage and strange entertainment, than almost the utter defection of the county. Persons have been examined by the committee deputed ; but with such partiality on the soldiers' behalf, as that the county are drawing up a remonstrance to disabuse the world. All that may be is attempted to reconcile them. My Lord of Northumberland and sundry others sent down to assuage them. My brother absolutely refused to go. Sir R. Onslow has utterly lost himself ; and I am confident, that though the heat for the present be allayed, yet that county will be always ready for an opportunity to declare themselves. Meantime Kent are still resolute to pursue their petition (which, it is apprehended will not be brought up by men that are so unprovided as that of Surrey was) ; however they<sup>a</sup> labour all they can to suppress these meetings and intentions, by having caused a declaration to be read in every church throughout that county, to deter men from setting their hands, or acting therein, under the name of a pretended petition, tending to a seditious consequence.

It is this day reported that the city of Rochester is all in an uproar upon a bruit that soldiers were coming amongst them from the parliament, they resolving to oppose them ; but there is no such thing, for I suppose our masters have not such a strength near them, as they dare adventure amongst them. But that which is most observable from thence, is the news of Saturday, giving intelligence from Mr. Mayor of Sandwich, of Prince Charles his landing, or another Perkin Warbeck as like him. Some believe it, your friend laughs at it ; and so soon as he<sup>b</sup> has a new suit and a clean shirt (of both which the poor Prince

<sup>a</sup> The Parliament men.

<sup>b</sup> The alleged Prince.



was extremely disfurnished), Mr. Mayor has promised to send him up, having first, as Pilate did our Saviour, conjured him to tell him whether he were that Charles Prince of Wales, eldest son and heir apparent to Charles, by the Grace of God of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, King, with the rest of his titles, as in good earnest it is affirmed.

Some now begin to scandalize the proceedings in Essex, as if their hearts began to fail them; and matters not altogether so high as it is reported; but this comes from a person<sup>a</sup>, who I am confident wishes it so. They speak of an offer of the Cambridgeshire men to join with those of Essex; but how true I know not. Hertfordshire and Middlesex, some think, will petition, with a great part of Sussex; which things are but in embryo as yet. Ireton has played the d—l in Hampshire, plundering and imprisoning all such as he suspects to be loyal; amongst others having secured Sir W. Legg and Mr. Ashburnham<sup>b</sup>, who (as it is reported) were betrayed unto him. From Wales we have received nothing, since Cromwell's cruelty at Chepstow; but the holding out still of the castle there, which, upon the late storming, slew a world of the assailants. The rest of the castles resist as yet, if some internal discord do not injure them, it being talked here as if the commanders were all at defend one amongst the other.

Letters this day from the North confess, that Sir M. Langdale is grown to a very considerable army, well appointed and disciplined. His head-quarters are at Kendal; and, if he do advance with any convenient speed into Yorkshire, they acknowledge him irresistible because of the defection of that county: and our letters from Scotland affirm that, notwithstanding all the complaisances here, and their victory in Wales (which the letter says has nothing disanimated the counties in those parts), they are unanimously resolved to march forwards very suddenly. Upon which, his caution was that unless 5,000 horse and dragoons were expedited, all would be lost in those quarters. And assure yourself, their armies at present are so exercised with apprehensions at home, that they have not such numbers to spare abroad; not daring as yet to remove the garrison from Whitehall; and, with very ill wills, that of the Tower marches out tomorrow. In the mean time, Skippon doth much complain, that he does not find the trained bands under his command in such due obedience, since his late re-instatement, as he expected they would have been.

[The remainder of this letter has been cut off.]

London, 1st June, 1648

SIR,—I have these two days continued in town, to enable myself for the intelligence of this day; every motion proving now of such consequence, as if the whole State depended upon every man's reports. That the scene is in Kent, I need not re-advise you; but that the entire machine of our hopes is altogether knit upon the success there, I can assure you.

On Tuesday last, Sir Thomas drew out upon Blackheath (having marched through Surrey, where, by-the-way, many soldiers deserting him, neither he nor any of his durst adventure to lie in beds or in towns, but kept the field all the night, for fear of the incensed countrymen), to the number of 3,000 sober and well-appointed men. He is since 5,663 men, as the list was given in to the committee at Derby House; which advice I got very strangely. The next day he advanced as far as Dartford, and so that night quartered even to Gravesend (where at present the head-quarters are), having swept the places through which he hath marched of all their horse, which the Kentishmen spared, that they might not disoblige the countrymen, and, [seizing] other moveables, plundered the town. As for acts of hostility committed, there hath as yet been little, beside the conjunction of some scouts and forlorn hopes, wherein it is reported the people have had much the better; and one tells me that Colonel Backstirr (the same that commanded the Surrey assassins) came yesterday into London, mortally wounded.

Touching the reports of this day, they seem to be very much in favour of the Army, as that Rochester was entered by stratagem, or Canterbury (for none of the relators agree either in the place or modus), the Cavaliers defeated, and the whole people were in disorder. But it comes through such hands and from such

<sup>a</sup> Sir Harbottle Grimston (*in margin*).

<sup>b</sup> 'These were sent to Windsor Castle, where I think they lack many friends.' (Evelyn's note.)



persons, that I do assure you it is no part of my creed ; for the whole body, being within the river of Medway, it is believed, were in a better posture than to be dispersed with a single party, though never so resolute. Besides, two watermen, which were employed by some of our correspondents, arriving just now from Gravesend, assure us that such as were sent to discover, towards Rochester, came back with a sad relation of their strength and numerosity. Others say there was a strong party sent through Sussex to relieve Dover ; by that means taking a gallant force of gentlemen, who had esteemed them the King's friends ; whilst another is ready to depose there is no such matter, but that, on the contrary, as some troops were marching through Sussex, the inhabitants of the county fell foul upon them, and so frustrated that design. For mine own part, I believe neither the one nor the other, but absolutely gather from the variety of the best, and unconfident relation of the worst, that they have never yet engaged to any purpose.

As for the Kentish army, I hear it is divided into three brigades, their commander-in-chief being Hales. They have one council, to redress the complaints of the county ; and another, to transact all martial affairs. That which is most considerable with us, will be their remaining in this posture till matters are arrived to more maturity in Essex and the City ; the one wanting time for their absolute declaration, and the other a little more warmth in their new nests of militia ; for I do assure you the snakes do now begin to hiss, and may speak aloud ere it be many days longer.

Major Brown (no later than yesterday morning) said in full House, that the Army were no less traitors than the men of Kent themselves, calling them a pack of shufflers and varlets ; and added that himself would be one of the thirty who would meet any forty of them in the field, to determine the truth of his assertion ; telling them, moreover, that he which, at that present, commanded the Parliament Guard below, would not refuse to assert his expression, as secure as they thought themselves ; which (being called up) he readily declared at the bar. For this demeanour it was this day expected the Major should have been questioned by the House ; but nothing was done, save the reception of a petition, which came from the moderate party in the city, wherein they express their desires of a personal treaty in London, the releasement of the imprisoned Aldermen, and that they would join with them in an association with the Kentishmen, Essex, Middlesex, Hertfordshire, Surrey, and Sussex. This demand being a breakfast more hard than they could digest at that time, they referred them to a committee, which was presently selected, that should endeavour to give them competent satisfaction ; but what this is I cannot yet learn, nor do I believe it is yet determined. Perhaps they will offer them to be contented with the settlement of the militia throughout the whole kingdom which they pretend to be now in hand with ; with other such stuff or design to procrastinate the time till they see what will become of their main stock, which is now that of Kent ; who, they hope, will be forced to an engagement, and so to a confusion, that they may bid a second good night both to King and people. But I hope God will in His mercy prevent it.

In the meanwhile, the City are extremely discontented ; and I have protracted my this day's writing as long as I durst, that I might have given you some intelligence what has been done in Common Council ; but they are not yet risen. Besides, we have great talk of a Common Hall, which it is believed may happen to do strange feats with Skippon and the Parliament ; all which, together with the whole fate of these fair blossoms, absolutely depend upon the Kentishmen's behaviour and non-engagement, which you are desired to pray for, without ceasing.

The news of the revolt of almost the whole navy stands yet good. Warwick is gone down ; but it is thought he will not be admitted, unless he change his spots, and avow their protestations. Cromwell, it is feared, may be near with some horse ; but many do not believe it. The gentlemen in the North increase, but have a great force against them. The Scots look like Janus with two faces, and pretend such distractions among themselves that they are generally taken for knaves amongst us. Yet some affirm they will come in. From Ireland no succour comes yet to Wales. It is wished you would send us some sober, wise, stout man into Kent. Surrey have this reply to their Commissioners,—that no



more soldiers shall be quartered amongst them ; that the authors and executors of those murders shall be prosecuted according to law (there having been seven more found strangled and butchered, lying unburied in a cellar at Whitehall, since the soldiers left it ; there appearing by the names subscribed more than 100 that have miscarried, or at least not yet returned home) : all which shall be put in execution when the Kentishmen have played out their game. Believe it not before ; for they are resolved to adventure the whole State upon this design, continually expecting when the good tidings will be brought them of their bloody and desperate designs upon that poor people, which God divert ! APLANOS

*London, June 5, 1648*

SIR,—Not to lose time (though I may haply escape some more fresh intelligence, by sealing up my letter before the Houses are risen) I am destined to relate to you the sad news of our Kentish misfortunes. On Thursday, the army began to engage with the Kentish at Gravesend, where there was little opposition ; on Friday, on attempting Rochester Bridge, they were repulsed with some loss from the town, so that finding no passage in those parts, they advanced as far as Maidstone, where by the treachery of a gunner, who was to fire the ordnance on the bridge, which he converted against the people in the town, they rushed into the streets, and after a very hot dispute (by the help of the disaffected therein) they mastered the town, killing about one hundred, and taking some prisoners ; but all this was not done without a considerable loss on their part, which it is believed sextupled the number of the countrymen. However, the fame thereof came so seasonably to the City, that it hath for the present quite dashed all our proceedings for an accommodation, and, as their own relations will have it, they endeavour us make us believe that they have killed 200, taken 1,200 men, 5,000 arms, and finally so dispersed the rebels, as they call them, that there are not two men left in a body through the whole county. In the mean time, those who calculate the march of Fairfax can by no means probably consent to the truth hereof ; for he, being suddenly commanded back by the Houses who apprehended themselves in some danger from the tumultuary inclined people, could not possibly have time enough to penetrate unto the more eastern parts of Kent, where we do yet believe there is a sufficient power to preserve themselves in a body and take the castle of Dover, which some say is beleagured. Besides, there is another force at Canterbury, not as yet dissipated, as appears by Sir Thomas's own letter of this day from Rochester, where he is, having sent a party of 600 horse through the city into Essex, to pursue those who, upon the taking of Maidstone, quitted Rochester, as untenable. Of these, who are about 5,000 horse and foot, the Earl of Norwich is general, a very unfit man, as his character is with the City ; which makes them much suspected. They ferried over on Saturday night about Greenwich, and upon their arrival, having made good the bridge at Bow, beat back with some loss to the enemy such of the horse as were sent round about, and foot likewise, who issued out of the Tower Hamlets against them : this is their posture at present. I am told the Essex men, (who are joined in great numbers with them) have now sent up Charles Rich with their submission to the Houses, upon their indemnity and further satisfaction to their petition, which, whether it be true or false, I leave to a small times determination, since others affirm it is only the act of some of the gentry of that county, not of the commoners. And this is the best relation I can learn.

Now for the City. No Common Hall could be procured ; for it being referred to a committee of their own, and all accesses being shut up from disturbing them, it was there ordered in the negative ; so that you may hereby plainly perceive from where all our mischiefs proceed, even from a self-interested party in the City, commanded both by Parliament and Army. From the North, none contradict the this day's report of the taking of Pomfract Castle by a party of Langdale's forces ; which news, with the bruit of Cromwell's defeat in North Wales, does not a little recover our drooping cavaliers. The ships (it is said) are more and more firm, though some wise men believe they will be wrought upon with money and other corrupt practices. Some report Norfolk and Suffolk to be newly risen. Sir Charles Lucas, we hear, is gone this morning into Essex, and that your cousin, S. T., with divers others, follow him this evening.

From Ireland there comes no news at all ; but it is reported this morning



(from a Blue Bonnet), that our brethren will undoubtedly come in some time this month, as he assures us ; all factions being there appeased that may obstruct them.

It is now a-voting whether the Earl of Norwich shall be a traitor or not. What they conclude, expect by my next.

As touching applications to his Majesty, be confident none will be, unless by a very high and an almost miraculous hand they be compelled at last unto it ; for, in order to a personal treaty, nothing is resolved on by the Houses, save the preparing those bills for the re-calling his proclamation, the security of their militia and presbytery for three and ten years ; which is sent down unto the Scots, with a golden hook, and, if swallowed by them, it is likely his Majesty (accepting of their benevolence) shall, upon his divesting himself, obtain leave to approach to Hampton Court, there to be almost a Duke of Venice.

For all this, Sir—' *Fides que coronat ad aras* '—let us have good hearts.

APLANOS

I would foot this letter with what I have since learned ; but how true, I leave to time. It is now hot come to town that the dispute hath been so hot in a long fight yesterday and to-day with the remaining part in Kent, that, as some affirm, Sir Thomas is wholly routed ; and certain it is, the men of Essex have beaten (being new in fight) those horse, their opposers, even unto Whitechapel. God improve this !

London, 15th June, 1648

SIR,—Lest I should endanger the departure of the post (which hath hitherto made my despatches so confused and precipitately written), I shall continue my intelligence to you before the Houses are risen, and from henceforth prepare my letters in convenient time for their delivery ; adding what shall intervene as postscripts, till the fixed moment of sending them away cause me to seal them up. Since my first of June, I expect you have received mine of the 5th, 8th, 12th ; all which I have punctually and without interruption sent you. And now for the news. The scene is Essex, more topically Colchester ; the persons, Lord Norwich, Lord Capell, and Sir Charles Lucas, who (with us) passeth for the acter in chief ; and I pray God it conclude not in a play (a tragedy I mean) ; for the army of the faction made such haste after them, that (as some say), diffident of his horse, he betook himself to the town ; yet it seems not so opportunely but that he was constrained to shut the gates upon some of his own men, about 300, who were most of them taken. Whereupon they set fire to the suburbs, and (as they say) were storming of the town, in hopes of success.

This, Sir, is the story of the faction ; but others report (and methinks, upon the unconfident manner of late and sickly relations of theirs, with as much face of truth) that in this conflict was a sore and bloody fight, till the darkness of the night caused them to withdraw into the town ; the suburbs whereof being thereupon set on fire, with the conspiracy of the wind, which was full in the army's teeth, rendered them of the town such a light and opportunity to fight by, that, upon a second bold issue, they recovered not only their losses, but gave a great overthrow to the enemy, causing them to make towards their ordnance, which lay three or four miles off ; in this chase killing and taking divers eminent ones of the soldiery, which are not yet come to light. And this, I must confess, I am somewhat inclined to believe, knowing for certain that the general sent to Skippon for a re-inforce of 3,000 horse (no less) this morning very early. And now I mentioned Skippon, you must know that the faction here have presented him with many horse, which are privately listed, and are ready upon all such occasions. By which practice of theirs (if the City be no wiser) this town will insensibly fall under a considerable bondage again ; for all their militia, and the junto at Westminster, make all possible diligence to put the adjacent counties in their posture of defence ; impeding all such meetings, by their proclamations and otherwise, as they apprehend may tend to petitioning, however freely they have voted in right of the subject ; yet with all this ado, scarce hindering the sollevation<sup>a</sup> of Hampshire, some parts of Sussex, Cambridgeshire, and Norfolk ;

<sup>a</sup> Kindling of hostility ; from the French, *soulever*. So, in a marginal note to this letter (next page) the French word '*redarguer*' is used for our English 'blame.'



the two last of them being of late (if not yet in considerable numbers) ready to join with the Essexians. And, without doubt, could Sir Charles be able to make good his march forwards, his forces would be incredibly augmented by that time he attained Sir Marmaduke, whom he believes to be the most serious and likeliest party of Loyalists in this poor kingdom. It is here confirmed that he is retreated to join with the Scots, who some affirm to be more cordial in the design than myself am inclined to flatter you with at present.

As for South Wales, Cromwell has absolutely received a notable repulse from Pembroke, with the loss of at the least 300 men that miscarried in the storm.

From Ireland we hear nothing of consequence as yet; but the news of the faithful seamen and navy (consisting now of about fifteen stout ships) doth strangely encourage us, especially hoping that the approach of his Highness will add both resolution and constancy in them. And that this is a consideration of moment, I need only repeat you this passage of Sir H., which he let fall lately in the House, that the defection of the fleet (however they seemed to slight it) was of more consequence than the loss of five armies<sup>a</sup>. Farewell!

APLANOS

The business of Colchester looks now very suspicious, but nothing certain; only that the Scots are numerously entered, is uncontradictedly reported this evening; and this, with the ships, promises very much.

The three castles hold still out in Kent.

Mr. Spencer desires to know how his son doth, from whom he hath not heard long since. I shall recapitulate your letters, and the next week inform you how my particular affair stands with my brother.

London, 19th October, 1648

SIR,—There is nothing from hence worthy your observation, besides what I have enclosed, to avoid the medium of writing. It is (as is imagined) the general sense and inclination of the forces (now sufficiently at leisure) to think on mischief, chastise the City, and cudgel the Parliament, for daring to treat with a King who standeth so ill in their *bonnes graces*.

The Speaker pulled forth a letter this morning (which he showed to a friend of your servant's), intimating that for those whom he is desired may be given up (with his assent) as an holocaust, to be abandoned as ever incapable of making their composition either for lives or fortunes, he had given his ultimate answer, being resolved never to sacrifice those who had been his friends, though with the hazard of this overture. And as touching the abolition of Bishops (which two things are the only difficulties), he replied that he had received no satisfaction (as to point of sacrilege and reason) from those arguments presented him by the divines, and therefore desired the Commissioners (whom he took to be intelligent and ingenuous men) that they would propose something which were less verbal and more substantial; the issue whereof you will soon understand. I pray it may not be with the dissolution of the treaty.

The last concessions (since those I formerly advertised you of) are the taking away all honours conferred by patent under his Great Seal since 1642. For himself, his Majesty hath as yet proposed nothing, save his coming to London, and the settlement of a constant revenue to the Crown.

Judge Bramston is likely *fungi officio*, as heretofore having acted nothing since the supersedeas which was sent him from Oxford; so that Wilde is not likely to supplant him. There is shortly a general rendezvous of the army at Newmarket. Every man speaks his mind of the treaty. For my part, I leave all to the soldiers; and, if they do not deceive us, peace may happily ensue.

I am since told that the army have put off their meeting, and that the treaty is like to be effectual; but this is Exchange news.

From the Villa, 23rd October, 1648

SIR,—Your last of the 24th of October I received; and being now upon my journey into Sussex (where I intend effectually to settle my business), I conceived it would be seasonable for me to advertise you thereof, so that you might not imagine by my silence that there was any interruption in the Ordinary, by whom I have seldom failed to render you the best intelligence I can learn.

<sup>a</sup> 'Spoken to redargue their coldness in reducing them.'



Since my last, I received an express from a correspondent of mine in the Isle of Wight, which gives me great hopes that the treaty may yet produce something like a settlement, which we continually expect in these parts. But what was more than I expected, an enclose from Mr. Warcupp (whom Mr. Speaker hath sent thither, to give him an account of proceedings there, and whose letters to him he continually reads in the House), containing many great expressions and tender of service, if in anything there he could be useful to me; adding withal, that if I desired a safe convey thither, he would readily procure it. To which (after I had returned him many acknowledgments for being so mindful of me at that distance, and after so long a discontinuance of acquaintance), I replied, that for my own particular, I had nothing to do there, as being no person that could pretend anything to state affairs (such as were now transacted); but for my relation's sake (whom he very well knew), I should neither spare charge nor pains, knew I but how in the least proportion to promote his designs, which I told him were so just and honourable, that if I had any friend in the world (as I knew none more able and real than himself) unto whom I could recommend the interest of a deserving person, it should be that of —<sup>a</sup>, who had been in nothing more unfortunate than in being (what he was resolved still to continue) an honest and a candid man, amidst all this storm of temptations and exigencies. And for him, if it lay properly in his way to do any right (either in confirmation of his present employment or election into some new), by which one of such excellent parts might not be lost to the commonwealth; as the good, which he should be the instrument of, would be a sufficient satisfaction to himself, so the favour he showed thereby done unto us both could never be forgotten. And something to this effect, I conceived (as I told him) might be in his power to do (whether the treaty succeeded or not), for which he should not find us to be only verbal in our last expressions.

This was all writ, which, if it shall appear to you no unpardonable presumption in me, I shall be exceeding glad.

Now I am going into the coach, and cannot stay to make other conclusion than that of, sir, yours, &c.,

APLANOS

My service to all. I am sorry for my uncle's indisposition.

*London, 18th December, 1648*

SIR,—Behold the third post, which brings me nothing from France; the last from these parts (bearing date December 12th) furnishing me with apprehensions, that you may come to know what distractions signify, in a short time, as well as we in this place by so long and woeful experience<sup>b</sup>.

Since my last, the soldiers have marched into the city, and seized on the public treasures; they have been pretty quiet as to much action, only they extremely insinuate themselves into the town, where they pretend to be at free-quarters until their arrears be fully paid. In the mean time they have garrisoned Blackfriars (which likewise they have fortified with artillery); Paul's Church, which, with London House, they have made stables for their horses, making plentiful fires with the seats; also Barnard's Castle, with divers other considerable places in the body and rivage of the city. By this means they are ready to govern the election of public officers, which will of course fall out to be on St. Thomas's day next ensuing. The members are still in hold; so that there seldom meet so many in the House together, as will make up a Parliament, until they have sent for them to their houses. Divers others, though not in restraint, yet are not permitted to enter; so that now none come above fifty: and sometimes for the commission of the seal they are called from off the chancery. Thus they are troubled both to meet and to adjourn. However, they made a shift to unvote the vote of redresses to the King, and the proceedings thereupon, as wholly unjustifiable; in order to which, that the receiving likewise of the ten members into the House (when a charge of so transcendent a nature lay against them) was unparliamentary and of dangerous consequence. Major-General Browne was fetched out of London by a troop of horse, and carried to Whitehall, from whence he was sent prisoner to St. James's, where he is now accompanied

<sup>a</sup> *Sic* in MS.

<sup>b</sup> The allusion, it need hardly be remarked, is to the insurrections of the Fronde.



with Clotworthy, Massey, and Waller, all whom I hear were made close prisoners the last night, at which time it is said divers troops of horse and companies of foot went towards Windsor, where it is thought his Majesty was suddenly to come, and be proceeded upon in the uttermost extremity.

All the discourse is now upon that new model called *The Agreement of the People*, unto which every man will be summoned to subscribe; and this being first to be debated by a general council of the army, made me this day have the curiosity to adventure amongst them. Wherefore, putting myself in a suitable equipage, I got into the council-chamber, where, Ireton presiding, a large scroll containing this new device was examined, and each paragraph or title there (after a very short debate) put to the question, but with that disorder and irreverence, and palpable cozenage, as is impossible for you ever to believe, unless you were an eye-witness of their transactions. Neither to any one thing did the officers (of whom this council was composed) agree; scarcely abstaining from using uncivil terms at what time they differed in judgment; so young, raw, and ill-spoken men (Ireton himself, in whom the world is so much mistaken, not excepted), I never imagined could have met in council together; nor is it possible for me to believe this rope of sand can long subsist, for the present puffed up (as they are) with success, interest, corruption, and an ignorant company of people whom they have called out of all the counties in this kingdom, to execute this chimera when it is formed, if in the mean time the good God do not disturb them.

This *Agreement*, by which they will cheat us all under the name of the people's agreement, containeth, to my best remembrance, these heads in the preamble: That the King and his party having lost and forfeited their trust in the people, and been fairly vanquished, the people are now in a state of absolute freedom. That now, therefore, they have unanimously agreed to put an end to this present parliament by April next, and in June to elect new representatives, who shall be chosen without writ. This shall sit but six months, and then be dissolved for two years, in which interim, a council of state shall sit (which council, I perceive, shall have the grand arbitrary power in it), for the government of the Common Wealth (for so they named it upon all occasions). That none who make their compositions, shall be ever hereafter molested for any thing said or done during these last engagements; that all public receivers be brought to an account; that laws may be abridged, and all of them rendered in the English tongue; that all religions may be tolerated which shall not be apparently prejudicial to the State; and finally, that delinquents be brought to a speedy trial; such forces to be still maintained in several parts of the kingdom, as shall be necessary for the safety thereof, till these things are effected, and all appearances of contradiction utterly suppressed and subdued. This, sir, is the test we must all undergo, that will enjoy any thing here; where, for the present, all things are at the devotion of an army, and where there is certainly no more face of religion than heretofore in Sodom and Gomorrah, which God destroyed with fire from heaven.

Warwick is come in, contrary to his own interest and safety, as many think. The King is now made pupil to Sir Thomas Fairfax, the General, who is to take care of him. Hamilton is come to Windsor. No drum to be struck up, nor militia to be exercised in city or county, but by immediate command from his Excellency: all is now in their hands, and we are an utterly lost nation, without the mercy of God. I am right sorry to understand the loss of so many of my letters, as I perceive have miscarried, because some of them contained matters of particular consequence to your servant: but haply in this some of them may be come to your hands. Ireland is now the only string to our bow. Little hope of any rising in this kingdom, whatever reports you hear: yet am I most confident there is nothing which these men do that can continue. In the mean time, I wish you could advise me how I may prevent an absolute ruin as to some part of my fortune, which I would most willingly dispose of in some more peaceable and sober corner of the earth. Neither in these resolutions shall I want either encouragement or company, even of my best friends in England; who have thoughts of leaving this place in a very short time, if these proceedings continue. Sir, I am altogether confused, and sad for the misery that is come upon us.

Since finishing hereof, I received yours of the 19th. I pray God to give mine uncle a safe return; that shadow of my dear self which he brings shall be most



agreeable, which, had you not mentioned, I should now have importuned you in, that which I bear about me being not altogether so like the subject as I have often wished.

I am hanging a chamber in your villa, where I am going to set up my rest after Christmas, till you otherwise dispose of me, having now in a manner disposed of mine affairs.

London, 22nd March, 1648-9

SIR,—I enclose the news henceforwards, that (being unmixed) it may be the more communicative.

Since my last, here is nothing done by the New States<sup>a</sup> of great concernment, besides the Act for *abolishing* the Kingly office in these dominions, with a *dissolution* also of the House of Peers, and disabling any of the last King's posterity to claim any title to the Crown. Successive to this (being the production of this day) there is published a declaration, showing the causes of the late proceedings in alteration of the former government; which, being now the corollary and *επιφορά* of what they have to say, proves to be, in the judgment of most indifferent people, a piece full of recrimination on their own proceedings, very slenderly managed, worse penned, and in nothing seconding to the large expectations. The forces in Lancashire under Colonel Ashton, formerly ordered to be disbanded, are reported to be very refractory (the Earl of Derby's son being chief, and the number near 4,000, unto whom, we are told, the country come in apace, they professing for the covenant); and that they fortify Clitheroe Castle, to oppose the coming of Major-General Lambert, who (perhaps) may rise from Pomfract to force them to an obedience. If this prove true, it is unwelcome here, where some bold fellows (of whom one Captain Bray is chief) have presented to the House a charge against his Excellency, for which Bray is sent prisoner to Windsor, as traitor to the people. For my part I concur with some, who conceive it merely the design of another eminent member of the army<sup>b</sup>, whose ambition, having no limits, is resolved to neglect no tentative (how many soever fail, and of which some Royalists are apt to make too plausible constructions) that may unsaddle the General, and fairly hold *him* the stirrup: and then we shall be ridden to the purpose, sir.

The trials of Powell, Poyer, and Langhern, are not yet concluded as to final sentence, though some now say they are condemned. Sir J. Stowell is to be dispatched at the King's Bench; Judge Jenkins, the next western circuit (being a person too eminent to be heard plead in this place); poor Brother Bushel will hardly escape. The Marquis of Winchester and Bishop Wren are to remain in everlasting prisons, who, with those banished (already signified to you), and such as have assisted in the Irish affairs, have not leave to compound. The rest have thus: All within eighty miles of London, filing their petitions at Goldsmiths' Hall by the 1st of April; all more distant, within six weeks, and if beyond the seas, by the 1st of June; after which time, to forfeit their estates; and then we may expect the act of grace, which is now much discoursed of. And to the end their impartiality may be notorious, they have confined *and examined* the Lady Carlisle, upon whom there is now a strong guard. Some are not ashamed to say, that they mean to put her to death; others, that her honourable brother shall secure them that she shall no more play the stateswoman.

Papists that have been in arms, have permission to sell half their estates, and depart the kingdom; the other moiety is to be left for the public service. Some talk as if Sir John Winter had day to be gone; but it is mysterious, to such as have understood how he hath been received here.

The Scots have now owned the late act of their commissioners, in a letter full of artifice, whereby (taking notice of the breach of public faith, law of nations, and the common freedom of ambassadors), they endeavour rather to aggravate the unkindness, than to discover any positive menacing, which yet they forget not to imply; craving the time of three months' warning (according to mutual engagement), before a war (if no other satisfaction in the interim) be recommenced.

The Prince Elector (with some ceremony) is gone for Holland, from whence Mr. Strickland writes word that Monsieur Pau, the Ambassador (returned, not

<sup>a</sup> The reader will observe that between the dates of the present and preceding letter the execution of Charles the First had taken place.

<sup>b</sup> Cromwell.



long since, out of England), hath made a very favourable relation of his noble usage here : and that the States will not interpose in the difference between the Prince and Parliament, with matter to the same effect.

Lieutenant-Gen. Cromwell, with some other gifted champions of the army, exercised yesterday at Whitehall, to inquire of the Lord (according to the language now in use) whether he were the person destined for the Irish employment (whither I dare assure you, he hath no mind at all to go, but haply may be caught) ; and for the good success of this, there is to be a day of public humiliation.

Our great navy here advanceth not with that speed as is desired, the seamen being very much unsatisfied to admit of landmen to force them. For all this, here are many vessels in preparation—some gone forth already, and others upon expectation of a more favourable wind to bring them into the sea. Some fire-ships, I conjecture, may accompany them ; by something I have both heard and seen. Here is talk as if their Vice-Admiral (disputing with a States man-of-war for the courtesy of the seas due to the King) had received much hurt and loss ; others say, Prince Rupert met with her ; but neither of them are confirmed.

It is likewise reported that David Lesley and his antagonists in Scotland are likely to accord, and that the party in Holderness for his Majesty proves to be true ; but no such thing as was given out, that any Danes or Swedes were landed. Some write out of Holland, that Montrose and his old enemies are likely to unite : if that could be effected, and that but one interest were prosecuted, it would much conduce to the wishes of many ; but we think here that a Scotch enmity is implacable. There are whisperings as if Jones and Ormond were accorded ; which methinks, seemeth likewise to correspond with your expression, viz., *'Upon the arrival of the good news here out of Ireland'*, &c. If that be so, believe what a great person among the States let fall to a friend of ours the other day : *'We have e'en cast our selves upon Providence, and know not which way to turn our selves.'*

The Countess of Peterborough is secured, and the Lord of Carlisle since sent to the Tower.

I ease to advise to what persons you communicate the author of this intelligence, for he desires to be concealed.

London, 26 March, 1649

SIR,—My last bears date the 22nd current, since which it is here reported that Pomfret Castle is delivered ; all, except six only, to have mercy ; three of whom, making a desperate sally, escaped ; the other three are taken. This, for the present, is all the certainty we have ; and I fear it is too true. Neither do we hear of any thing more from the Lancashire men, who (although still very troublesome to the faction here) yet it seems did not think of relieving those distressed men.

I was told this morning (of one that pretends good intelligence) that there were two ships of corn gotten into Dublin ; but Jones's brother (newly come over) reporteth that the city cannot hold out above a week longer. For my part, I give faith to neither ; only this, I think it were time the Lord-Lieutenant despatched that work ; for here are preparations of great strength intended, Cromwell himself resolving to go in person.

Prince Rupert hath taken at sea near upon twenty sail of very considerable ships, richly freight with wines and other commodities from divers ports in Spain, two whereof are exceeding rich in plate, and one bearing thirty pieces of ordnance ; which news, being but few hours old, hath given a wonderful alarm to this city, and will doubtless much impede their maritime preparations.

J. Lilburne hath published a second part of *England's New Chains*, in pursuance of the Levelling petition of September 11th, wherein he doth to the life discover the late perfidious sophistications of our grandees, and, in the name of an host of his party, doth solemnly protest against their dissimulation in bringing up the army into the city, the extra-judicial proceeding with the King, the decomposing the Houses, their election, establishing High Courts, and Council of State, and present aweing of the Parliament, almost against all their late transactions. What this will come to, time will evidence.

We hear of commissioners coming out of Scotland hither, which we take to be an ill sign, unless matters be carried on prudently with that kingdom ; in order to which, and some other particulars, I am much solicited (by persons of great



faith to his Majesty's cause, and of equal abilities and intelligence of present affairs) to recommend unto your best opportunity with the King's Council, these few particulars following, viz. :

1st. That his Majesty be desired, if possible, to close with the Scots as to condescensions of ratifying what church government they please, in their own kingdom ; and for this of England, that he will absolutely refer it to a synod of divines, and a new free parliament, to be chosen after his restitution.

2nd. That he would suddenly publish a favourable declaration to the city of London, as likewise to the Presbyterian party in general, and all others that have not had any hand in the late destruction of his father ; for, by this means, he will preserve them both from that feared coalescence with the army, unto which only their despair of the King's mercy and protection, it is doubted, may incline them ; the sole endeavour of the Grandees now being, after this breaking of their spirits, to persuade them that their iniquities are unpardonable. And in this piece his Majesty cannot be too indulgent and kind in his expressions : some great leaders of the Presbyterians being, to my knowledge, well inclining, since the late proceedings, could they but have assurance from abroad ; especially such as were distinguished here by the name of politic Presbyters, and of which the number fully equals the conscientious.

3rd. That he would likewise declare to the mariners upon what terms they shall be received upon their coming in ; fully explaining the cause of that rigour which is reported here to have been exercised towards some taken lately about Jersey, which (though I conceive a falsehood only raised here) hath of late much discouraged some of the inferior, yet most useful, condition.

4th. Lastly, that in all these he would close with the Protestant profession, and do nothing as to the point of punishing offenders and Government, but what shall be approved of by the old way of a free parliament, and the known laws of the land.

These particulars, I was soberly conjured to recommend unto you ; desiring that they may be seriously communicated to some of his Majesty's council, as expedients most proper for the present temper of the kingdom, and especially of this city, which in the meanest of her condition is capable to do hurt or good to the King's affairs. The Scots play the knaves, it is feared.

You are likewise requested to carry this advice with all caution as to the party communicating it unto you, who herein ventures both his life and fortune upon the least miscarriage or discovery. Burn therefore this paper ; after you have made your abstract.

My cypher being not here, I was compelled to be thus plain. Let me know of the receipt hereof.

Superscribed ' CONCEALMENT.'

*London, 29 March, 1649*

SIR,—Supposing that Paris is now free of the investiture, a certain accommodation being here in every man's mouth, I presume to adventure this letter by the ordinary address.

I should be glad to hear of the resolutions, touching the last affairs, importing my particular. After which, I shall more seriously think of obeying your commands, in order to my coming over. But, before this can be effected, I must see the fruits of this uncontradicted accord, by the usual frequency of your letters ; which have hitherto been so great strangers, that I have cause extremely to doubt of the reality of our common reports ; every man corresponding at Paris daily receiving their intelligence, a favour which I do not often obtain, though I extremely desire it.

There is little at present to be added to my former intelligence but the rendition of Pomfract Castle, which was as my former advised you. Neither were mine apprehensions of the Scots frivolous, since they have taken off the head of Huntly for being a cavalier ; banished and proscribed the Marquis of Montrose, Lanerick, Seaforth, Lauderdale, &c. ; and taken away the hereditary shrieftships from the nobility, and all donations for the laity. So that their invitation of the King was in all probability but a device to have betrayed him into the hands of sinners. The subjugation of those of the north of Scotland is not yet well understood. The stubborn men of Lancashire afford us matter of



various discourse ; but nothing so much as the unexpected surprisal and intowering<sup>a</sup> of John Lilburne, proclaiming him traitor ; which suffering of his, it is supposed, will but stimulate his faction, if not render them desperate.

That which I mentioned of the late sea-prize is altogether confirmed, and hath wrought very great apprehensions in this town, for remedy whereof I see yet no sudden appearance. As for Ireland, make use of this, if you can conveniently.

It is determined, by supreme council here, that Jones shall sooner set fire on the city than yield it ; which resolution, doubtless, if the inhabitants understood it, would much alter the matter.

If you love me let me hear from you, and what from me you have of late received ; for it is to satisfy your most humble,  
APLANOS

I would now have written to Veliora, who tells me she expects me, but being at a tavern with my brother and some others, I could not have time.

London, April 2nd, 1649

SIR,—By this time mine of the 26th and 29th are come safe to hand. So much favour I promise myself from that late, yet welcome accommodation, which it is reported here hath now been made in France. I hope likewise (with some of my late ones) you have received your bills of exchange, together with what I proposed unto you about your manor at W., as it was the last resolution and debate at the departure of my uncle, since which I have received nothing from you, which I extremely wonder at, seeing to all other corresponding in France letters come weekly without any stop or interruption.

I am come this day from D. (whither I was gone two days for fresh air), and now think not to stir from this city till I have so exactly adjusted mine affairs, disposed of some valuable goods, and made myself fit for any motion, or long absence (if so necessity require). All which I presume may be seasonably finished by the conclusion of this ensuing term. After which (if my presence at Paris may import you, without farther engaging myself, in case of your absence from thence), I shall put myself in a posture to be suddenly with you : and, certainly, nothing could satisfy me more than to see you in some hopeful employment, whilst it any way lay in my power to be useful unto you, which I conceive I should no way better be, and safer, than if, having settled your family, you were pleased to add me to the number of your *domestiques*. Neither shall my absence from this distracted kingdom any way prejudice your intelligence from home, having already laid and prepared such friends here, as shall abundantly, yet not superfluously, supply all mine imperfections of that kind.

The news take as followeth : Pomfret, with the circumstances delivered in my last, is rendered, and is forthwith to be demolished. It is thought the Lancashire business will disband, and come to nothing ; whereupon also Clitheroe Castle is to be likewise dismantled. The affairs of Scotland, as my last spake them ; though some, not your servant, think it is but in show. An order is drawing up to attaint my Lord of Ormond a traitor and rebel. Upon his new declaration, John Lilburne is in the tower, proclaimed traitor ; for which his party are very angry, and some say, threaten great matters. Prince Rupert's thriving at sea, according to my last, is confirmed ; and some report for certain, that the Constant Warwick frigate, with three or four more good ships, are since gone unto him. The design here for Ireland goes on but slowly, yet something will be suddenly done. The Lord Mayor, for not obeying the army's command, in personally proclaiming the act of having no more kingly government, is sent to the tower for a month, fined £2,000, and disabled from bearing any office.

This is news of concernment and of great consequence. Maxfield is arrested for a debt of £60,000, formerly lent to the King, and now owing to merchants ; for which a petition is given in, that some crown-lands may be sold to satisfy the debt. The K. going for Ireland is not liked by such as say they wish him well here, desiring that he would sit secure in some third place, rather than engage his person.

Superscribed 'A Monsieur, MONSIEUR KIBBLE, Marchant Anglois, demeurant avec Monsieur Laurance Greene, à la Ville de Venice aux Faubourgs St. Germain, à Paris.'

<sup>a</sup> Throwing into the Tower.

London, 5th April, 1649

SIR,—This parcel of a week (since my last to you) hath afforded so little news, that there is almost nothing to write, but that still I receive no letters from Paris. I am confident that your old address is still good, and therefore desire you to continue it. Mine, of April the 2nd, informed you of the proceedings and censure of the Lord Mayor, in whose room there is since one Andrews chosen, a man not so refractory. Their divisions in Scotland, whereby D. Lesley is environed with some danger, still continue. All who declare for the King, and it is here feared that the Hamiltonians may strike in, if not suppressed, are persecuted to the death.

[The remainder of this sentence being unintelligible from the numerous ciphers, is omitted.]

The ambassadors of France and Spain are preparing to be gone. It was last week bruited that 135 is under some cloud in Paris. Be assured he hath laboured all he could to foment matters there, as I could show you by a letter, printed not long since; and you would do a piece of service to inform the Council of France, that there are yet amongst them divers agents who are to endeavour another irruption, if possible; for nothing is so formidable here as a conjunction betwixt Spain and you.

My uncle is not yet returned, and it concerns me to know whether mine of March 26th came to hand.

I have herein enclosed you a cursory proof of the youth's writing, which truly he performs with a wonderful facility and strange sweetness of hand; nor can you be so fitted in every respect. He is young, humble, congruously literate, very apprehensive and ingenuous, and may be of great use to you (when you can spare him) in schooling your son. He is my brother-in-law's jewel, and from whom, but to you only, I am confident he would not have parted. His person is not very gracious, the small-pox having quite put out one of his eyes; but he is of good shape; and I know you do not expect a horse, which whoever buys for show, may lose his race. Truly, I am of opinion you will be very proud of him, and may make him your secretary with a great deal of reason; however, if you do not like him, I am now resolved never to part with him, so long as he is willing to be with me; and above all, he is admirably temperate.

The Anabaptists' desire of engrossing the whole kingdom into their hands, promising to provide for the army, set the poor on work, and repay public faith—for being of that prodigious nature, I forbear to speak further of<sup>a</sup>.

London, 16th April, 1649

SIR,—The small intelligence come to us, since my last, would have quitted you this trouble, but to make recapitulation of the enclosed, which you are desired to peruse and address.

It were still highly to be wished that those D.<sup>b</sup>, which I have so long pressed (from certain knowledge of the good effects they may produce) were by this time put in a way of publication; and, if I could convey you from what sober persons I am solicited, of much expedience to hinder a conjunction, assure a diffident party, and buoy up the spirits of the people, I make no question some speedy course would be taken about it.

It is here reported that the regiment now ready to embark for Chester, refuse to go. In the meantime, here come many complaints of P. R. and P. M.<sup>c</sup>, how they treat the seamen and persons of higher quality in Ireland; which, if true, will prove exceedingly disadvantageous to the greatest of our hopes. For if that business of the fleet be not carefully managed, and *some generally beloved person put into that trust*, never look for good, as it now remains. So much I perceive by all discoveries. — and the others of that strain (though there were

<sup>a</sup> Some of the 'Socialist' schemes propounded at this time by the Anabaptists (or Fifth Monarchy men) and Levellers were almost identical with French and German theories of Socialism in our own day.

<sup>b</sup> Allusion is evidently made to the demands of the moderate Royalists, contained in the letter, *ante*, p. 547.

<sup>c</sup> Prince Rupert and Prince Maurice.



no more in it than the universal disaffection to them), are of infinite scandal on this side ; and I am confident do extremely wrong the Cause. And one would think (as it is commonly said) the K.<sup>a</sup> had now no need ; for the humour of two or three endanger the absolute losing of as many hundred thousands. All which, suggested not from me, you are to receive as the *Vox Populi*.

P. El. P.<sup>b</sup> hath obtained much favour here amongst the Grantees, who take orders still to continue his stipend, for which it is believed he is to pay them some considerable service : it would be well looked into : you know what relations of his are at sea.

If the old Earl of Norwich marry my Lady Kingsmill, and get both his person and estate freed, you will believe something that I long since intimated. It is not yet known whether the condemned Welshmen shall be executed or banished. They find still very great difficulties in the sea-affairs, and I do not hear of any great fleet, besides those already at sea with Popham and five more, now ready to put out from Portsmouth. The Common Council require double security with Deans and Chapter lands upon loan of this last advancement ; and I hear that the new Lord Mayor begins to make some scruple of publishing their unkingly proclamation without the politic assistance of this city in body representative, which they refuse.

Be assured that the news of this last week hath made our Grantees look nothing so confidently as heretofore, whatever be the reason.

It is verily believed that if there had not been some falling-out by late discourtesies done to 159 from 183, he had ere this been master of 152.

And this is all I know at present.

P.S.—The levelling party are now so high that I may shortly write you word of the return of those soldiers marched out of this city, and destined for Ireland, to do as great a violence to this stately council as lately they did to the Parliament, for such is their resolution against Cromwell and his followers. They are likewise changing all their commanders. Philipp and Montgomery, the first of that name, took his place this day in the Commons' House.

We have no ill news from Holland ; if true, the States talk of building gallies, and making slaves.

Superscribed 'A Monsieur, MONSIEUR ROBERT KIBBLE, Demeurant avec Mons. Greene, Merchand Anglois, a l'Hostel de Venize, aux Faubourgs St. Germain, à Paris.'

*No date. About the middle of April, 1649*

SIR,—Yours of the 10th received. I much joy to understand what of mine have come to hand, especially that so much here expected and desired, in order to a free and gracious D. both to city, presbyterian, and mariners ; and that before their fears and want of confidence (being altogether their pretence) necessitate them to a compliance with the army—now (I say), whilst matters are warm and exasperated, as hath of late been in this city, since (after degraduating the Lord Mayor) they have voted five more of the principal aldermen<sup>c</sup> out of the city government, thereby to make it absolutely their own, resolved to elect such men in their places as shall force this ass to receive all such burthens as their unmercifulnesses please to lay upon it, and from which these aldermen had hitherto exceedingly obstructed them.

Contrary to all expectations, a fleet is at last patched up, consisting of thirty stout, yet mixed, vessels, which are now under sail, ready to visit the Irish coasts ; besides, they are preparing as many more to bring up the rear, so soon as they can be fitted. If these be not broken, good men here will much despair ; but, if reduced, believe it the hook is in their nostrils.

There is no more of the last week's confident reports that Dublin should be surrendered ; but this is certain, that three commissioners are despatched from hence to treat anew with the Catholics, in hope that by outbidding the Lord Lieutenant the bargain may be repented, and a party gained. But, as for land forces, to be in a great forwardness to be sent into that kingdom as yet I discover not ; nor are they much to be feared, if the divisions in Scotland grow so high

<sup>a</sup> The King.

<sup>b</sup> Prince Elector Palatine.

<sup>c</sup> In margin : 'Goore, Adams, Langham, Bunce, and Reynardson, men able to furnish with great sums, some of them having most part of their estates beyond sea, and moderately inclined.'

as already to have engaged Lesley and the Huntleans. But this, though formally related, is but pamphlet news ; and to which I adhibit no more faith than to assure myself that the distractions there may prove capable of a great diversion here, where there are the regiments designed to march northwards (as it is conjectured) to assist Argyle in case it grow to a business, and he be overpowered.

They are proceeding with the Lord Carlisle and the rest of the Welsh prisoners ; but what will be the issue is not known : only it is said that they pretend to have discovered matters of great proof against Brown for having received 20,000*l.* towards this last summer's engagement, for which he is ordered to be speedily sent for from Windsor Castle, his prison.

There is nothing here so much abhorred as a peace 'twixt your two crowns of France and Spain, for which all applications are used to the Hollanders that they would interrupt it, upon reason of state, well knowing that their joint interest can no longer well subsist but in troubled fountains.

If the king ever think to thrive here he must provide him a good body of horse, of which the army here are generally so well provided, that a more complete and numerous is not easily to be seen. If this could be compassed upon safe stand and repose, all other advantages would soon fall in of themselves.

If Hide and some others (*ejusdem luti*<sup>a</sup>) be of your council it will generally disgust, and be resented here ; their persons being obnoxious to all sides and inclinations.

It was reported here that you were 107, but it is not since confirmed. We much desire to know how you shape your course, and what both your private and public resolutions are.

You are yet to receive and account for mine of the 29th March, likewise April 2nd and 5th, besides this.

*London, 23rd April, 1649*

SIR,—I shall write very abruptly to you, as also to my lady, for which I desire you to forbear my reasons, till the next return. I omitted also the last Thursday upon the same account. Since my last ; little news, but great expectations from Dublin, which some (not your servant) affirm to be delivered. Here are great preparations on this side : 12,000 drawn out by lot, the greatest part whereof, it is said, are unanimous. Shipping, likewise, is endeavoured, M. G. Cromwell showing a readiness, though some will not believe all these appearances.

In the mean time, while the new King declares nothing of his intentions<sup>b</sup> to this nation but what is printed out of Holland, &c., we are easily persuaded, (even the most moderate as well as rigid Presbyterian, and divers of other stuff) that he prepares only for an absolute conquest, without warning, condition, or moderation. Against which I find most men inclined to oppose, by a juncture with the new Commonwealth. *Verbum sat*—.

John Lillburne is much threatened, and returneth as high. This day legions of women went down to clamour the House for his enlargement, but had not welcome. Poyer is by lot appointed to die, as this day, if his petition prevail not. From Scotland we have nothing certain ; but from sea divers reports of losses, but none from reporters of credit. They have now set forth a fair fleet at last ; but no tidings of successes as yet. Those that are to succeed them are well stored with chains and grappling-hooks, with which stratagem great things are promised to be done.

The Queen's goods, hangings, &c., are brought from Wimbledon, to adorn the Lord-General's lodgings ; and the rest kept at Somerset House. The news of late hath not much pleased, and so you must pardon these rags of intelligence from, Sir, yours, so long as I last.

Some say the regiments which lay at Chester miscarried ; others, that they are not yet gone ; others, that they are landed.

Superinscribed 'A Monsieur, MONSIEUR KIBBLE, Demeurant avec Mons. Lawrence Greene, Merchand Anglois, à la Ville de Venice, aux Faubourgs St. Germain, à Paris.'

<sup>a</sup> Of the same vile stamp.

<sup>b</sup> Another allusion to the demands, *ante*, p. 552.



London, May 10, 1649

SIR,—I this day received your congratulatory distich, with other your affectionate expressions of the 15th current, for which please to accept this acknowledgment and second confirmation of my perfect recovery.

Our business of W. is not yet ripe for a conclusion; the title proving so unsatisfactory to counsel, in defect of a former recovery. But, upon what you are pleased lately to assure me under your hands, I shall make no doubt of proceeding; neither should I have pressed so far, but to satisfy my friends here, &c. And now I must beg your pardon for omitting the last post, having, ever since mine enlargement, been obliged to return many of my friend's visits, and so *incerti laris* till this day, which is the first I have enjoyed without interruption.

Every day is now big with news; since this levelling distemper hath so epidemically spread itself among the soldiers, that the General himself and Lieutenant-General are both of them, with what forces they were capable to draw forth, marched towards Oxford and Salisbury, with absolute intentions (if they cannot otherwise accommodate) to put it to the hazard of a day; which, whatever others affirm, they are like enough to carry, surprising them thus in the infancy of their bold declaration, which hath been seconded by the continual petitions of both sexes for several days past. In the mean time, to prevent the escape of John Lillburne, the Tower of London was yesterday seized upon by four troops of horse, sent in by the Lieutenant-General, who have possessed themselves thereof, and outed the Governor; so that John is now faster in Limbo than ever. What will be the result of these strange confusions and distempers, you may imagine; it being not easy for me to determine, further than that it is probable to impede the preparations for Ireland, from whence we receive nothing which is certain.

Neither is our intelligence such, out of Scotland, as speaks any thing positively of an agreement with their King; only Middleton's party, with the Gordons, are acknowledged to be very strong, and not a little formidable, insomuch as it is conceived here, that if the King do not accord with the Kirk, Sir John will be forced to invite a parliamentary assistance from their brethren here. From Holland it is credibly reported that Dr. Dorislaus (lately despatched from here upon affairs of State, or as others affirm, to prepare something previous to an intended embassy) was assassinated by some Scotchmen, who surprised him at supper, at the Hague. Believe it, this is a very unwelcome news to the Grand Council.

I was informed, from a singular hand this day, that Prince Rupert had taken, in these summer's fortunes at sea, of money and staple prizes, to the value of two hundred thousand pounds, with which he is fortifying himself at Kinsale without rendering any further account.

There are divers spies pensioned here, from the king's Court; which should be looked into. You would little conceive John Birkenhead should be one. Nor dare I affirm it; but, as it is my manner to write all that I hear, you must pick and leave what is for your turn. I have no particular passion to any man, and therefore please to correct me when I transgress. You shall best know how to value mine intelligence, as you shall see it answered by the success of things; though that be now no perfect rule to judge by.

Sir, I am too bold, but it is to let you understand how absolutely I am your unfeigned servant.

My uncle J. and his wife being in town, I have been to visit them this afternoon.

London, 14th May, 1649

SIR,—Since mine of May 10th, here is arrived so small intelligence from the army, on whose actions depend all our expectations, that I know not what to write, where to fix. The General is still pursuing the reduction of the levellers, which he is resolved to do, either by money, promises, or blows. And it is certain that Col. Reynolds, attempting to reduce a party of them near Banbury, had his lieutenant slain; so that there is blood drawn, though, it is said, he afterwards dispersed them. What the rest (in a great body) have done, or will do,

is not mine to determine ; but the most sober men believe it will conclude, at least, in a present and superficial accommodation ; others, and they not few, that they will never be appeased til' this Council be abolished, the Parliament determined, and all their demands absolutely granted.

In the mean time, to stay your stomachs at Paris, it is now communicated to me as a very great secret, even from persons of very great moderation and singular interest, that this defection of theirs hath something more in it than as yet appeareth, and that they have privately debated these brief particulars, viz. :

1. If slaves, then to him that hath right ; to a king rather than fellow-subjects.
2. If free, as free as heaven and earth can make us ; for in a month's revolution great mutations may be made, and great ones called to account.
3. To incline to monarchy strictly regulated.
4. A speedy rendezvous, and declaration according to papers dispersed by faithful hands into all parts of the kingdom.
5. A dilemma put upon the Parliament either to try or not to try John Lillburne ; if not, then sure to revenge the injury ; if, then just ground of discontent.

6. Quære : How to supply with Officers ? Reply : Any soldiers created by them were as able as any now in commission ; for did not we make them all at Triploe Heath ?

7. Quære : How to prevent future ruin, in respect some of us are for an universal toleration ; others, for English freedom only ? Reply : This to be debated next meeting.

And doth not this carry a serious face with it ? How facile a thing it is to deceive the credulous Cavalier ! In his hope he hugs himself, sits still, and expects. But I am not apt to be caught with chaff, neither would I have you believe *omne hoc micans aurum esse*.

If my next do not inform you of an accord, believe it that there is suspicion that they will have their scope of reigning, which is all they contest for ; and I verily think an accommodation can be but temporary. For any other loyal inclinations in them, I can in no way deduce it.

The L.-Gen. Cromwell is returned to London, to make all sure here, where he hath caused treble watches to be kept for this night past. The corpse of Dorislaus, now brought hither, is to be interred with pompous solemnity. Here is yet no more out of Ireland nor the North ; and now to ourselves.

In the business of W., we have perfectly made a conclusion, so soon as the deed is sealed, &c., by you and my mother, with which the fine shall (if possible) be conveyed to you next post-day ; for, till that be past, neither estate nor mortgage is valid in law longer than you live ; nor were your heirs any way responsible to mine uncle, if you had failed, in default of a recovery, as now (as not till now) he very well knows. In the interim, I shall secure to mine uncle the payment of the remainder, so soon as either of you shall determine of the sum, which I desire you should do speedily, that I may provide the monies. And here again I do freely reiterate my promise of settling the land upon my dear wife, as the least part of what I have already given her in my will. This being perfected, I shall adjust the time of my coming over, being exceedingly desirous to confer with you about many things. And so, I beseech God to bless us with a happy meeting. Sir, your most obedient servant,

EVELYN

I have made all possible means to procure those orders you spake of. S. D. C. protests that he left all his papers, &c., at Oxon ; and others whom I employ can yet give me no account, most of those things being in the custody of our Grandees. Notwithstanding, I will still do mine endeavour till I receive your supersedeas.

To-morrow I intend to visit, where are my uncle Jo. and his lady, for a day or two.

London, 7th June, 1649

SIR,—I yesterday received yours of the 12th current, with the duplicates enclosed ; all which shall be duly thought on. My aunt P. is fallen here sick of the measles ; so that now our western journey is absolutely put off, and my southern approaches very near. I have been this day visiting all our noble friends in this town, to give them notice that they make ready their commands against next week ; what time I intend to take leave of them, and the week



following to put my foot into the stirrup. In the meantime (to-morrow) my uncle and I shall set an hour apart to determine what is farther to be done in the business of W., in case my brother's money should not come in, he depending altogether upon a creditor, who promised to pay him in £2,000; so that, however matters fall out, we will so order it, that both you and your servant be well satisfied, and of which I shall haste to render you a more full account.

For news, I never knew anything more uncertain than the reports which come to us of something done lately at Kinsale. But, because you may desire it, I will let you know both what we wish, and what we fear. The cavaliers' news goes current, that a squadron of the States' ships<sup>a</sup> having as they thought gained the governor of the castle by a present, &c., entered the haven, and there, putting themselves in posture to have destroyed the P. fleet<sup>b</sup>, and to have reduced the town, their friends in the castle let fly at them with such courage and success, that with the help of the ships in port, and store of shot from the town, they took and sunk divers of their ships, and half ruined them for this summer. But how consistent this is with the last night's Order, that the present blocking up of Kinsale, and thereby the probable reduction of Prince Rupert's fleet, be added as an ingredient to this day of thanksgiving in all the pulpits, I leave you to judge. Their Admiral Popham is for certain come to this town, which some interpret a confirmation of their being worsted; others say, it is to solicit for six months' provisions more, resolving to tire them out with over-watching (so you know did Warwick the last summer), which I take to be as likely.

But, whilst I am telling you what we hear from sea, I must not forget to let you know how matters go on shore, this solemn day of triumph in the city.

First, the Grandees, my Lord-General upon one of the late king's horses, went modestly through the streets to Christ Church, where, first entered the president in a black velvet gown, richly faced with gold, and his train borne up by two. Next him, the Speaker, and Commissioners of the Great Seal. After him the General; then the House of Commons. Cromwell at the tail of three Lords<sup>c</sup>, which was all that were there. In this order they took their places, and were fitted with a double sermon. Going from church towards Grocers' Hall, where they dined, the Lord Mayor delivered up his sword and mace to the Speaker, with this compliment, that as he had been a faithful servant to the King, so would he now be no less to the States; and with that it was re-delivered him according to the custom. Being entered the Hall, the bason and ewer of gold were presented to the General, and a fair cupboard of silver to the L.-Gen. After this they sate at table, in the same order in which they entered the church, where they had as luxurious an entertainment as you can imagine.

Thus, being now warm, and settled in the new government, they are upon reforming most of the courts of justice, and resolve to confirm themselves by all means imaginable.

I hear for certain that the Isle of Scilly is in very ill-condition for want of corn, and that those Irish lately put on shore there (since the sickness of the governor) are exceedingly insolent.

Here are speedy preparations for Ireland; and no doubt but Col. Jones will be able to march into the field with a very little addition.

This is all the news which I have thus confusedly made up; the streets being at present so full of noise and tumult, occasioned by three or four wild gents<sup>d</sup> in drink, that I scarce know what I am doing, nor how it will end.

Here are five Straits' merchant-ships, the custom amounting to above £50,000, just come into the river.

*Alexander Ross<sup>e</sup> to John Evelyn*

*London, May 20, 1650*

NOBLE MR. EVELYN,—I have received a rich jewel from you, which I more value than Alexander did Darius his cabinet or Homer's Iliads. You have doubly obliged me to you, first in remembering me who have merited nothing from you, then in bestowing on me such a present, whose verses I esteem as

<sup>a</sup> Ships of the Parliament.

<sup>b</sup> Prince Rupert's.

<sup>c</sup> Salisbury, Pembroke, and Lisle (*in margin*).

<sup>d</sup> *Sic* in original.

<sup>e</sup> See *Diary*, p. 169.

peerless ; in the one you show your goodness, in the other your judgment. Sir, I have nothing to return you but verbal thanks, only I shall entreat you to accept this mite for your rich present, instead of a better gift. I would have sent you this epitome bound, but Mr. Bedell told me that you would bind it to your own mind ; then, Sir, your Virgil shall bear your name in the frontispiece as benefactor ; and it shall always be my remembrance of your worth and goodness, and withal of my thankful acknowledgments, who shall, till death, remain, Sir, your faithful servant,

ALEXANDER ROSS

*Alexander Ross to John Evelyn*

London, July 21, 1650

WORTHY SIR,—I received yesternight your letter and translation, the beginning whereof I have yesternight and this morning perused ; but sometime will be requisite to peruse it all with judgment. I have taken the boldness to mark some of its pages, as I desire to confer with you about it. I am sorry to be called from it, but this morning I am bound to Hertfordshire upon urgent business ; on my return I will solace myself with the melody of your muse, which I will bring to you myself, and pay the debt of a visit I owe you. With my humble service, I rest your very humble servant to command,

ALEXANDER ROSS

*John Evelyn to Lady Garret*

Paris, 9th Octob., 1651

It had not been now that the grateful resentments of your Ladyship's favour remained so long for a fair gale on this side, if the least opportunity had presented itself before the return of this noble gentleman ; and however Fortune (who esteemed it too great a favour for me) has otherwise disposed of the present which you sent me, I think myself to have received it as effectually in your Ladyship's design and purpose, as if it were now glistening upon my finger. I am only sorry, that because I missed that, I did not receive your commands ; and that an obligation of so much value seems to have been thrown away, whilst I remain in another country useless to you. I will not say, that the way to find what is lost, is to fling another after it ; but if any services of your Ladyship perished with that jewel, there can be no danger in reinforcing your commands, and repairing the greater loss, seeing there is nothing in the world which with more passion I pretend to, than to continue, Madam, your Ladyship's, &c

*Dean Cosin<sup>a</sup> to John Evelyn*

Paris, 18 December, 1651

DEAR MR. EVELYN,—I have been told that, upon the news of my conversion to the *Catholic Faith*, and of my retirement thereupon, it hath been given out amongst divers, that I have been inveigled by the priests of our nation, allured by fair promises to desert my former religion, and now by them detained in such restraint, as not to be permitted to converse with or to repair unto my friends. Hence some have proceeded to exclaim, 'What a barbarous and unconscionable thing it is to separate a son from his father, and to encourage him in this act of disobedience against him'. Weak refuges these, alas, to defend themselves ! much weaker arguments to reduce me from where I am. I beseech you, therefore, to know (and also to let others know), that I cannot but esteem this report as a foul aspersion cast upon myself ; and I make bold upon this occasion to beg this favour of you, confiding to your candid and uninterested ingenuity that

<sup>a</sup> This is the letter referred to by Evelyn in the *Diary*, p. 186. The writer had become a Roman Catholic, 'debauched by the priests,' says Evelyn, but, in truth, prepared for conversion or perversion by the teaching of his father, the Dean. Dean Cosin, afterwards Bishop of Durham, was one of the most Popish of Anglican divines, as even Evelyn's occasional notices of him may prove (see *Diary*, pp. 181, 184), and as his published writings more plainly testify.



I have found in you, that you will afford it me ; seeing it is only to assist me to manifest the truth without prejudice to any.

Surely I have neither so much debility and weakness in my capacity ; so little understanding, constancy, and resolution ; so much of the child, nor so little of the man ; as to be fooled into any other religion by fair words, or be kept in it by threats. What I have done I assure you is wholly voluntary, not violently forced, nor foolishly persuaded, not drawn, except I may be said to be sweetly drawn (which I willingly confess) by the powerful hand of Almighty God, whose infinite goodness hath been pleased to strengthen my heart (after some years of reluctancy) to embrace His truth ; and hath also given me a firm and solid resolution (as I hope) never to deviate from His right ways. Believe me, Sir, these desires of mine were not first conceived nor discovered in France (I mean very privately to, or by, some friends of mine, Catholics, in secret discourse, which was sometimes my own desire to content myself) ; I have had them in some degree a longer time, though I deferred the execution of them until now, not so much to satisfy a discontented world that I did not with temerity resolve, as out of a private and eager apprehension that I might (if any where) meet here in Paris with dear satisfaction.

When I had sought here for this quiet to my troubled mind, with all the diligence I could possibly use (without discovering myself to any, which, I must confess, I durst not do on one side, and on the other side as yet I would not) and neither in this way could I find any repose, what had I to do but to extricate myself from the labyrinth of those ambiguities which had caused me to doubt. Which I did privately, too ; by hearing the public disputations of the reverend fathers of many several religious houses and orders, and other scholars ; by reading some manuscripts dictated by the learned doctors of the Sorbonne, by frequenting their lectures, in which truth was so clear and solid, so evident, so perspicuous and evincing, that in my opinion no man was able to resist it :

————— potius fugientia ripas  
Flumina devincat, rapidis aut ignibus obstat.

Where is there yet any barbarism in our priests ? Is it for keeping constant to their integrity of conscience ? Or that I have turned, not to those priests only, but to the Father of those priests (whose ministers they are), my Saviour Christ. Or is it for rejoicing at the conversion of a sinner, which is the joy of the blessed angels in Heaven ? Though, Sir, their wisdom and piety, their love of God in Christ (for which they daily bear the cross of most opprobrious contumelies with great joy, patience, and long-suffering), doth carry them so transcendently to their pious obligations (whom I have had the happiness to converse withal), I cannot choose but vindicate their goodness and integrity, their innocence and piety, from those slanderous indignities and heinous false aspersions (especially in this case), which without just indignation I cannot see so maliciously cast upon them.

But I am separated (they say) from my dear father, and remain in actual disobedience to his commands. If I be separated, that separation proceeds not from the instigation of any priest living : they have done no more than with joy received me into the Church of God, of which office they are not ashamed, or, if they were, I should join myself to their present detractions, and make their quarrel just. If I obey not his commands, it is because I cannot hear them, and that is caused by my absence. Sir, it is not so new a thing for children to absent themselves for some time out of their parents' sight, when they have done anything, though never so justly, which may seem to displease them. My design was to have discovered the business unto him in the best manner ; and I believe I had done so, had not my resolutions been unexpectedly discovered and I too suddenly surprised.

Believe me, Sir, my absence proceedeth rather from the duty I confess to owe unto my dear father, than any disrespect : and if I esteemed it otherwise, I would rather have suffered much more than I could have expected, than to have withdrawn myself from him.

Had I not been assured that *Catholic Doctrine* did not enjoin the payment of children's obedience and duty to their parents, I assure you it would have been a point that should have given me great distaste : and surely the Grace of God



cannot diminish our pious and natural affections, since it is the complement and perfection of all virtues. But herein I hope to give due satisfaction to the world, when at last Time, which is *edax rerum*, shall first digest all fears and discords, and then rectify their understanding. In the mean while, I desire to give men this satisfaction, that I am free ; and to forgive them their own freedom in talking so dissolutely of my restraint.

Why should people so much concern themselves as to slander so ignominiously (I will not say barbarously) innocent men on my behalf, if my desires of privacy be (as they are, for aught they know) out of a serious devotion to get into the Church as much as I can, apprehending the danger I was in, in being so long out of it ?

This freedom, Sir, I have taken with you, as well to quell these vulgar outcries, as to have a right understanding amongst us. If, after the trouble of reading these tedious lines, you will not take the trouble to communicate this for others' satisfaction and my vindication, I hope yet I shall not quite lose my labour ; but you will please to believe me yourself, in whose good opinion as an ingenious and sober friend, I shall rest as content as in that of the multitude.

I cannot be so confident as to think that any will receive a salutation from a disobedient ; I shall, therefore, remit it a while ; and when this dark cloud is more dispersed and blown over, that my candid innocence and integrity in this matter may appear, I shall take the boldness to present my service where it is due, though not with so much freedom and presumption, yet with the same honesty and heartiness in which I now say I am, dear Sir, your most faithful and affectionate servant,

JOHN COSIN

Addressed '*To his much honoured friend Mr. Evelyn, at Sir Richard Browne's, Resident for His Majesty the King of England in Paris,*' and endorsed by Evelyn : 'Brought to me late at night by an unknown person, and answered by me, dated 1st January, by occasion of the dispersing copies of it in Her Majesty's Chamber.'

*Dean Cosin to John Evelyn*

*Paris, April 3, 1652*

SIR,—If it had not been our preparation here the last week for Easter, I should have prevented your letter with my thanks for your kind visit that you gave my daughter, whereof she had given me notice the week before. Your advice and assistance in disposing of her books will, I hope, make her journey more pleasant to her than otherwise it would have been. If those half-dozen that your brother hath scored, be not such as will dismember any class, and hinder the sale of the rest which belong unto it, she shall not do amiss to part with them : but for them that you have a mind to yourself (and I would for her sake, and for your own, too, you had a mind to them all, especially to the Fathers, and to the History, both ecclesiastical and secular, whereof upon every occasion you will find great use), I dare promise that she shall give you your own convenient times of payment for such monies as you agree upon, and that her demands for the agreement will be very reasonable. Truly if you would be pleased to furnish yourself with those classes which were chosen and designed by you know whom, for Mr. St. (who intends not to make the use of a good library that you are both desirous and able to do), rather than they should be distracted elsewhere, it will be best for her to take your payments proportionably for several years, as you can best spare the money ; for I would you might have as much ease in your payments as I know you will have pleasure in the books.

I am sorry you find such confusion in Religion, and such intemperance in life, where you are ; but as neither of them is pleasing to you (whom I have ever noted to be virtuous, orderly, and conscientious in all your ways), so it pleases me highly when you can number so many names that make more esteem of their knees and their souls together, than to bow them down to Baal.

I never entertained any suggestions against my daughter, who, I am confident, hath more of God in her than ever to be carried away with such Devil's temptations as have seduced and undone her brother, against whom I can hardly hold here from expressing a very great indignation. The excellent letter you addressed to him, I presented to his Majesty's view (and I presented your excuse withal for



not coming to him before you went), for whom the copy of it was prepared ; and every way it was highly pleasing to him as he read it. But when I told him it was my intention to publish it, though he wished it done, yet he thought it were better for a while to spare it (*rebus sic stantibus*), for fear of displeasing his mother the Queen<sup>a</sup>, who had been pleased to interest herself in the matter.

I meet often with the good company of those persons that you left behind you : but in good truth I am very sorry that I must lose the benefit and pleasure of your good society, which was always most acceptable to your assured and most humble servant,

J. COSIN

*John Evelyn to Edward Thurland*

(Afterwards Sir Edward Thurland, and Baron of the Exchequer.)

*London, 25th April, 1652*

SIR,—*Nemo habet tam certam manum ut non sæpe fallatur* ; and yet I hope my memory shall serve me for the subscribing this epistle, which is more than yours (dear lawyer) could, it seems, do, when you sent me your summons for my Court at Warley, with all those sigillary formalities of a perfect instrument. But this is a trifling σφάλμα ; and I easily supplied it, by taking the boldness to write a new warrant in the most ill-favoured character I could, that it might be the more like to your fair hand ; it was despatched, only the day altered to be the next before the Term, since otherwise I could not have appeared ; and for which presumption, if you think fit to amerce me, I desire it may be by the delegation of Mr. Jo. Barton *pro Vicario* ; since, whilst I thus indulge my noble tenant, I may not neglect to reduce my vassals, *cum ita suggerent chartæ sicut optimè noveris*, &c., it being the advice of a great philosopher, and part of my Litany, *Libera te primum metu mortis (illa enim nobis primum jugum imponit), deinde paupertatis*. The first I endeavour to secure by physic, the latter by your learned counsel, the effects whereof I much more desire to resent by the favour which (I am assured) you may do your servant in promoting his singular inclinations for Albury<sup>b</sup>, in case (as I am confident it will) that seat be exposed to sale. I know you are potent, and may do much herein ; and I shall eternally acknowledge to have derived from you all the favour and success, which I augur to myself from your friendship and assistance : it being now in your power to fix a wanderer, oblige all my relations, and, by one integral cause, render me yours for ever. I suppose the place will invite many candidates, but my money is good, and it will be the sole and greatest obligation that it shall ever be in your power to do for, dear lawyer, your, &c.

*Thomas Barlow<sup>c</sup> to John Evelyn*

*Queen's College, Oxford, 17th March, 1654*

SIR,—I have received by the hands of my ingenuous friends, Mr. Pett and Mr. Needham, those choice pieces which you were pleased so generously and charitably to give to Bodley's library, and so increase our store, though with a diminution of your own. Having no possibility to requite this your kindness and magnificence to the public (*Beneficia tua indignè æstimat, qui de reddendo cogitat*), I have sent this little paper messenger to acknowledge our obligation, and bring our heartiest thanks. I am glad I have got your name into our register

<sup>a</sup> The reader will connect this curious delicacy about the Queen and the popish convert with Evelyn's 'dispersing copies' of his answer to the latter 'in her Majesty's chamber.'

<sup>b</sup> Albury, in Surrey, a seat of Mr. Howard. Thurland was one of the trustees appointed for the sale of it. The allusion in the letter is to the office of Steward of Courts, which, as appears from the second of the entries in the *Diary* above referred to, Thurland at this time held for Evelyn. He was also the author of a book on Prayer, to which allusion is hereafter made.

<sup>c</sup> Doctor Barlow is frequently mentioned in the *Diary*. At the date of this letter he was Librarian of the Bodleian, &c. He was afterwards Warden of Queen's and ultimately Bishop of Lincoln.

amongst those noble and public souls, which have been our best benefactors, and I hope it will be no dishonour to you, when posterity shall there read your name and charity. I know you have goodness enough to pardon this rude, and I fear, impertinent scribble. God Almighty bless you, and all those more generous and charitable souls, who dare love learning, and be good in bad times ; this is, and shall be, the prayer of, Sir, your most obliged humble servant,

THOMAS BARLOW

*John Evelyn to Jeremy Taylor*

*Sayes-Court, 9th February, 1654-5*

The calamity which lately arrived you, came to me so late, and with so much incertitude during my long absence from these parts, that 'till my return, and earnest inquisition, I could not be cured of my very great impatience to be satisfied concerning your condition. But so it pleased God, that when I had prepared that sad news, to deplore your restraint<sup>a</sup>, I was assured of your release, and delivered of much sorrow. It were imprudent, and a character of much ignorance, to inquire into the cause of any good man's suffering in these sad times ; yet if I had learned it out, 'twas not of my curiosity, but the discourse of some with whom I have had some habitudes since my coming home. I had read your Preface long since to your *Golden Grove* ; remember, and infinitely justify, all that you have there asserted. 'Tis true valour to dare to be undone, and the consequent of Truth hath ever been in danger of his teeth, and it is a blessing if men escape so in these days, when not the safeties only, but the souls of men are betrayed : whilst such as you, and such excellent assistances as they afford us, are rendered criminal, and suffer. But you, Sir, who have furnished the world with so rare precepts, against the efforts of all secular disasters whatsoever, could never be destitute of those consolations, which you have so charitably and so piously prescribed unto others. Yea, rather, this has turned to our immense advantage, nor less to your glory, whilst men behold you living your own institutions, and preaching to us as effectually in your chains as in the chair, in the prison as in the pulpit ; for methinks, Sir, I hear you pronounce it, as indeed you act it :

Aude aliquid brevibus gyaris et carcere dignum  
Si vis esse aliquis——

that your example might shame such as betray any truth for fear of men, whose mission and commission is from God. You, Sir, know in the general, and I must justify in particular with infinite cognition, the benefit I have received from the truths you have delivered. I have perused that excellent *Unum Necessarium* of yours to my very great satisfaction and direction ; and do not doubt but it shall in time gain upon all those exceptions, which I know you are not ignorant appear against it. 'Tis a great deal of courage, and a great deal of peril, but to attempt the assault of an error so inveterate.

Αἱ δὲ κεινὰ κρίσεις τὸν ἀπέρατον ὁδόν. False opinion knows no bottom ; and reason and prescription meet in so few instances ; but certainly you greatly vindicate the divine goodness, which the ignorance of men and popular mistakes have so long charged with injustice. But, Sir, you must expect with patience the event, and the fruits you contend for : as it shall be my daily devotions for your success, who remain, Revd. Sir, &c.

<sup>a</sup> The cause of this imprisonment has been doubted, but it was evidently, as Evelyn implies in this letter, in consequence of Taylor's attack on the Puritan preachers in the preface to his collection of prayers called the *Golden Grove*. The latter was the name of Lord Carbery's seat ; which at about this time was invested by a troop of Cromwell's horse, and the Earl obliged to take refuge at a farm-house in the hills. A little later, it will be seen, Taylor again suffered brief imprisonment in Chepstow Castle (during his well-known controversy with Bishop Warner), having been suspected as an instigator of the insurrection at Salisbury. Nor was it many months after this second release that he was thrown into the Tower for some days, for the alleged violation of an Act of Parliament.



John Evelyn to Jeremy Taylor

Lond: 18 Mar: 1655<sup>a</sup>.

REV. SIR,—It was another extraordinary charity which you did me, when you lately relieved my apprehensions of your danger, by that which I just now received: and though the general persecution re-inforce, yet it is your particular which most concerns me, in this sad catalysis and declension of piety to which we are reduced. But, Sir, what is now to be done that the stars of our once bright hemisphere are everywhere falling from their orbs? I remember where you have said it was the harbinger of the great day: and a very sober and learned person, my worthy friend, the great Oughtred<sup>b</sup>, did the other day seriously persuade me *parare in occursum*, and will needs have the following years productive of wonderful and universal changes. What to say of that I know not; but certain it is, we are brought to a sad condition. I speak concerning secular yet religious persons; whose glory it will only be to lie buried in your ruins, a monument too illustrious for such as I am.

For my part, I have learned from your excellent assistances, to humble myself, and to adore the inscrutable paths of the Most High. God and His truth are still the same, though the foundations of the world be shaken. Julianus Redivivus can shut the schools indeed and the temples; but he cannot hinder our private intercourses and devotions, where the breast is the chapel, and our heart is the altar. Obedience founded in the understanding will be the only cure and retreat. God will accept what remains, and supply what is necessary. He is not obliged to externals; the purest ages passed under the cruellest persecutions; it is sometimes necessary; and this, and the fulfilling of prophecy, are all instruments of great advantage (even whilst they press, and are incumbent) to those who can make a sanctified use of them. But, as the thoughts of many hearts will be discovered, and multitudes scandalized; so are there divers well-disposed persons who will not know how to guide themselves, unless some such good men as you discover the secret, and instruct them how they may secure their greatest interest, and steer their course in this dark and uncomfortable weather. Some such discourse would be highly seasonable, now that the daily sacrifice is ceasing, that all the exercises of your functions is made criminal, and that the light of Israel is quenched. Where shall we now receive the viaticum with safety? How shall we be baptized? For to this pass it is come, Sir. The comfort is, the Captivity had no temple, no altar, no king. But did they not observe the passover, nor circumcise? Had they no priests and prophets amongst them? Many are weak in the faith, and know not how to answer, nor whither to fly: and if upon the apotheosis of that excellent person, under a malicious representation of his martyrdom, engraven in copper, and sent me by a friend from Brussels, the Jesuit could so bitterly sarcasm upon the emblem:

Projicis inventum caput, Anglia (Angla?) Ecclesia! cæsum  
Si caput est, salvum corpus an esse potest?

how think you will they now insult, ravage, and break in upon the flock; for the shepherds are smitten, and the sheep must of necessity be scattered, unless the great Shepherd of Souls oppose, or some of his delegates reduce and direct us. Dear Sir, we are now preparing to take our last farewell (as they threaten) of God's service in this City, or any where else in public. I must confess it is a sad consideration; but it is what God sees best, and to what we must submit. The comfort is, *Deus providebit*. Sir, I have not yet been so happy as to see

<sup>a</sup> That this letter is wrongly dated is manifest, from the fact that the letter immediately following (with the date of January) is the answer to it. The allusion to the 'general persecution', and Evelyn's lamentation over 'the last farewell of God's service in this city or anywhere else in public', obviously refers to Cromwell's measures against Episcopacy, taken during the present year. In one entry of the *Diary* (p. 211, the 15th April), we see that the small church of St. Gregory's by Paul's (afterwards destroyed in the Great Fire), was now the only one where the ruling powers connived at the reading of the Liturgy. In another (p. 214, the 27th Nov.), the Protector's edict against the Episcopal party is spoken of.

<sup>b</sup> William Oughtred, Rector of Albury, author of the *Clavis Mathematica*, and other works, and the best geometrician of his time.



those papers which Mr. Royston<sup>a</sup> tells me are printing, but I greatly rejoice that you have so happily fortified that battery ; and I doubt not but you will maintain the siege : for you must not be discouraged for the passions of a few. Reason is reason to me wherever I find it, much more where it conduces to a design so salutary and necessary. At least, I wonder that those who are not convinced by your arguments, can possibly resist your charity and your modesty ; but as you have greatly subdued my education in that particular, and controversy, so am I confident time will render you many more proselytes. And if all do not come so freely in with their suffrages at first, you must with your accustomed patience attend the event.

Sir, I beseech God to conduct all your labours, those of religion to others, and of love and affection to me, who remain, Sir, your, &c.

*Jeremy Taylor to John Evelyn*

*St. Paul's Convers : [25 Jan.] (1655-6)*

DEAR SIR,—I perceive by your symptoms, how the spirits of pious men are affected in this sad catalysis : it is an evil time, and we ought not to hold our peace : but now the question is, who shall speak ? Yet I am highly persuaded, that, to good men and wise, a persecution is nothing but changing the circumstances of religion, and the manner of the forms and appendages of divine worship. Public or private is all one : the first hath the advantage of society, the second of love. There is a warmth and light in that, there is heat and zeal in this : and if every person that can, will but consider concerning the essentials of religion, and retain them severely, and immure them as well as he can with the same or equivalent ceremonies, I know no difference in the thing, but that he shall have the exercise, and consequently the reward, of other graces, for which, if he lives and dies in prosperous days, he shall never be crowned. But the evils are, that some will be tempted to quit their present religion, and some to take a worse, and some to take none at all. It is true and a sad story ; but *oportet esse hæreses*, for so they that are faithful shall be known : and I am sure that He who hath promised to bring good out of evil, and that all things shall co-operate to the good of them that fear God, will verify it concerning persecution. But concerning a discourse upon the present state of things in relation to souls and our present duty, I agree with you, that it is very fit it were done<sup>b</sup>, but yet, by somebody who is in London and sees the personal necessities and circumstances of pious people : yet I was so far persuaded to do it myself, that I had amassed together divers of my papers useful to the work : but my Cases of Conscience call upon me so earnestly, that I found myself not able to bear the cries of a clamorous conference. Sir, I thank you for imparting to me that vile distich of the dear departed saint. I value it as I do the picture of deformity or a devil : the act may be good, and the gift fair, though the thing be intolerable : but I remember, that when the Jesuits, sneering and deriding our calamity, showed this sarcasm to my Lord Lucas, Berkenhead<sup>d</sup> being present, replied as tartly ' It is true, our Church wants a head now ; but if you have charity as you pretend, you can lend us one, for your Church has had two and three at a time.' Sir, I know not when I shall be able to come to London : for our being stripped of the little relics of our fortune remaining after the shipwreck, I have not cordage nor sails sufficient to bear me thither. But I hope to be able to commit to the press my first books of Conscience by Easter term ; and then, if I be able to get

<sup>a</sup> Richard Royston was bookseller to three kings, and lived at the Angel in Ivy-lane. He held a patent for printing all the works of King Charles I., and became Master of the Stationers' Company in 1673 and 1674. He died in 1686, in the 86th year of his age, and was buried in the south aisle of Christ Church, Newgate-street.

<sup>b</sup> It is somewhat curious that Taylor should have forgotten the fact of his having already, five years before the date of this letter, done what he is here so anxious to see again attempted. See the Preface (or Epistle Dedicatory to Lord Carbery) in the *Holy Living*.

<sup>c</sup> ' I shed a tear when I am told that a brave king was misunderstood, then slandered, then imprisoned, then put to death, by evil men.'—Jeremy Taylor's *Treatise on Friendship*.

<sup>d</sup> John Birkenhead, royalist writer of the *Mercurius Aulicus*.



up, I shall be glad to wait upon you : of whose good I am not more solicitous than I am joyful that you so carefully provide for it in your best interest<sup>a</sup>. I shall only give you the same prayer and blessing that St. John gave to Gaius : ' Beloved, I wish that you may be in health and prosper : and your soul prospers ' : for so by the rules of the best rhetoric the greatest affair is put into a parenthesis, and the biggest business into a postscript. Sir, I thank you for the kind expressions at the latter end of your letter ; you have never troubled me neither can I pretend to any other return from you but that of your love and prayers. In all things else I do but my duty, and I hope God and you will accept it ; and that by means of His own procurement, He will, some way or other (but how, I know not) yet make provisions for me. Sir, I am in all heartiness of affection, your most affectionate friend and minister in the Lord Jesus,

JER. TAYLOR

*Jeremy Taylor to John Evelyn*

*April 16, 1656*

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,—I hope my servant brought my apology with him, and that I already am pardoned, or excused in your thoughts, that I did not return an answer yesterday to your friendly letter. Sir, I did believe myself so very much bound to you for your so kind, so friendly reception of me in your Tusculanum, that I had some little wonder upon me when I saw you making excuses that it was so better. Sir, I came to see you and your lady, and am highly pleased that I did so, and found all your circumstances to be an heap and union of blessings. But I have not either so great a fancy and opinion of the prettiness of your abode, or so low an opinion of your prudence and piety, as to think you can be any ways transported with them. I know the pleasure of them is gone off from their height before one month's possession ; and that strangers and seldom-seers feel the beauty of them more than you who dwell with them. I am pleased indeed at the order and the cleanness of all your outward things ; and look upon you not only as a person, by way of thankfulness to God for His mercies and goodness to you, specially obliged to a greater measure of piety, but also as one who, being freed in great degrees from secular cares and impediments, can without excuse and allay wholly intend what you so passionately desire, the service of God. But, now I am considering yours, and enumerating my own pleasures, I cannot but add that, though I could not choose but be delighted by seeing all about you, yet my delices were really in seeing you severe and unconcerned in these things, and now in finding your affections wholly a stranger to them, and to communicate with them no portion of your passion but such as is necessary to him that uses them or receives their ministries. Sir, I long truly to converse with you ; for I do not doubt but in those liberties we shall both go bettered from each other. For your *Lucretius*<sup>b</sup>, I perceive you have suffered the importunity of your too kind friends to prevail with you. I will not say to you that your *Lucretius* is as far distant from the severity of a Christian, as the fair Ethiopian was from the duty of Bp. Heliodorus ; for indeed it is nothing but what may become the labours of a Christian gentleman, those things only abated which our evil age needs not ; for which also I hope you either have by notes, or will by preface, prepare a sufficient antidote ; but since you are engaged in it, do not neglect to adorn it, and take what care of it, it can require or need ; for that neglect will be a reproof of your own act, and look as if you did it with an unsatisfied mind, and then you may make that to be wholly a sin, from which only by prudence and charity you could before be advised to abstain. But, Sir, if you will give me leave, I will impose such a penance upon you for your publication of *Lucretius* as shall neither displease God nor

<sup>a</sup> From whatever quarter he obtained the means of his journey, it is certain, however, that Dr. Taylor visited London ; for on the 12th of April, 1656, as appears by the *Diary*, he dined with Evelyn at Sayes Court, in company with Mr. Berkeley, Mr. Robert Boyle, and Dr. Wilkins, and was occupied with them in the discussion and examination of philosophical and mechanical subjects.

<sup>b</sup> Evelyn translated, or at least published, only one (the first) book of *Lucretius* which was printed in octavo, at London, 1656 ; with an engraved frontispiece, designed by his accomplished Wife, and engraved by Hollar.

you ; and, since you are busy in that which may minister directly to learning, and indirectly to error or the confidences of men, who of themselves are apt enough to hide their vices in irreligion, I know you will be willing, and will suffer yourself to be entreated, to employ the same pen in the glorifications of God, and the ministries of Eucharist and prayer. Sir, if you have Msr. Silhon *De l'Immortalité de l'Ame*, I desire you to lend it me for a week, and believe that I am, in great heartiness and dearness of affection, dear Sir, your obliged and most affectionate friend and servant,

J. TAYLOR

*John Evelyn to Jeremy Taylor*

*Sayes-Court, 27th April, 1656*

Nothing but an affair very great and of consequence could stay me thus long from rendering you a personal acknowledgment for your late kind visit, and I trouble you with this because I fear I shall not be able to perform *that* 'till the latter end of the week ; but I shall, after this business is over (which concerns an account with a kinsman of mine), importune you with frequent visits, and, I hope, prevail with you that I may have the honour to see you again at my poor villa, when my respects are less diverted, and that I may treat you without ceremony or constraint. For it were fitting you did see how I live when I am by myself, who cannot but pronounce me guilty of many vanities, deprehending me (as you did) at a time when I was to gratify so many curious persons, to whom I had been greatly obliged, and for whom I have much value. I suppose you think me very happy in these outward things ; really, I take so little satisfaction in them, that the censure of singularity would no way affright me from embracing an hermitage, if I found that they did in the least distract my thoughts from better things ; or that I did not take more pleasure and incomparable felicity in that intercourse which it pleases God to permit me, in vouchsafing so unworthy a person to prostrate himself before Him, and contemplate His goodness. These are indeed gay things, and men esteem me happy. *Ego autem, peccatorum sordibus inquinatus, diebus ac noctibus opperior cum timore reddere novissimum quadrantem* : Whilst that account is in suspense, who can truly enjoy any thing in this life *sine verme* ? *Omnia enim tuta timeo*. My condition is too well ; and I do as often wonder at it, as suspect and fear it : and yet I think I am not to do any rash or indiscreet action, to make the world take notice of my singularity ; though I do with all my heart wish for more solitude, who was ever most averse from being near a great city, designed against it, and yet it was my fortune to hitch here, more out of necessity, and for the benefit of others, than choice, or the least inclination of my own. But, Sir, I will trouble you no farther with these trifles, though as to my confessor I speak them. There are yet more behind. My *Essay upon Lucretius*, which I told you was engaged, is now printing, and (as I understand) near finished : my animadversions upon it will I hope provide against all the ill consequences, and totally acquit me either of glory or impiety. The captive woman was in the old law to have been head-shaven, and her excrescences pared off, before she was brought as a bride to the bed of her lord. I hope I have so done with this author, as far as I have penetrated ; and for the rest I shall proceed with caution, and take your counsel. But, Sir, I detain you too long, though with promises to render you a better account hereafter, both of my time and my studies, when I shall have begged of you to impose some task upon me, that may be useful to the great design of virtue and a holy life, who am, Sir, your, &c.

*Jeremy Taylor to John Evelyn*

*July 19th, 1656*

DEAR SIR,—I perceive the greatness of your affections by your diligence to inquire after and to make use of any opportunity which is offered whereby you may oblige me. Truly, Sir, I do continue in my desires to settle about London<sup>a</sup>, and am only hindered by my *Res augusta domi* ; but hope in God's goodness

<sup>a</sup> Jeremy Taylor was now living at a small village in Wales.



that He will create to me such advantage as may make it possible : and, when I am there, I shall expect the daily issues of Divine Providence to make all things else well ; because I am much persuaded that, by my abode in your vicinage of London, I may receive advantages of society and books to enable me better to serve God and the interest of souls. I have no other design but it ; and I hope God will second it with His blessing. Sir, I desire you to present my thanks and service to Mr. Thurland : his society were argument enough to make me desire a dwelling thereabouts, but his other kindnesses will also make it possible. I would not be troublesome : serviceable I would fain be, useful, and desirable ; and I will endeavour it if I come. Sir, I shall, besides what I have already said to you, at present make no other return to Mr. Thurland, till a little thing of mine be public, which is now in Royston's hands, of Original Sin<sup>a</sup>: the evils of which doctrine I have now laid especially at the Presbyterian door, and discoursed it, accordingly in a missive to the Countess Dowager of Devonshire. When that is abroad, I mean to present one to Mr. Thurland ; and send a letter with it. I thank you for your *Lucretius*. I wished it with me sooner : for, in my letter to the Countess of Devonshire, I quote some things out of *Lucretius*, which for her sake I was forced to English in very bad verse, because I had not your version by me to make use of it. Royston hath not yet sent it me down, but I have sent for it : and though it be no kindness to you to read it for its own sake, and for the worthiness of the work ; because it deserves more ; yet, when I tell you that I shall, besides the worth of the thing, value it for the worthy author's sake, I intend to represent to you, not only the esteem I have of your worthiness, but the love also I do and ever shall bear to your person. Dear Sir, I am in some little disorder by reason of the death of a little child of mine, a boy that lately made us very glad : but now he rejoices in his little orb, while we think, and sigh, and long to be as safe as he is. Sir, when your *Lucretius* comes into my hands, I shall be able to give you a better account of it. In the meantime I pray for blessings to you and your dear and excellent lady : and am, dear Sir, your most affectionate and endeared friend and servant,

JER. TAYLOR

*Dr. Thomas Triplet to John Evelyn*

*London, 7th August, 1656*

SIR,—I might doubt a little whether my letter came to your hands, but I had not the least jealousy of your friendly care in case you received it. I thank you I have now an account of it, having spoken yesterday myself with the major, and was civilly received by him. I am heartily sorry that neither you nor your brother Richard were at our Rendezvous at Bexhill, that my Lord might have seen such a pair-royal of brothers as I believe is not again to be found in the nation for loving one another and loving one another's friends, which I am sure I am concerned in, and most gratefully acknowledge to all, and to you particularly, as, Sir, your humble bounden,

T. TRIPLET

*Dr. John Wilkins<sup>b</sup> to John Evelyn*

*Wadham College, Oxford, 16th August, 1656*

HONOURED SIR,—I am very sensible that I have reason to be ashamed that I have no sooner returned my acknowledgment for the favour of your book, in which I have not observed any such erratas as you complain of, nor can I think you have any reason to suspect the imputation of such mistakes to yourself<sup>c</sup>. I am very sure all that know you must be zealous to vindicate you. For that unusual way of the combs in the hive, it may sometimes so happen, and hath

<sup>a</sup> The *Doctrine and Practice of Repentance* was the title given to this admirable Essay when published.

<sup>b</sup> See *Diary*, pp. 199, 200.

<sup>c</sup> Dr. Triplet, the writer of the preceding letter, had undertaken in Evelyn's absence to correct the proof-sheets of the translated book of *Lucretius*, and seems to have performed the task very negligently.—See *Diary*, p. 216.

done so with me, though according to the usual course they are built edgewise from the place of their entrance. A window in the side hath this inconvenience in it, that in hot weather when the bees are apt to be busy and angry, a man cannot so safely make use of it. There are several means prescribed by Mr. Rutler in his book of Bees to force such as lay out to rise or keep within, to which I shall refer you ; and have no more at present but the presentation of my most hearty thanks for all your noble favours, and my most humble service to your lady. I am, Sir, your true Honour and humble servant, JOHN WILKINS

*Jeremy Taylor to John Evelyn*

9ber 15, 1656

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,—In the midst of all the discouragements which I meet withal in an ignorant and obstinate age, it is a great comfort to me, and I receive new degrees of confidence when I find that yourself, and such other ingenious and learned persons as yourself, are not only patient of truth, and love it better than prejudice and prepossession, but are so ingenuous as to dare to own it in despite of the contradictory voices of error and unjust partiality. I have lately received from a learned person beyond sea, certain extracts of the Eastern and Southern Antiquities, which very much confirm my opinion and doctrine : for the learned man was pleased to express great pleasure in the reasonableness of it, and my discourses concerning it. Sir, I could not but smile at my own weaknesses, and very much love the great candour and sweetness of your nature, that you were pleased to endure my English poetry ; but I could not be removed from my certain knowledge of my own greatest weaknesses in it. But if I could have had your *Lucretius* when I had occasion to use those extractions out of it, I should never have asked any man's pardon for my weak version of them : for I would have used none but yours ; and then I had been beyond censure, and could not have needed a pardon. But, Sir, the last papers of mine have a fate like your *Lucretius* ;—I mean so many erratas made by the printers, that, because I had not any confidence by the matter of my discourse and the well-handling it, as you had by the happy reddition of your *Lucretius*, I have reason to beg your pardon for the imperfection of the copy : but I hope the printer will make amends in my Rule of Conscience, which I find hitherto he does with more care. But, Sir, give me leave to ask, why you will suffer yourself to be discouraged in the finishing *Lucretius* : they who can receive hurt by the fourth book, understand the Latin of it ; and I hope they who will be delighted with your English, will also be secured by your learned and pious annotations which I am sure you will give us along with your rich version. Sir, I humbly desire my services and great regards to be presented by you to worthy Mr. Thurland : and that you will not fail to remember me when you are upon your knees. I am very desirous to receive the *Dies iræ*, *Dies illa*, of your translation ; and if you have not yet found it, upon notice of it from you I will transmit a copy of it. Sir, I pray God continue your health and His blessings to you and your dear lady and pretty babies : for which I am daily obliged to pray, and to use all opportunities by which I can signify that I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate and endeared servant, JER. TAYLOR

[Evelyn, with reference to his friend's advice as to the finishing of *Lucretius*, has written on this letter in pencil : ' I would be none of ye *Ingeniosi malo publico*.']

*Jeremy Taylor to John Evelyn*

November 21, 1656

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,—Not long after my coming from my prison (Chepstow) I met with your kind and friendly letters, of which I was very glad, not only because they were a testimony of your kindness and affections to me, but that they gave me most welcome account of your health, and (which now-a-days is a great matter) of your liberty, and of that progression in piety in which I do really rejoice. But there could not be given to me a greater and more persuasive testimony of the reality of your piety and care than that you pass to greater degrees of caution and the love of God. It is the work of your life,



and I perceive you betake yourself heartily to it. The God of heaven and earth prosper you and accept you !

I am well pleased that you have read over my last book ; and give God thanks that I have reason to believe that it is accepted by God, and by some good men. As for the censure of unconsenting persons, I expected it, and hope that themselves will be their own reprovers ; and truth will be assisted by God, and shall prevail, when all noises and prejudices shall be ashamed. My comfort is, that I have the honour to be the advocate for God's justice and goodness, and that the consequent of my doctrine is, that men may speak honour of God and meanly of themselves. But I have also, this last week, sent up some papers in which I make it appear that the doctrine which I now have published was taught by the fathers within the first 400 years ; and have vindicated it both from novelty and singularity. I have also prepared some other papers concerning this question, which I once had some thoughts to have published. But what I have already said, and now further explicated and justified, I hope may be sufficient to satisfy pious and prudent persons, who do not love to go *quà itur* but *quà eundum est*. Sir, you see what a good husband I am of my paper and ink, that I make so short returns to your most friendly letters. I pray be confident that if there be any defect here, I will make it up in my prayers for you and my great esteem of you, which shall ever be expressed in my readiness to serve you with all the earnestness and powers of, dear Sir, your most affectionate friend and servant,

JER. TAYLOR

*John Evelyn to his brother G. Evelyn<sup>a</sup>*

*Says-Court, 15 Decemb. 1656*

DEAR BRO :—I am so deeply sensible of the affliction which presses you, that I cannot forbear to let you understand how great a share I have in the loss, and how reciprocal it is to us. For your part, I consider that your sex and your knowledge do better fortify you against the common calamities and vicissitudes of these sublunary things : so that precepts to you were but impertinencies : though I also find, that the physician himself has sometimes need of the physician ; and that to condole and to counsel those who want nothing to support them but their own virtue, is to relieve them of a considerable part of their affliction : But the fear which I have that the tenderness of so indulgent a mother's affection (as is that of my dear lady) may insensibly transgress its bounds, to so huge a prejudice as we should all receive by it (if her immoderate grief should continue), makes me choose rather, being absent, to contribute what aids I can towards its remedy, than, being present, to renew her sorrows by such expressions of resentment as of course use to fall from friends, but can add little to the cure, because but compliment. Nor do I hereby extenuate her prudence, whose virtue is able to oppose the rudest assaults of fortune ; but present my arguments as an instance of my care, not of my diffidence. I confess there is a cause of sadness : but all who are not Stoics know by experience, that in these lugubrious encounters our affections do sometimes outrun our reason. Nature herself has assigned places and instruments to the passions ; and it were as well impiety as stupidity to be totally ἀσφόργος and without natural affection : but we must remember withal that we grieve not as persons without hope ; lest, while we sacrifice to our passions, we be found to offend against God, and by indulging an over-kind nature double the loss, or lose our recompense. Children are such blossoms as every trifling wind deflowers ; and to be disordered at their fall, were to be fond of certain troubles, but the most uncertain comforts ; whilst the store of the more mature which God has yet left you, invite both your resignation and your gratitude. So extraordinary prosperity as you have hitherto been encircled with, was indeed to be suspected ; nor may he think to bear all his sails, whose vessel, like yours, has been driven by the highest gale of felicity. We give hostages to Fortune when we bring children into the world : and how unstable this is we know, and must therefore hazard the adventure. God has suffered this for your exercise : seek, then, as well your consolation in His rod, as in His staff. Are you offended that it has pleased Him to snatch your pretty babes from the infinite contingencies of so perverse an age, in which there is so

<sup>a</sup> On the death of his son Richard. George was Evelyn's eldest brother.



little temptation to live? At least consider, that your pledges are but gone a little before you; and that a part of you has taken possession of the inheritance which you must one day enter if ever you will be happy. Brother, when I reflect on the loss as it concerns our family in general, I could recall my own, and mingle my tears with you (for I have also lost some very dear to me); but when I consider the necessity of submitting to the divine arrests, I am ready to dry them again and be silent. There is nothing of us perished; but deposited. And say not they might have come later to their destiny: *Magna est felicitas, cito esse felicem*: 'tis no small happiness to be happy quickly. That which may fortune to all, we ought not to accuse for a few, and it is but reason to support that patiently, which cannot be prevented possibly. But I have now done with the philosopher, and will dismiss you with the divine. 'Brother, be not ignorant concerning them which are asleep, that you sorrow not even as others which have no hope; for if we believed that Jesus died and rose again, even so them which sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him'. They are the words of St. Paul, and I can add nothing to them. In the meantime, auxiliaries against this enemy cannot render it more formidable; and though all grief of this nature have a just rise, yet may it end in a dangerous fall: our dear Mother is a sad instance of it; and I conjure you to use all the art, and all the interest you are able, to compose yourself, and console your excellent lady, which (after I have presented my particular resentments) is what I would have hereby assisted you in, who am, dear Brother, &c.

Et consolamini alij alios istis sermonibus.

*Francis Barlow<sup>a</sup>, ('on Dedicating a Plate of Titian's Venus, Engraven'), to John Evelyn*

*From the Black-boy over against St. Dunstan's,  
Fleet-street, this 22d of December, 1656*

WORTHY SIR,—I have been bold to present you with a small piece of my endeavours. I hope your goodness will pardon my confidence in that I have presumed to dedicate it unto you, conceiving no one to be more worthy, or to whom I am more obliged for those civil favours I have received from you. It may seem strange that I own that, another's name is to; but my occasions not permitting me so much spare time to finish it, Mr. Gaywood my friend did, which [who] desires his name might be to it for his advantage in his practice, so I consented to it. The drawing after the original painting I did, and the drawing and outlines of this plate: I finished the heads of both the figures, and the hands and feet, and likewise the dog and the landscape. As etching is not my profession, I hope you will not expect much from me. Sir, if you shall be pleased to honour my weak (yet willing) endeavours with your acceptance, I shall ever rest obliged for this and former favours, your servant to command,

FRANCIS BARLOW

*John Evelyn to Francis Barlow*

*Sayes-Court, 23 Decemb. 1656*

SIR,—I had no opportunity by the hand which conveyed it, to return you my acknowledgments for the present you lately sent me, and the honour which you have conferred upon me, in no respect meriting either so great a testimony of

<sup>a</sup> He was a native of Lincolnshire, and placed under Sheppard, a portrait-painter; but his genius led him to the painting of animals, which he drew with great exactness, though his colouring was not equal to his designs. There are six books of animals engraven from his drawings, and a set of cuts for Æsop's Fables. He painted some ceilings of birds for noblemen and gentlemen in the country: and at Clandon, in Surrey, the seat of Lord Onslow, are five pieces from his pencil. He died in 1702. See Walpole's *Anecdotes*. For notices of him in the *Diary*, see pp. 214, 387. As a specimen of Mr. Barlow's orthography, the concluding lines of his letter are here appended from the original MS.: 'As eaching is not my profeshion, I hope you will not exspect much from me. Sr, if you shall be pleased to honner my weake (yet willing) endeavours with your exseption.'



your affection, or the glorious inscription, which might better have become some great and eminent Mæcenas to patronise, than a person so incompetent as you have made choice of. If I had been acquainted with your design, you should on my advice have nuncupated this handsome monument of your skill and dexterity to some great one, whose relation might have been more considerable, both as to the encouragement and the honour which you deserve. From me you can only expect a reinforcement of that value and good esteem which, before, your merits had justly acquired, and would have perpetuated : of another you had purchased a new friend ; nor less obliged the old, because less exposed him to envy ; since by this you ascribe so much to me, that those who know me better, will on the one side be ready to censure your judgment, and, on the other, you put me out of all capacity of making you requital. But since your affection has vanquished your reason so much to my advantage, though I wish the election were to make, yet I cannot but be very sensible of the signal honour, and the obligation which you have put upon me. I should now extol your courage in pursuing so noble an original, executed with so much judgment and art : but I forbear to provoke your modesty, and shall in the meantime that I can give you personal thanks, receive your present as an instance of your great civility, and a memorial of my no less obligation to you, who remain, Sir, your, &c.

*John Evelyn to Mr. Maddox*

*Sayes-Court, 10 Jan. 1656-7*

SIR,—I perceive by the success of my letter, and your most civil reply, that I was not mistaken when I thought so nobly of you, and spoke those little things neither in diffidence of your bounty or to instruct it, but to give you notice when it would arrive most seasonably, and because I found the modesty of the person might injure his fortune, as well as the greatness of your kindness. You are pleased to inform me of your course, and I cannot but infinitely approve of your motions, because I find they are designed to places, in order to things of greater advantage than the vanity of the eye only, which to other travellers has usually been the temptation of making tours. For at Marseilles and Toulon you will inform yourself of the strength and furniture of the French on the Mediterranean Seas. You will see the galleys, the slaves, and in fine, a very map of the Levant ; for should you travel as far as Constantinople itself, or to the bottom of the Straits, you would find but still the same thing ; and the maritime towns of Italy are no other. Nismes does so much abound with antiquities, that the difference 'twixt it and Rome is, that I think the latter has very few things more worth the visiting ; and therefore it may as well present you with an idea of that great city, as if you were an ocular spectator of it ; for it is a perfect epitome of it. Montpellier is the next in order, where I suppose you will make some longer stay ; because there are scholars and students, and many rarities about it. There is one Peter Borell, a physician, who hath lately published *Centuries Historical and Medico-Physical*. Montpellier was wont to be a place of rare opportunity for the learning the many excellent receipts to make perfumes, sweet powders, pomanders, antidotes, and divers such curiosities, which I know you will not omit ; for though they are indeed but trifles in comparison of more solid things, yet, if ever you should affect to live a retired life hereafter, you will take more pleasure in those recreations than you can now imagine. And really gentlemen despising those vulgar things, deprive themselves of many advantages to improve their time, and do service to the desiderants of philosophy ; which is the only part of learning best illustrated by experiments, and after the study of religion, certainly the most noble and virtuous. Every body hath book-learning, which verily is of much ostentation, but of small fruit unless this also be superadded to it. I therefore conjure you that you do not let pass whatever offers itself to you in this nature, from whomsoever they come. Commonly indeed persons of mean condition possess them, because their necessity renders them industrious : but if men of quality made it their delight also, arts could not but receive infinite advantages, because they have both means and leisure to improve and cultivate them ; and, as I said before, there is nothing by which a good man may more sweetly pass his time. Such a person I look upon as a breathing treasure, a blessing to his



friends, and an incomparable ornament to his country. This is to you the true seed-time, and wherein the foundations of all noble things must be laid. Make it not the field of repentance : for what can be more glorious than to be ignorant of nothing but of vice, which indeed has no solid existence, and therefore is nothing ? Seek therefore after nature, and contemplate that great volume of the creatures whilst you have no other distractions : procure to see experiments, furnish yourself with receipts, models, and things which are rare. In fine, neglect nothing, that at your return, you may bring home other things than talk, feather, and ribbon, the ordinary traffic of vain and fantastic persons. I must believe that when you are in those parts of France you will not pass Beaugensier<sup>a</sup> without a visit ; for, certainly, though the curiosities may be much dispersed since the time of the most noble Peireskian, yet the very genius of that place cannot but infuse admirable thoughts into you. But I suppose you carry the *Life* of that illustrious and incomparable virtuoso always about you in your motions ; not only because it is so portable, but for that it is written in such excellent language by the pen of the great Gassendus, and will be a fit Itinerary with you. When you return to Paris again, it will be good to refresh your gymnastic exercises, to frequent the Court, the Bar, and the Schools sometimes ; but, above all, procure acquaintances and settle a correspondence with learned men, by whom there are so many advantages to be made and experiments gotten. And I beseech you forget not to inform yourself as diligently as may be, in things that belong to gardening, for that will serve both yourself and your friends for an infinite diversion : and so will you have nothing to add to your accomplishments when you come home, but to look over the municipal laws of your own country, which your interest and your necessities will prompt you to : and then you may sweetly pass the rest of your days in reaping the harvest of all your pains, either by serving your country in some public employment (if the integrity of the times invite you), or by securing your own felicity, and indeed the greatest upon earth, in a private unenvied condition, with those advantages which you will bring it of piety and knowledge. Oh the delice and reward of thus employing our youth ! What a beauty and satisfaction to have spent one's youth innocently and virtuously ! What a calm and serenity to the mind ! What a glory to your country, to your friends, and contentment to your instructors : in sum, how great a recompence and advantage to all your concerns ! And all this, Sir, I foresee and augur of Mr. Maddox, of whom may this be the least portion of his panegyric ; whilst it serves me only to testify how great a part I take in all your prosperity, and how great an honour I shall ever esteem it to be accounted, Sir, your, &c.

*John Evelyn to the Lieutenant of the Tower<sup>b</sup>*

*From Greenwich, 14 Jan. 1656-7*

SIR,—I should begin with the greater apology for this address, did not the consideration of the nature of your great employment and my fears to importune them carry with them an excuse which I have hope to believe you will easily admit. But as it is an error to be troublesome to great persons upon trifling affairs, so were it no less a crime to be silent in an occasion wherein I may do an act of charity, and reconcile a person to your good opinion, who has deserved so well, and I think is so innocent. Sir, I speak in behalf of Dr. Taylor, of whom I understand you have conceived some displeasure for the mistake of his printer<sup>c</sup> ;

<sup>a</sup> Belgenser, or Beaugensier, a town near Toulon, the birthplace of the celebrated Nicolaus Claudius Fabricius, Lord of Peiresk, Senator of the Parliament at Aix.

<sup>b</sup> Endorsed 'This was written for another gentleman, an acquaintance with the *villain* who was now Lieut. of ye Tower, Baxter by name, for I never had the least knowledge of him.'

<sup>c</sup> Jeremy Taylor had at this time been committed prisoner to the Tower, in consequence of Royston, his bookseller, having placed before his collection of Offices the picture of Christ praying, contrary to a new Act concerning 'scandalous pictures'. Evelyn's object in this letter, which seems to have been addressed to the lieutenant of the Tower through some mutual friend, was to procure alleviation of an imprisonment apparently owing rather to some individual caprice, than to any graver cause.



and the readiest way that I can think of to do him honour and bring him into esteem with you, is, to beg of you, that you will please to give him leave to wait upon you, that you may learn from his own mouth, as well as the world has done from his writings, how averse he is from any thing that he may be charged withal to his prejudice, and how great an adversary he has ever been in particular to the Popish religion, against which he has employed his pen so signally, and with such success. And when by this favour you shall have done justice to all interests, I am not without fair hopes, that I shall have mutually obliged you both, by doing my endeavour to serve my worthy and pious friend, and by bringing so innocent and deserving a person, into your protection; who am, Sir, &c.

*John Evelyn to Edward Thurland*

*Sayes-Court, 20 Jan. 1656-7*

SIR,—I have read your learned *Diatriba* concerning Prayer, and do exceedingly praise your method, nor less admire your learning and reason, which by so rare an artifice has made notions that are very difficult and abstracted in themselves, so apt and perspicuous; besides, your arguments are drawn from the most irresistible and convincing topics, and the design not only full of learning, but useful also to a good life, which is indeed the right application of it. Sir, I am so much taken with your piece, and think it so excellent a homily against that abounding ingredient now in the world, that I presume you shall not need my persuasions to induce you to make it public; being a thing which may so greatly contribute to the cure of that epidemical madness, and the vindication of God's glory: since what Trismegistus so long time said is most true in our age, 'Ἡ μεγάλη νόσος τῆς ψυχῆς ἡ ἀθεΐες, and Silius Italicus has interpreted with a complaint:

Heu! primæ scelerum causæ mortalibus ægris,  
Naturam nescire Deum!—

But because you have not only done me the honour to communicate so freely your thoughts to me; but have also laid your commands that I should return you my opinion of it; truly, I should both greatly injure the intrinsic value of the work, as well as my great esteem of the author, if I should say less than I have done: so that, if I am bold or impertinent in what follows, it will serve only to make you the more admire your own, when you shall find how little can be added to it. And you must only blame the liberty you have given me, if my silence would have become more acceptable.

First, then, your distribution is most methodical and logical; the minor produced to assert the thesis very closely and skilfully handled; but, because your conclusion comes in so long after, whether it may not a little *πλεονάζειν*, considering that your argument is prayer? I would therefore at the end of some of those chapters (before you arrive at the main assumption), upon enumeration of the former syllogisms, mention something of it (by way of enumeration), that so the thoughts of your reader might not stray from the subject, which is to enforce the necessity of prayer: or else alter the title, and make it comprehensive of both the parts, as of God, and of prayer, or something equivalent. I do greatly approve the reasons you have given for that long digression, to convince those who doubted, Democritus, Leucippus, Diogenes, Epicurus, and the late Pseudo-politics, with those who faintly assented, as Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Plato, the Stoics, Politicians, and Legislators: but I suppose that, since Sextus Empiricus was but a diligent collector of the placets and opinions of other philosophers, you shall do more honour to your book by omitting the so frequent citing of him: it will sufficiently gratify the reader to see his scruples satisfied, and their errors convinced, without so particular an account whether you deduced the opinions from the fountain or from the stream. And therefore you shall better cite Diogenes Laertius or Cicero than Campanella, for that passage concerning the qualities of atoms; and it is more proper to allege Basil de *legendis Ethnicorum scriptis*, Augustin de *Doctrinâ Christianâ*, or Socrates Scholasticus, to prove the lawfulness and benefit of asserting your opinions by examples out of heathen poets, &c., than Sir W. Raleigh's *History of the World*, who was but



of yesterday. Neither would I mention Selden, where you might cite Lactantius, Clemens, Josephus, or Eusebius : because they are authors which every man will judge you might read. And rather Fonseca, or indeed Molin, than Pinellus, who brought that opinion from them. And here, by the way, touching what you affirm concerning the fallen angels' intuitive knowledge, there be that will reply that Lucifer was never *in patriâ* but *in viâ* only ; for so St. Augustine, in those excellent treatises *de Corruptione et Gratia* and *De Dono Perseverantiæ* ; that the fallen angels never saw God as *Authorem gratiæ*, but as *cultorem naturæ*, enigmatically and not intuitively, being then in probation only, as was man, and had the same use of their will : God only at that moment confirming Michael and his fellows who refused to come into the rebellious party, what time as he condemned the dragon, and the rest of those lapsed spirits.

Touching the eternity of the world, I suppose you mean *de eternitate absolutâ* : for it were else hard to say which was first, the sun, or the light which it projects ; since they are not only inseparable but *simul tempore*. God created the world in His mind from eternity, say they : or, as others, *Deus fecit æternitatem, æternitas fecit mundum*. So Mercurius in Pimander.

In that passage where you prove the existence of a Deity from the wonderful structure of the microcosm, Lactantius his book *De opificio Dei* would extremely delight and furnish you : and so, in all that *Scala visibilium ad invisibilia*, Dr. Charleton's *Darkness of Atheism*, c. iv. l. 5, p. 130, which I therefore mention to you, because one would not say much of that which has already been said in English. Would it not do also well to speak something of natural conscience ? I suppose where you speak of the pismire, and other insects, you mean they have not an intellectual memory ; for a sensitive doubtless they have : and here you might appositely have said something concerning that *Animalis Religio*, of which Saint Ambrose speaks, distinguishing it from Aquinas' *Religio rationalis*.

Concerning the lenity of God, upon which you have most rationally dilated, the 10th chapt. of the I. book of *Proclus* would extremely delight you. Touching the knowledge of God, you must by all means consult that admirable little treatise of M. Felix his *Octavius* ; and St. Aug. *de Concubitu Angelorum*, about our prayers to them : in which you have so imitated the divine St. Hierom, by your constant assertion of the Paradise deduced from Scripture, that more cannot be wished ; yet something which St. Paul has said 2 chapt. *Epist. ad Coloss.* and in the 9th of *Ecclesiast.* may be applied.

They affirm that the devil may be an ærial body, and by that means enter into men's bodies without our perception : but I will not importune you further with these trifles : only I will mind you of one passage of Jamblicus, speaking of the natural sense of God in Man. *Ante omnem (saith he) usum rationis inest naturaliter insita Deorum notio : imò tactus quidem divinitatis melior quàm notitia* : and to that purpose Cicero *de Nat. Deor.*, Seneca *de Providentiâ*, the *Golden Verses* of Pythagoras, and more expressly Lactantius, l. 3. c. 9, where he proves *cultum Dei* to be naturally in man, making it a formal part of its definition, *Animal Rationale Religiosum*. To conclude, Augustine, Clemens, Lactantius, Cyril, Arnobius, Justin Martyr, of old, of the neoterick, [modern] Aquinas, Plessis Mornay, Dr. Andrews, Grotius, Dr. Hammond, in a particular *opusculum*, I. L. Vives, Bradwardine *de Causâ Dei*, Valesius *de Sacrà Philosophiâ*, Campanella, and our most ingenious Mr. Moore in his Antidote against Atheism, have all treated on this subject, but in so different a manner, and with so much confusion and prolixity, some few of them excepted, that it will greatly add to the worth and lustre of your piece, who have comprehended so much in so little and to so excellent purpose. I wish you had as perfectly made good your promise in what remains, as in what you have begun, I mean, touching the form, matter, posture, place, and other circumstances of prayer, in which you would do wonders upon second thoughts. Sir, I have been bold to note places with my black-lead where your amanuensis has committed some spalmatas, and peradventure some expressions may be advantageously altered at your leisure. But there is nothing in all this by which you will more assert your own judgment, than in leaving out the eulogy which you are pleased to honour me withal, in citing me as an author of any value. By this, Sir, you see how bold I am, both to trouble you with my follies, and then to beg pardon for them ; but, as I said at first, you must blame yourself, partly for enjoining me, and partly for



allowing me no more time. But he that has the perusal of any of your discourses, cannot but emerge with the greatest advantages. It was the saying of the great Salmasius, and shall be mine, *Nihil moror libros, et combustos omnes velim, si doctiores tantum, non etiam meliores, qui dant illis operam, reddere idonei sunt.* But such, Sir, is your excellent book, and such is your conversation, from which I do always return both more learned and better, who am, Sir, your, &c.

*Jeremy Taylor to John Evelyn<sup>a</sup>*

22 Feb. 1656-7

DEAR SIR,—I know you will either excuse, or acquit, or at least pardon me that I have so long seemingly neglected to make a return to your so kind and friendly letter : when I shall tell you that I have passed through a great cloud which hath wetted me deeper than the skin. It hath pleased God to send the small pox and fevers among my children : and I have, since I received your last, buried two sweet, hopeful boys ; and I have now but one son left, whom I intend (if it please God) to bring up to London before Easter ; and then I hope to wait upon you, and by your sweet conversation and other divertisements, if not to alleviate my sorrows, yet, at least, to entertain myself and keep me from too intense and actual thinkings of my troubles. Dear Sir, will you do so much for me, as to beg my pardon of Mr. Thurland, that I have yet made no return to him for his so friendly letter and expressions. Sir, you see there is too much matter to make excuse ; my sorrow will, at least, render me an object of every good man's pity and commiseration. But for myself, I bless God I have observed and felt so much mercy in this angry dispensation of God, that I am almost transported, I am sure highly pleased, with thinking how infinitely sweet His mercies are when His judgments are so gracious. Sir, there are many particulars in your letter which I would fain have answered ; but still my little sadnesses intervene, and will yet suffer me to write nothing else : but that I beg your prayers, and that you will still own me to be, dear and honoured Sir, your very affectionate friend and hearty servant,

JER. TAYLOR

*John Evelyn to the Honourable Robert Boyle<sup>b</sup>*

Sayes-Court, 9 May, 1657

SIR,—I should infinitely blush at the slowness of this address, if a great indisposition of body, which obliged me to a course of physic, and since, an unexpected journey (from both which I am but lately delivered), had not immediately intervened, since you were pleased to command these trifles of me. I have omitted those of brass, &c., because they properly belong to etching and engraving : which treatise, together with five others (viz. Painting in Oil, in Miniature, Anealing in Glass, Enamelling, and Marble Paper) I was once minded to publish (as a specimen of what might be further done in the rest) for the benefit of the ingenious : but I have since been put off from that design, not knowing whether I should do well to gratify so barbarous an age (as I fear is approaching) with curiosities of that nature, delivered with so much integrity as I intended them ; and lest by it I should also disoblige some who made those professions their living ; or, at least, debase much of their esteem by prostituting them to the vulgar. Rather, I conceived that a true and ingenious discovery of these and the like arts, would, to better purpose, be compiled for the use of that Mathematico-Chymico-Mechanical School designed by our noble friend Dr. Wilkinson, where they might (not without an oath of secrecy) be taught to those that either affected or desired any of them : and from thence, as from another Solomon's house, so much of them only made public, as should from time to time be judged convenient by the superintendent of that School, for the reputation of learning

<sup>a</sup> Printed from a letter in the British Museum (No. 4274, add. MSS. 51), which, although it has no superscription, was evidently addressed to Evelyn. Heber has inserted it in his *Life of Bishop Taylor*. From the date of this letter, it would seem that Taylor's recent detention in the Tower had lasted but a very short time.

<sup>b</sup> See *Diary*, p. 215.

and benefit of the nation. And upon this score, there would be a most willing contribution of what ingenious persons know of this kind, and to which I should most freely dedicate what I have. In the meantime, Sir, I transmit you this varnish, and shall esteem myself extremely honoured, that you will farther command whatsoever else of this, or any other kind I possess, who am, Sir, your, &c.

I beseech you, Sir, to make my most humble service acceptable to Dr. Wilkinson : and that you be pleased to communicate to me what success you have in the process of this receipt (myself not having had time to examine it), that in case of any difficulty, I may have recourse to the person from whom I received it.

*John Evelyn to Jeremy Taylor*

*Sayes-Court, 9 May, 1657*

SIR,—Amongst the rest that are tributaries to your worth, I make bold to present you with this small token : and though it bears no proportion either with my obligation or your merit, yet I hope you will accept it, as the product of what I have employed for this purpose ; and which you shall yearly receive so long as God makes me able, and that it may be useful to you. What I can handsomely do for you by other friends, as occasions present themselves, may, I hope, in time supply that which I would myself do. In order to which, I have already made one of my Brothers sensible of this opportunity to do God and his country an acceptable service : I think I shall prevail as much on the other : the effects whereof will show themselves, and care shall be taken that you have an account of all this in due time, and as you shall yourself desire it. I will not add, that by bringing you acquainted with persons of so much virtue (though I speak it of my nearest relatives) I do at all reinforce the kindness : since by it I oblige you mutually (for so *beneficium dare socialist res est*), and because it is infinitely short of his respects who (with Philemon) owes you even himself, and which, if I have not sooner paid, I appeal to philosophy, and the sentences of that wise man who, as some affirm, held intercourse with the Apostle himself : *Qui festinat utique reddere, non habet animum grati hominis, sed debitoris : et qui nimis cito cupit solvere, invitatus debet : qui invitatus debet, ingratus est* : and, Sir, you have too far obliged me to be ever guilty of that crime who am, Revd. Sir, &c.

*Jeremy Taylor to John Evelyn*

*15 May, 1657*

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,—A stranger came two nights since from you with a letter, and a token : full of humanity and sweetness, that was ; and this, of charity. I know it is more blessed to give than to receive : and yet, as I no ways repine at that Providence that forces me to receive, so neither can I envy that felicity of yours, not only that you can, but that you do give ; and as I rejoice in that mercy which daily makes decrees in heaven for my support and comfort, so I do most thankfully adore the goodness of God to you, whom He consigns to greater glories by the ministries of these graces. But, Sir, what am I, or what can I do, or what have I done that you can think I have or can oblige you ? Sir, you are too kind to me, and oblige me not only beyond my merit, but beyond my modesty. I only can love you, and honour you, and pray for you ; and in all this I can not say but that I am behind hand with you, for I have found so great effluxes of all your worthiness and charities, that I am a debtor for your prayers, for the comfort of your letters, for the charity of your hand, and the affections of your heart. Sir, though you are beyond the reach of my returns, and my services are very short of touching you ; yet if it were possible for me to receive any commands, the obeying of which might signify my great regards of you, I could with some more confidence converse with a person so obliging ; but I am obliged and ashamed, and unable to say so much as I should do to represent myself to be, honoured and dear Sir, your most affectionate and most obliged friend and servant,

JER. TAYLOR<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> It may not be out of place to remark on this letter, and its predecessor, that Jeremy Taylor was at this time engaged in the composition of his beautiful *Essay on Friendship*. He refers to it as completed in a letter of three weeks' later date.



*Reverend Edward Snatt<sup>a</sup> to John Evelyn*

*Lewes, 25 May, 1657*

NOBLE SIR,—This is the third book that I have received from your Honour, the third book, I say, of your own making, which makes me stand amazed ; I cannot tell whether more at the excellency of your work in writing, or at your condescension so low as to stoop to give it me in such a manner. Sir, others I see have praised you and it, but none have or can sufficiently set out your labour and pains. But what cannot such an artificer as yourself effect ? Go on prosperously and finish that which none yet durst attempt, and none but you can perfect : though it be the first book, yet it cannot be absolutely the last, if Mr. Evelyn please. I did all this time forbear to write unto you, thinking every day to come unto you in person, and seeing still I was hindered, both by weakness in body and my serious employments : having this opportunity of so honoured a friend as Mr. Heath, I could not but break through all difficulties, and tell you, in spite of all the world, that in my judgment, or rather opinion, you are not inferior to the highest laurel. The five younger brethren will grieve if you clothe not them in as rich garments as their elder brother, and the elder will rejoice to see them as richly clothed as himself. Do you not think that your poor Mulcaster doth rejoice to think that he is like to have some in their kind as eminent as Winchester ? You know Wenterton sent forth his first *Book of Aphorisms* as a spy, and then the next followed : yours, if I have any skill, are like to prove as good success as his. But I must desire you to pardon my errors, and to remember my best respects to your noble consort, whom (God willing) I purpose to see this summer, with yourself, at your house, and to visit, as by duty I am bound, your elder and noble brother Mr. George Evelyn, together with Mr. Richard Evelyn. In the meantime I humbly desire to hear from you, and from my heart subscribe myself your most humble servant,

EDWARD SNATT

*John Evelyn to Jeremy Taylor<sup>b</sup>*

*Sayes-Court, 9 June, 1657*

SIR,—I heartily acknowledge the Divine mercies to me, both in this, and many other instances of His goodness to me ; but for no earthly concernment more than for what He has conveyed me by your charity and ministration towards my eternal and better interest ; and for which I wish that any new gradations of duty to God, or acknowledgments to you from me, may in the least proportion second my great obligations, and which you continue to reinforce by new and indelible favours and friendships, which I know myself to be so much the more unworthy of, as I am infinitely short of the least perfection that you ascribe to me. And because you best know how sad a truth this is, I have no reason to look on that part of your letter but as upon your own emanations, which like the beams of the sun upon dark and opaque bodies make them shine indeed faintly and by reflection. Every one knows from whence they are derived, and where their native fountain is : and since this is all the tribute which such dim lights repay, τὰ σὰ ἐκ τῶν σῶν σοὶ προσφεροῦμεν, I must never hope to oblige you, or repay the least of your kindness. But what I am able, that I will do, and that is to be ever mindful of them, and for ever to love you for them. Sir, I had forgotten to tell you, and indeed it did extremely trouble me, that you are to expect my coach to wait on you presently after dinner, that you are not to expose yourself to the casualty of the tides, in repairing to do so Christian an office for, Sir, your, &c.

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Snatt, of Southover, was Evelyn's schoolmaster, and the subject of the worthy pedagogue's present gratitude and rapture was the First Book of the translated *Lucretius*, which his distinguished pupil had sent him. See *Diary*, p. 4.

<sup>b</sup> Evelyn's indorsement on this letter, 'to come and christen my son George', shows the occasion on which it was written.

*Jeremy Taylor to John Evelyn*

9 June, 1657

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,—Your messenger prevented mine but an hour. But I am much pleased at the repetition of the Divine favour to you in the like instances ; that God hath given you another testimony of His love to your person, and care of your family ; it is an engagement to you of new degrees of duty, which you cannot but superadd to the former, because the principle is genuine and prolific ; and all the emanations of grace are unequivocal and alike. Sir, your kind letter hath so abundantly rewarded and crowned my innocent endeavours in my descriptions of Friendship, that I perceive there is a friendship beyond what I have fancied, and a real, material worthiness beyond the heights of the most perfect ideas : and I know now where to make my book perfect, and by an appendix to outdo the first essay : for when anything shall be observed to be wanting in my character, I can tell them where to see the substance, much more beauteous than the picture, and by sending the readers of my book to be spectators of your life and worthiness, they shall see what I would fain have taught them, by what you really are. Sir, I know it is usual amongst civil persons to say kind things when they have received kind expressions : but I now go upon another account : you have forced me to say, what I have long thought, and spoken to others, even so much as to your modesty may seem excessive, but that which to the merit of your person and friendship is very much too little. Sir, I shall by the grace of God wait upon you to-morrow, and do the office you require ; and shall hope that your little one may receive blessings according to the heartiness of the prayers which I shall then and after make for him : that then also I shall wait upon your worthy Brothers, I see it is a design both of your kindness, and of the Divine Providence. Sir, I am your most affectionate and most faithful friend and servant,

JER. TAYLOR

*Jeremy Taylor to John Evelyn*

Aug. 29, 1657

SIR,—I am very glad that your goodnature hath overcome your modesty, and that you have suffered yourself to be persuaded to benefit the world rather than humour your own retiredness. I have many reasons to encourage you, and the only one objection, which is the leaven of your author<sup>a</sup>, *de providentiâ*, you have so well answered, that I am confident, in imitation of your great Master, you will bring good out of evil : and, like those wise physicians, who, giving *αλεξικακα*, do not only expel the poison, but strengthen the stomach, I doubt not but you will take all opportunities, and give all advantages, to the reputation and great name of God ; and will be glad and rejoice to employ your pen for Him who gave you fingers to write, and will to dictate.

But, Sir, that which you check at is the immortality of the soul : that is, its being in the interval before the day of judgment : which you conceive is not agreeable to the Apostles' creed, or current of Scriptures, assigning (as you suppose) the felicity of Christians to the resurrection. Before I speak to the thing I must note this, that the parts which you oppose to each other may both be true. For the soul may be immortal, and yet not beatified till the resurrection. For to be, and to be happy or miserable, are not immediate or necessary consequents to each other. For the soul may be alive, and yet not feel ; as it may be alive and not understand ; so our soul, when we are fast asleep, and so Nebuchadnezzar's soul, when he had his lycanthropy. And the Socinians, that say the soul sleeps, do not suppose that she is mortal ; but for want of her instrument cannot do any acts of her life. The soul returns to God ; and that, in no sense is death. And I think the death of the soul cannot be defined ; and there is no death to spirits but annihilation. I am sure there is none that we know of or can understand. For, if ceasing from its operations be death, then it dies sooner than the body : for oftentimes it does not work any of its nobler operations.

<sup>a</sup> Alluding to Evelyn's translation of *Lucretius*.



In our sleep we neither feel nor understand. If you answer, and say it animates the body, and that is a sufficient indication of life : I reply, that if one act alone is sufficient to show the soul to be alive, then the soul cannot die ; for in philosophy it is affirmed, that the soul desires to be re-united ; and that which is dead desires not : besides, that the soul can understand without the body is so certain (if there be any certainty in mystic theology), and so evident in actions which are reflected upon themselves—as a desire to desire, a will to will, a remembering that I did remember—that, if one act be enough to prove the soul to be alive, the state of separation cannot be a state of death to the soul ; because she then can desire to be re-united, and she can understand : for nothing can hinder from doing those actions which depend not upon the body, and in which the operations of the soul are not organical.

But to the thing. The felicity of Christians is not till the day of judgment, I do believe next to an article of my creed ; and so far I consent with you : but then I cannot allow your consequent, that the soul is mortal. That the soul is a complete substance I am willing enough to allow in disputation : though, indeed, I believe the contrary ; and I am sure no philosophy and no divinity can prove its being to be wholly relative and incomplete. But, suppose it : it will not follow that, therefore, it cannot live in separation. For the flame of a candle, which is your own similitude, will give light enough to this inquiry. The flame of a candle can consist or subsist, though the matter be extinct. I will not instance Licetus's lamps, whose flame had stood still 1,500 years, viz. in Tully's wife's vault. For, if it had spent any matter, the matter would have been exhausted long before that, and if it spends none, it is all one as if it had none ; for what need is there of it, if there be no use for it, and what use, if no feeding the flame, and how can it feed but by spending itself ? But the reason why the flame goes out when the matter is exhausted, is because that little particle of fire is soon overcome by the circumflant air and scattered, when it wants matter to keep it in unison and closeness ; but then, as the flame continues not in the relation of a candle's flame when the matter is exhausted, yet fire can abide without matter to feed it ; for itself is matter, it is a substance. And so is the soul : and as the element of fire, and the celestial globes of fire, eat nothing, but live of themselves ; so can the soul when it is divested of its relative ; and so would the candle's flame, if it could get to the regions of fire, as the soul does to the region of spirits.

The places of Scripture you are pleased to urge, I shall reserve for our meeting or another letter ; for they require particular pointing. But one thing only, because the answer is short, I shall reply to ; why the Apostle, preaching Jesus and the resurrection, said nothing of the immortality of the soul ? I answer, because the resurrection of the body included and supposed that. 2. And if it had not, yet what need he preach that to them, which in Athens was believed, by almost all their schools of learning ? For besides that the immortality of the soul was believed by the Gymnosophists in India, by Trismegist in Egypt, by Job in Chaldea, by his friends in the East, it was also confessed by Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Thales of Miletus, and by Aristotle, as I am sure I can prove. I say nothing of Cicero, and all the Latins ; and nothing of all the Christian schools of philosophy that ever were. But when you see it in Scripture, I know you will no way refuse it. To this purpose are those words of St. Paul, speaking of his rapture into heaven. He purposely and by design twice says, 'whether in the body or out of the body I know not' : by which he plainly says, that it was no ways unlikely that his rapture was out of the body ; and, therefore, it is very agreeable to the nature of the soul to operate in separation from the body.

Sir, for your other question, how it appears that God made all things out of nothing ? I answer it is demonstratively certain ; or else there is no God. For if there be a God, He is the one principle : but, if He did not make the first thing, then there is something besides Him that was never made ; and then there are two eternals. Now if God made the first thing, He made it of nothing. But, Sir, if I may have the honour to see your annotations before you publish them, I will give all the faithful and most friendly assistances that are in the power of, dear Sir, your most obliged and affectionate servant,

JER. TAYLOR



*John Evelyn to Sir Richard Browne*

Sayes-Court, 14 Feb. 1657-8

SIR,—By the reverse of this medal, you will perceive how much reason I had to be afraid of my felicity, and greatly it did import to me to do all that I could to prevent what I have apprehended, what I have deserved, and what now I feel. God has taken from us that dear child, your grandson, your godson, and with him all the joy and satisfaction that could be derived from the greatest hopes. A loss, so much the more to be deplored, as our contentments were extraordinary, and the indications of his future perfections as fair and legible as, yet, I ever saw, or read of in one so very young: you have, Sir, heard so much of this, that I may say it with the less crime and suspicion. And indeed his whole life was from the beginning so great a miracle, that it were hard to exceed in the description of it; and which I should here yet attempt, by summing up all the prodigies of it, and what a child at five years old (for he was little more) is capable of, had I not given you so many minute and particular accounts of it, by several expresses, when I then mentioned those things with the greatest joy, which now I write with as much sorrow and amazement. But so it is, that has pleased God to dispose of him, and that blossom (fruit, rather I may say) is fallen; a six days' quotidian having deprived us of him; an accident that has made so great a breach in all my contentments, as I do never hope to see repaired: because we are not in this life to be fed with wonders: and that I know you will hardly be able to support the affliction and the loss, who bear so great a part in everything that concerns me. But thus we must be reduced when God sees good, and I submit; since I had, therefore, this blessing for a punishment, and that I might feel the effects of my great unworthiness. But I have begged of God that I might pay the fine here, and if to such belonged the kingdom of heaven, I have one depositum there. *Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit*: blessed be His name: since without that consideration it were impossible to support it: for the stroke is so severe, that I find nothing in all philosophy capable to allay the impression of it, beyond that of cutting the channel and dividing with our friends, who really sigh on our behalf, and mingle with our greater sorrows in accents of piety and compassion, which is all that can yet any ways alleviate the sadness of, dear Sir, Your, &c.

*Jeremy Taylor to John Evelyn*

Feb. 17, 1657-8

DEAR SIR,—If dividing and sharing griefs were like the cutting of rivers, I dare say to you, you would find your stream much abated; for I account myself to have a great cause of sorrow not only in the diminution of the numbers of your joys and hopes, but in the loss of that pretty person, your strangely hopeful boy. I cannot tell all my own sorrows without adding to yours; and the causes of my real sadness in your loss are so just and so reasonable, that I can no otherwise comfort you but by telling you, that you have very great cause to mourn: So certain it is, that grief does propagate as fire does. You have enkindled my funeral torch, and by joining mine to yours, I do but increase the flame. *Hoc me malè urit*, is the best signification of my apprehensions of your sad story. But, Sir, I cannot choose but I must hold another and a brighter flame to you, it is already burning in your breast; and if I can but remove the dark side of the lanthorn, you have enough within you to warm yourself, and to shine to others. Remember, Sir, your two boys are two bright stars, and their innocence is secured, and you shall never hear evil of them again. Their state is safe, and heaven is given to them upon very easy terms; nothing but to be born and die. It will cost you more trouble to get where they are; and amongst other things one of the hardnesses will be, that you must overcome even this just and reasonable grief; and indeed, though the grief hath but too reasonable a cause, yet it is much more reasonable that you master it. For besides that they are no losers, but you are the person that complains, do but consider what you would have suffered for their interest: you [would] have suffered them to go from you, to be great Princes in a strange country; and if you can be content to suffer your



own inconvenience for their interest, you commend your worthiest love, and the question of mourning is at an end. But you have said and done well, when you look upon it as a rod of God ; and He that so smites here, will spare hereafter ; and if you by patience and submission imprint the discipline upon your own flesh, you kill the cause, and make the effect very tolerable ; because it is in some sense chosen, and not therefore in no [any] sense unsufferable. Sir, if you do look to it, time will snatch your honour from you, and reproach you for not effecting that by Christian philosophy which time will do alone. And if you consider that of the bravest men in the world we find the seldomest stories of their children, and the Apostles had none, and thousands of the worthiest persons that sound most in story died childless ; you will find that it is a rare act of Providence so to impose upon worthy men a necessity of perpetuating their names by worthy actions and discourses, governments, and reasonings.

If the breach be never repaired, it is because God does not see it fit to be ; and if you will be of this mind it will be much the better. But, Sir, if you will pardon my zeal and passion for your comfort, I will readily confess that you have no need of any discourse from me to comfort you. Sir, now you have an opportunity of serving God by passive graces ; strive to be an example and a comfort to your lady, and by your wise counsel or comfort stand in the breaches of your own family, and make it appear that you are more to her than ten sons. Sir, by the assistance of Almighty God I purpose to wait on you some time next week, that I may be a witness of your Christian courage and bravery ; and that I may see, that God never displeases you, as long as the main stake is preserved, I mean your hopes and confidences of heaven. Sir, I shall pray for all that you can want, that is, some degrees of comfort and a present mind : and shall always do you honour, and fain also would do you service, if it were in the power, as it is in the affections and desires of, dear Sir, your most affectionate and obliged friend and servant,

JER. TAYLOR

*Thomas Barlow<sup>a</sup> to John Evelyn*

25 March, 1658

SIR,—Your kindness to the public and me, hath occasioned you the trouble of this letter. I understand by my friend Mr. Pett, that you have been pleased charitably to contribute some prints and a little book of drawings, (towards a design which he hath begun) for our library ; this paper comes to kiss your hand and give you hearty thanks for your continued kindness to us ; and withal to assure you that if there be any thing wherein I may serve you or any friend of yours here, be pleased to command, and as you may justly expect, so you shall be sure to find your commands willingly and cheerfully obeyed by, Sir, your affectionate friend and servant,

THOMAS BARLOW

P.S.—We have no news here save a new Saxon Dictionary in the press, by Mr. Somner of Canterbury ; and a new collection of many centuries of Arabic Proverbs, by Mr. Pocock.

*Jeremy Taylor to John Evelyn*

May 12, 1658

HONOURED SIR,—I return you many thanks for your care of my temporal affairs ; I wish I may be able to give you as good account of my watchfulness for your service, as you have for your diligence to do me benefit. But concerning the thing itself, I am to give you this account. I like not the condition of being a lecturer under the dispose of another, nor to serve in my semicircle, where a Presbyterian and myself shall be like Castor and Pollux, the one up and the other down, which methinks is like worshipping the sun, and making him the deity, that we may be religious half the year, and every night serve another interest. Sir, the stipend is so inconsiderable, it will not pay the charge and trouble of removing myself and family. It is wholly arbitrary ; for the triers may overthrow it ; or the vicar may forbid it ; or the subscribers may die, or

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Barlow was now Warden of Queen's College, Oxford.

grow weary, or poor, or be absent. I beseech you, Sir, pay my thanks to your friend, who had so much kindness for me as to intend my benefit. I think myself no less obliged to him and you, than if I had accepted it<sup>a</sup>.

Sir, I am well pleased with the pious meditations and the extracts of a religious spirit which I read in your excellent letter. I can say nothing at present but this, that I hope in a short progression you will be wholly immersed in the delights and joys of religion; and as I perceive your relish and gust of the things of the world goes off continually, so you will be invested with new capacities, and entertained with new appetites, for in religion every new degree of love is a new appetite, as in the schools we say, every single angel does make a species, and differs more than numerically angel of the same order.

Your question concerning interest hath in it no difficulty as you have prudently stated it. For in the case, you have only made yourself a merchant with them; only you take less, that you be secured, as you pay a fine to the Assurance Office. I am only to add this; you are neither directly nor collaterally to engage the debtor to pay more than is allowed by law. It is necessary that you employ your money some way for the advantage of your family. You may lawfully buy land, or traffic, or exchange it to your profit. You may do this by yourself or by another, and you may as well get something as he get more, and that as well by money as by land or goods, for one is as valuable in estimation of merchants, and of all the world, as anything can be; and methinks no man should deny money to be valuable, that remembers, every man parts with what he hath for money: and as lands are of a price, then (when) they are sold for ever, and when they are parted with for a year, so is money: since the employment of it is apt to minister to gain as lands are to rent. Money and lands are equally the matter of increase; to both of them industry must (be) applied, or else the profit will cease; now as a tenant of lands may plough for me, so a tenant of money may go to sea and traffic for me. . . .

*John Evelyn to Edward Thurland*

*Sayes Court, 8 Nov : 1658*

SIR,—I understand that my lord of Northumberland has some thoughts of sending his son, my Lord Percy, abroad to travel, and withal to allow him an appointment so noble and considerable, as does become his greatness, and the accomplishment of his education to the best improvement. My many years conversation abroad and relations there to persons of merit and quality, having afforded me several opportunities to consider of effects of this nature by the successes, when gentlemen of quality have been sent beyond the seas, resigned and concredited to the conduct of such as they call Governors, being for the greatest ingredient a pedantic sort of scholars, infinitely uninstructed for such an employment: my ambition to serve you by contributing to the designs of a person so illustrious, and worthy of the honour which I find you always bear towards his Lordship, hath created in me the confidence to request your advice and return upon these particulars. Whether my Lord persist still in his resolution? What equipage and *honorarium* my Lord does allow? and whether he has not yet pitched upon any man to accompany my young Lord? &c. Because I would, through your mediation, recommend to his Lordship a person of honour, address in Court, rare erudition, languages and credit: who, I think, would upon my representing of the proposition, be ready to serve my Lord in an affair of this importance. I shall add no more of the person, *quum habeat in se, quæ quum tibi nota fuerint συστατικώτερα πάσης ἐπιστολῆς esse judicaberis*: and because, in truth, all that I can say will be infinitely inferior to his merit; being a person of integrity, great experience and discretion; in a word, without reproach, and such as becomes my Lord to seek out, that he may render his son those honourable and decent advantages of the most refined conversations, things not to be encountered in a pension with a pedant—the education of most of our nobility

<sup>a</sup> This letter refers to an offer made from Lord Conway to Taylor, through Evelyn, of an alternate lectureship in Lisburn (a small town in the county of Antrim), which, though here declined, he soon after, as will be seen, accepted. His next letter is dated from Ireland.



abroad ; which makes them return (I pronounce it with a blush) insolent and ignorant, debauched, and without the least tincture of those advantages to be hoped for through the prudent conduct of some brave man of parts, sober, active, and of universal address, in fine, such as the person I would recommend, and the greatest Prince in Europe might emulate upon the like occasion ; and therefore such a one as I cannot presume would descend to my proposition for any person of our nation excepting my Lord of Northumberland alone, whose education of his son, I hear, has been of another strain and alloy than that we have mentioned ; and such as will give countenance and honour to a person of his merit, character, and abilities. It is not enough that persons of my Lord Percy's quality be taught to dance, and to ride, to speak languages and wear his clothes with a good grace (which are the very shells of travel), but, besides all these, that he know men, customs, courts, and disciplines, and whatsoever superior excellencies the places afford, befitting a person of birth and noble impressions. This is, Sir, the fruit of travel ; thus our incomparable Sidney was bred ; and this, *tanquam Minerva Phidiæ*, sets the crown upon his perfections when a gallant man shall return with religion and courage, knowledge and modesty, without pedantry, without affectation, material and serious, to the contentment of his relations, the glory of his family, the star and ornament of his age. This is truly to give a citizen to his country. Youth is the seed time in which the foundation of all noble things is to be laid ; but it is made the field of repentance. For what can become more glorious than to be ignorant of nothing but of vice, which indeed has no solid existency, and therefore is nothing ? And unless thus we cultivate our youth, and noblemen make wiser provisions for their educations abroad, above the vanity of talk, feather, and ribbon, the ordinary commerce and import of their wild per-errations, I despair of ever living to see a man truly noble indeed ; they may be called 'My Lord' ; titles and sounds are inferior trifles ; but when virtue and blood are coincidents, they both add lustre and mutual excellencies. This is what my Lord takes care to secure to his son, what I foresee and augur of my noble Lord Percy, and of whom (though to me no otherwise known than by fame) may this be the least portion of his panegyric, whilst it concerns me only to testify, without design, my zeal for one whom I know you so highly value ; *quanto enim mihi carior est amicitia tua, tanto anti-quior mihi esse debet cura, illam omnibus officiis testandi* ; which, Sir, is the product of this impertinency, and sole ambition of, Sir, your, &c.

*John Evelyn to his Cousin, Geo. Tuke, of Cressing Temple, in Essex*

[Of this letter only a portion has been preserved, in which he speaks of his cousin's brother, Samuel Tuke<sup>a</sup>, having been made a proselyte to the Church of Rome.]

Jan. 1658-9

For the rest, we must commit to Providence the success of times and mitigation of proselytical fervours, having for my own particular, a very great charity for all who sincerely adore the blessed Jesus, our common and dear Saviour, as being full of hope that God (however the present zeal of some, and the scandals taken by others at the instant afflictions of the Church of England may transport them) will at last compassionate our infirmities, clarify our judgments, and make abatement for our ignorances, superstructures, passions, and errors of corrupt

<sup>a</sup> See Mrs. Evelyn's character of him in a letter to Lady Tuke on his death, dated Jan. 28, 1672. Sir Samuel Tuke, of Cressing Temple, in Essex, Bart., was a colonel in the royal service, during the civil war, and afterwards, being one of those that attempted to form a body in Essex for King Charles, narrowly escaped with his life. In 1664 he married Mary Sheldon, one of the Queen's dressers, kinswoman to Lord Arundel, and died at Somerset House, Jan. 26, 1673. His son followed the fortunes of King James, and was killed at the battle of the Boyne. George Tuke, afterwards Sir George, is frequently referred to in the *Diary*. Soon after the Restoration he wrote a comedy, (the *Adventures of Five Hours*, of which the plot was borrowed from Calderon) for the Duke's Theatre, 'which took so universally, that it was acted for some weeks every day, and 'twas believed it would be worth to the comedians 400*l.* or 500*l.*'. 'The plot was incomparable', says Evelyn, drily, 'but the language stiff and formal.'

times and interests, of which the Romish persuasion can no way acquit herself, whatever the present prosperity and secular polity may pretend. But God will make all things manifest in His own time ; only let us possess ourselves in patience and charity ; and this will cover a multitude of imperfections.

*Jeremy Taylor to John Evelyn*

*Lisnagarvy, April 9, 1659*

HONOURED SIR,—I fear I am so unfortunate as that I forgot to leave with you a direction how you might, if you pleased to honour me with a letter, refresh my solitude with notice of your health and that of your relatives, that I may rejoice and give God thanks for the blessing and prosperity of my dearest and most honoured friends. I have kept close all the winter, that I might, without interruption, attend to the finishing of the employment I was engaged in : which now will have no longer delay than what it meets in the printer's hands<sup>a</sup>. But, Sir, I hope that by this time you have finished what you have so prosperously begun, your own *Lucretius*. I desire to receive notice of it from yourself, and what other designs you are upon in order to the promoting or adorning learning : for I am confident you will be as useful and profitable as you can be, that, by the worthiest testimonies, it may by posterity be remembered that you did live. But, Sir, I pray say to me something concerning the state of learning ; how is any art or science likely to improve ? what good books are lately public ? what learned men, abroad or at home, begin anew to fill the mouth of fame, in the places of the dead Salmasius, Vossius, Mocelin, Sirmond Rigaltius, Des Cartes, Galileo, Peirisk, Petavius, and the excellent persons of yesterday ? I perceive here that there is a new sect rising in England, the Perfectionists ; for three men that wrote an *Examen of the Confession of Faith of the Assembly*, whereof one was Dr. Drayton, and is now dead, did start some very odd things ; but especially one, in persuance of the doctrine of Castellio, that it is possible to give unto God perfect unsinning obedience, and to have perfection of degrees in this life. The doctrine was opposed by an obscure person, one John Tendring ; but learnedly enough and wittily maintained by another of the triumvirate, William Parker, who indeed was the first of the three ; but he takes his hint from a sermon of Dr. Drayton, which, since his death, Parker hath published, and endeavours to justify. I am informed by a worthy person, that there are many of them who pretend to great sanctity and great revelations and skill in all Scriptures, which they expound almost wholly to scriptural and mysterious purposes. I knew nothing, or but extremely little, of them when I was in England ; but further off I hear most news. If you can inform yourself concerning them, I would fain be instructed concerning their design, and the circumstances of their life and doctrine. For they live strictly, and in many things speak rationally, and in some things very confidently. They excel the Socinians in the strictness of their doctrine ; but, in my opinion, fall extremely short of them in their expositions of the practical Scripture. If you inquire after the men of Dr. Gelt's church, possibly you may learn much : and if I mistake not, the thing is worth inquiry. Their books are printed by Thomas Newcomb in London, but where is not set down. The *Examen of the Assembly's Confession* is highly worth perusing, both for the strangeness of some things in it, and the learning of many of them.

Sir, you see how I am glad to make an occasion to talk with you : though I can never want a just opportunity and title to write to you, as long as I have the memory of those many actions of loving kindness by which you have obliged, honoured Sir, your most affectionate and endeared friend and humble servant,

JER. TAYLOR

*John Evelyn to the Hon. Robert Boyle*

*Sayes-Court, April 13, 1659*

SIR,—Having the last year drawn a good quantity of the essence of roses, by the common way of fermentation, and remembering how soon it went away, amongst the ladies, after they had once scented it ; the season of flowers now

<sup>a</sup> His *Treatise on Conscience* appears to be alluded to.



approaching, makes me call to mind, to have known it is sold by some chemists (and in particular by one Longsire at Chichester) mixed with a substance not unlike it ; which retained the odour of it wonderful exactly ; but in such a proportion, that for seven or eight shillings a sister of mine was used to purchase more than any man living can extract out of three or four hundred weight of roses, by the vulgar or Glauber's preparation : by which means that precious essence may be made to serve for many ordinary uses, without much detriment. Sir, I am bold to request of you, that if you know what it is (for if you know it not, I despair of encountering it) you will be pleased to instruct me ; and, in lieu thereof, to command me some service by which I may testify my great ambition to obey you, and how profoundly sensible I remain of my many obligations to you, which I should not have been thus long in expressing, had not I apprehended how importune letters are to studious persons, where the commerce is so jejune ; and that I can return you nothing in exchange for civilities I have already received. Sir, I have reason to be confident that you are upon some very glorious design, and that you need no subsidiaries, and therein you are happy ; make us so, likewise, with a confirmation of it ; that such as cannot hope to contribute anything of value to the adornment of it, may yet be permitted to augur you all the success which your worthy and noble attempts do merit ; in the mean time, some domestic afflictions of mine have rendered me thus long useless, both to my friends and to myself ; which I wish may be thought a just apology for, noble Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

J. EVELYN

Sir, I know the impostors multiply their essence of roses with *ol. lig. Rhodii*, others with that of *Ben* ; but it can be neither ; for the oil of rosewood will vanquish it exceedingly, neither is it so fluid ; and the other grows rancid. Some have told me it was spermaceti, which I have not essayed.

Your commands will at any time find me, directed to the Hawk and Pheasant upon Ludgate Hill, at one Mr. Saunders's, a woollen-draper.

*Jeremy Taylor to John Evelyn*

*Portmore, June 4, 1659*

HONOURED SIR,—I have reason to take a great pleasure that you are pleased so perfectly to retain me in your memory and affections as if I were still near you, a partner of your converse, or could possibly oblige you. But I shall attribute this so wholly to your goodness, your piety and candour, that I am sure nothing on my part can incite or continue the least part of those civilities and endearments by which you have often, and still continue to oblige me. Sir, I received your two little books, and am very much pleased with the *Golden Book of St. Chrysostom*, on which your epistle hath put a black enamel, and made a pretty monument for your dearest, strangest miracle of a boy ; and when I read it, I could not choose but observe St. Paul's rule, *flebam cum flentibus*. I paid a tear at the hearse of that sweet child. Your other little *Enchiridion* is an emanation of an ingenuous spirit ; and there are in it observations, the like of which are seldom made by young travellers ; and though by the publication of these you have been civil and courteous to the commonwealth of learning, yet I hope you will proceed to oblige us in some greater instances of your own. I am much pleased with your way of translation ; and if you would proceed in the same method, and give us in English some devout pieces of the Fathers, and your own annotations upon them, you would do profit and pleasure to the public. But, Sir, I cannot easily consent that you should lay aside your Lucretius, and having been requited yourself by your labour, I cannot preceive why you should not give us the same recreation, since it will be greater to us than it could be to you, to whom it was alloyed by your great labour : especially since you have given us so large an essay of your ability to do it ; and the world having given you an essay of their acceptance of it.

Sir, that Pallavicini whom you mention is the author of the late *history of the Council of Trent*, in two volumes in folio, in Italian. I have seen it, but had not leisure to peruse it so much as to give any judgment of the man by it. Besides this, he hath published two little manuals in 12mo, *Assertionum Theologicarum* :

but these speak but very little of the man. His history, indeed, is a great undertaking, and his family (for he is of the Jesuit order) used to sell the book by crying up the man : but I think I saw enough of it to suspect the expectation is much bigger than the thing. It is no wonder that Baxter undervalues the gentry of England. You know what spirit he is of ; but I suppose he hath met with his match, for Mr. Peirs hath attacked him, and they are joined in the lists. I have not seen Mr. Thorndike's book. You make me desirous of it, because you call it elaborate : but I like not the title nor the subject, and the man is indeed a very good and a learned man, but I have not seen much prosperity in his writings : but if he have so well chosen the questions, there is no peradventure but he hath tumbled into his heap many choice materials. I am much pleased that you promise to inquire into the way of the Perfectionists ; but I think Lord Pembroke and Mrs. Joy, and the Lady Wildgoose, are none of that number. I assure you, some very learned and very sober persons have given up their names to it. Castellio is their great patriarch ; and his dialogue *An per Spir. S. homo possit perfectè obedire legi Dei*, is their first essay. Parker hath written something lately of it, and in Dr. Gell's last book in folio, there is much of it. Indeed you say right that they take in Jacob Behmen, but that is upon another account, and they understand him as nurses do their children's imperfect language ; something by use, and much by fancy. I hope, Sir, in your next to me (for I flatter myself to have the happiness of receiving a letter from you sometimes), you will account to me of some hopes concerning some settlement, or some peace to religion. I fear my peace in Ireland is likely to be short, for a Presbyterian and a madman have informed against me as a dangerous man to their religion ; and for using the sign of the cross in baptism. The worst event of the information which I fear, is my return into England ; which, although I am not desirous it should be upon these terms, yet if it be without much violence, I shall not be much troubled.

Sir, I do account myself extremely obliged to your kindness and charity, in your continued care of me, and bounty to me ; it is so much the more, because I have almost from all men but yourself, suffered some diminution of their kindness, by reason of my absence ; for, as the Spaniard says, 'The dead and the absent have but few friends'. But, Sir, I account myself infinitely obliged to you, much for your pension, but exceedingly much more for your affection, which you have so signally expressed. I pray, Sir, be pleased to present my humble service to your two honoured Brothers : I shall be ashamed to make any address, or pay my thanks in words to them, till my Rule of Conscience be public, and that is all the way I have to pay my debts ; that and my prayers that God would. Sir, Mr. Martin, bookseller, at the Bell, in St. Paul's Churchyard, is my correspondent in London, and whatsoever he receives, he transmits it to me carefully ; and so will Mr. Royston, though I do not often employ him now. Sir, I fear I have tired you with an impertinent letter, but I have felt your charity to be so great as to do much more than to pardon the excess of my affections. Sir, I hope that you and I remember one another when we are upon our knees. I do not think of coming to London till the latter end of summer, or the spring, if I can enjoy my quietness here ; but then I do if God permit : but beg to be in this interval refreshed by a letter from you at your leisure, for, indeed, in it will be a great pleasure and endearment to, honoured Sir, your very obliged, most affectionate, and humble servant,

JER. TAYLOR

*John Evelyn to the Hon. Robert Boyle*

*Sayes-Court, Aug. 9, 1659*

HONOURED SIR,—I am perfectly ashamed at the remissness of this recognition for your late favours from *Oxon* : where (though had you resided) it should have interrupted you before this time. It was by our common and good friend Mr. Hartlib, that I come now to know you are retired from thence, but not from the muses, and the pursuit of your worthy designs, the result whereof we thirst after with all impatience ; and how fortunate should I esteem myself, if it were in my power to contribute in the least to that, which I augur of so great and universal a benefit ! But, so it is, that my late inactivity has made so small a progress,



that, in the History of Trades, I am not advanced a step ; finding (to my infinite grief) my great imperfections for the attempt, and the many subjections, which I cannot support, of conversing with mechanical capricious persons, and several other discouragements ; so that, giving over a design of that magnitude, I am ready to acknowledge my fault, if from any expression of mine there was any room to hope for such a production, farther than by a short collection of some heads and materials, and a continual propensity of endeavouring in some particular, to encourage so noble a work, as far as I am able, a specimen whereof I have transmitted to Mr. Hartlib, concerning the ornaments of gardens, which I have requested him to communicate to you, as one from whom I hope to receive my best and most considerable furniture ; which favour, I do again and again humbly supplicate ; and especially, touching the first chapter of the third book, the eleventh and twelfth of the first, and indeed, on every particular of the whole. Sir, I thank you for your receipts : there is no danger I should prostitute them, having encountered in books what will sufficiently (I hope) gratify the curiosity of most, when in my third I speak of the elaboratory. But I remit you what I have written to Mr. Hartlib, and begging pardon for this presumption, crave leave to remain, Sir, your most humble and obedient servant,

J. EVELYN

Sir, do you know whether Campanella has said any thing concerning altering the shape of fruits, &c., and how I may obtain the perusal of *Benedicti Curtii Hortorum Lib. 30. Lugd. 1560. fol. ?*

*John Evelyn to the Hon. Robert Boyle*

*Sayes-Court, Sep. 3, 1659*

NOBLE SIR,—Together with these testimonies of my cheerful obedience to your commands, and a faithful promise of transmitting the rest, if yet there remain any thing worthy your acceptance amongst my unpolished and scattered collections, I do here make bold to trouble you with a more minute discovery of the design, which I casually mentioned to you, concerning my great inclination to redeem the remainder of my time, considering, *quam parum mihi supersit ad metas* ; so as may best improve it to the glory of God Almighty, and the benefit of others. And, since it has proved impossible for me to attain to it hitherto (though in this my private and mean station) by reason of that fond morigeration to the mistaken customs of the age, which not only rob men of their time, but extremely of their virtue and best advantages ; I have established with myself, that it is not to be hoped for, without some resolutions of quitting these incumbrances, and instituting such a manner of life, for the future, as may best conduce to a design so much breathed after, and, I think, so advantageous. In order to this, I propound, that since we are not to hope for a mathematical college, much less, a Solomon's house, hardly a friend in this sad *Catalysis*, and *inter hos armorum strepitus*, a period so uncharitable and perverse ; why might not some gentlemen, whose geniuses are greatly suitable, and who desire nothing more than to give a good example, preserve science, and cultivate themselves, join together in society, and resolve upon some orders and economy, to be mutually observed, such as shall best become the end of their union, if, I cannot say, without a kind of singularity, because the thing is new : yet such, at least, as shall be free from pedantry, and all affectation ? The possibility, Sir, of this is so obvious, that I profess, were I not an aggregate person, and so obliged, as well by my own nature as the laws of decency, and their merits, to provide for my dependents, I would cheerfully devote my small fortune towards a design, by which I might hope to assemble some small number together who would resign themselves to live profitably and sweetly together. But since I am unworthy so great a happiness, and that it is not now in my power, I propose that if any one worthy person, and *quis meliore luto*, so qualified as Mr. Boyle, will join in the design (for not with every one, rich and learned ; there are very few disposed, and it is the greatest difficulty to find the man) we would not doubt, in a short time, by God's assistance, to be possessed of the most blessed life that virtuous persons could wish or aspire to in this miserable and uncertain pilgrimage, whether considered as to the present revolutions, or what may happen for the



future in all human probability. Now, Sir, in what instances, and how far this is practicable, permit me to give you an account of, by the calculations which I have deduced for our little foundation.

I propose the purchasing of thirty or forty acres of land, in some healthy place, not above twenty-five miles from London; of which a good part should be tall wood, and the rest upland pastures or downs, sweetly irrigated. If there were not already an house which might be converted, &c., we would erect upon the most convenient site of this, near the wood, our building, viz., one handsome pavilion, containing a refectory, library, with drawing-room, and a closet; this the first story; for we suppose the kitchen, larders, cellars, and offices to be contrived in the half story under ground. In the second should be a fair lodging chamber, a pallet-room, gallery, and a closet; all which should be well and very nobly furnished, for any worthy person that might desire to stay any time, and for the reputation of the college. The half story above for servants, wardrobes, and like conveniences. To the entry fore front of this a court, and at the other back front a plot walled in of a competent square, for the common seraglio, disposed into a garden; or it might be only carpet, kept curiously, and to serve for bowls, walking, or other recreations, &c., if the company please. Opposite to the house, towards the wood, should be erected a pretty chapel; and at equal distances (even with the flanking walls of the square) six apartments or cells, for the members of the Society, and not contiguous to the pavilion, each whereof should contain a small bedchamber, an outward room, a closet, and a private garden, somewhat after the manner of the Carthusians. There should likewise be one laboratory, with a repository for rarities and things of nature; aviary, dovehouse, physic garden, kitchen garden, and a plantation of orchard fruit, &c., all uniform buildings, but of single stories, or a little elevated. At convenient distance towards the olitory garden should be a stable for two or three horses, and a lodging for a servant or two. Lastly, a garden house, and conservatory for tender plants.

The estimate amounts thus. The pavilion 400*l.*, chapel 150*l.*, apartments, walls, and out-housing 600*l.*; the purchase of the fee for thirty acres, at 15*l.* per acre, eighteen years' purchase, 400*l.*; the total 1550*l.*, 1600*l.* will be the utmost. Three of the cells or apartments, that is, one moiety, with the appurtenances, shall be at the disposal of one of the founders, and the other half at the other's.

If I and my wife take up two apartments (for we are to be decently asunder; however I stipulate, and her inclination will greatly suit with it, that shall be no impediment to the Society, but a considerable advantage to the economic part), a third shall be for some worthy person; and to facilitate the rest, I offer to furnish the whole pavilion completely, to the value of 500*l.* in goods and movables, if need be, for seven years, till there be a public stock, &c.

There shall be maintained at the public charge, only a chaplain, well qualified, an ancient woman to dress the meat, wash, and do all such offices, a man to buy provisions, keep the garden, horses, &c., a boy to assist him, and serve within.

At one meal a day, of two dishes only (unless some little extraordinary upon particular days or occasions, then never exceeding three) of plain and wholesome meat; a small refection at night: wine, beer, sugar, spice, bread, fish, fowl, candle, soap, oats, hay, fuel, &c., at 4*l.* per week, 200*l.* per annum; wages 15*l.*; keeping the gardens 20*l.*; the chaplain 20*l.* per annum. Laid up in the treasury yearly 145*l.*, to be employed for books, instruments, drugs, trials, &c. The total 400*l.* a year, comprehending the keeping of two horses for the chariot or the saddle, and two kine: so that 200*l.* per annum will be the utmost that the founders shall be at, to maintain the whole Society, consisting of nine persons (the servants included) though there should no others join capable to alleviate the expense; but if any of those who desire to be of the Society be so qualified as to support their own particulars, and allow for their own proportion, it will yet much diminish the charge; and of such there cannot want some at all times, as the apartments are empty.

If either of the founders think it expedient to alter his condition, or that anything do *humanitus contingere*, he may resign to another, or sell to his colleague, and dispose of it as he pleases, yet so as it still continue the institution.



## ORDERS

At six in summer prayers in the chapel. To study till half an hour after eleven. Dinner in the refectory till one. Retire till four. Then called to conversation (if the weather invite) abroad, else in the refectory ; this never omitted but in case of sickness. Prayers at seven. To bed at nine. In the winter the same, with some abatements for the hours, because the nights are tedious, and the evening's conversation more agreeable ; this in the refectory. All play interdicted, *sans* bowls, chess, &c. Every one to cultivate his own garden. One month in spring a course in the elaboratory on vegetables, &c. In the winter a month on other experiments. Every man to have a key of the elaboratory, pavilion, library, repository, &c. Weekly fast. Communion once every fortnight, or month at least. No stranger easily admitted to visit any of the Society, but upon certain days weekly, and that only after dinner. Any of the Society may have his commons to his apartment, if he will not meet in the refectory, so it be not above twice a week. Every Thursday shall be a music meeting at conversation hours. Every person of the Society shall render some public account of his studies weekly if thought fit, and especially shall be recommended the promotion of experimental knowledge, as the principal end of the institution. There shall be a decent habit and uniform used in the college. One month in the year may be spent in London, or any of the Universities, or in a perambulation for the public benefit, &c., with what other orders shall be thought convenient, &c.

Thus, Sir, I have in haste (but to your loss not in a laconic style) presumed to communicate to you (and truly, in my life, never to any but yourself) that project which for some time has traversed my thoughts : and therefore far from being the effect either of an impertinent or trifling spirit, but the result of mature and frequent reasonings. And, Sir, is not this the same, that many noble personages did at the confusion of the empire by the barbarous Goths, when Saint Hierome, Eustochius, and others, retired from the impertinences of the world to the sweet recesses and societies in the East, till it came to be burthened with the vows and superstitions, which can give no scandal to our design, that provides against all such snares ?

Now to assure you, Sir, how pure and unmixed the design is from any other than the public interest propounded by me, and to redeem the time to the noblest purposes, I am thankfully to acknowledge that, as to the common forms of living in the world I have little reason to be displeased at my present condition, in which, I bless God, I want nothing conducing either to health or honest diversion, extremely beyond my merit ; and therefore would I be somewhat choice and scrupulous in my colleague, because he is to be the most dear person to me in the world. But oh ! how I should think it designed from heaven, *et tanquam numen, διοπετὲς*, did such a person as Mr. Boyle, who is alone a society of all that were desirable to a consummate felicity, esteem it a design worthy his embracing ! Upon such an occasion how would I prostitute all my other concerns ! how would I exult ! and, as I am, continue upon infinite accumulations and regards, Sir, his most humble, and most obedient servant, J. EVELYN

If my health permits me the honour to pay my respects to you before you leave the Town, I will bring you a rude plot of the building, which will better fix the idea, and show what symmetry it holds with this description.

*John Evelyn to the Hon. Robert Boyle*

*Sayes-Court, Sept. 29, 1659*

SIR,—I send you this enclosed, the product of your commands, but the least instance of my ambition to serve you : and when I shall add, that if an oblation of whatever else I possess can verify the expression of my greater esteem of your incomparable book, which is indited with a pen snatched from the wing of a seraphim, exalting your divine incentives to that height, that being sometimes ravished with your description of that transcendant state of angelical amours, I was almost reconciled to the passion of Cleombrotus, who threw himself into the

water upon the reading of Plato, and (as despairing to enjoy it) ready to cry out with St. Paul, *cupio dissolvi*, and to be in the embraces of this seraphic love, which you have described to that perfection as if in the company of some celestial harbinger you had taken flight, and been ravished into the third heaven, where you have heard words unutterable, and from whence you bring us such affections and divine inclinations, as are only competent to angels and to yourself : for so powerful is your eloquence, so metaphysical your discourse, and sublime your subject. And though by all this, and your rare example, you civilly declaim against the mistakes we married persons usually make ; yet I cannot think it a paralogism or insidious reasoning, which you manage with so much ingenuity, and pursue with so great judgment. But certainly it was an extraordinary grace, that at so early years, and amidst the ardours of youth, you should be able to discern so maturely, and determine so happily : avoid the Syren, and escape the tempest : but thus, when the curiosity of Psyche had lighted the taper, and was resolved to see what so ardently embraced her, she discovered an impertinent child, the weakness and folly of the passion. You, Sir, found its imperfections betimes ; and that men then ceased to be wise when they began to be in love, unless, with you, they could turn nature into grace, and at once place their affections on the right object. But, Sir, though you seem tender of the consequence all this while, the conclusion will speak as well as your example ; that though you have said nothing of marriage, which is the result of love, yet you suppose that it were hard to become a servant without folly ; and that there are ten thousand inquietudes espoused with a mistress. That the fruits of children are tears and weakness, whilst the productions of the spirit put their parents neither to charge nor trouble ; that all these heroes, of whom we read, esteemed most precious of the celibate. Alexander had no child, and Hercules left no heir ; Pallas was born of the brain of Jupiter ; and the Venus Urania of the Platonists made love only to the soul, which she united to the essence of God (according to their divinity), and had no lower commerce than what you so worthily celebrate in your book, and cultivate in your life. But though these were all true, and all that you have added since, I find the passion of Lindamore rather to be pitied than criminal, because Hermione's was not reciprocal ; though she were cruel, the sex is tender, and amiable, pious, and useful ; and will never want champions to defend their virtues and assert their dues, that is, our love and our service. For if it be virtuous, it is the nearest to the seraphical ; and whatever can be objected against it proceeds from the vices of the person's defect or extremes of the passion. But you instance in the jealousies, diseases, follies, and inconstancies of love : the sensual truly is obnoxious to all these ; but who have been the martyrs, where the design was not plainly brutish, indifferent to the education, or blinded with avarice ? And if you have example of their hatred and perfidy, I can produce a thousand of their affection and integrity. What think you, Sir, of Alcestis, that ran into the funeral pile of her husband ? The goodness of Emilia, the chastity of Lucretia, the faith of Furia, of Portia, and infinite others who knew nothing that the Christian institution has superadded ? And the Scriptures are full of worthy examples, since it was from the effects of conjugal love that the Saviour of the world, and that great object of seraphic love, derived His incarnation, who was the son of David. Take away this love, and the whole earth is but a desert ; and though there were nothing more worthy eulogies than virginity, it is yet but the result of love, since those that shall people paradise, and fill heaven with saints, are such as have been subject to this passion, and were the products of it. In sum, it is by that the church has consecrated to God both virgins and martyrs, and confessors, these five thousand years ; and he that said it was not good for man to be alone, placed the celibate amongst the inferior states of perfection, whatsoever some affirm ; seeing that of St. Paul is not general, and he confesses he had no command from the Lord. It was the best advice in a time of persecution, the present distress, and for an itinerant apostle ; and truly it is what I so recommend to all of that function, that, for many regards I could wish them all as seraphims, who do neither marry nor are given in marriage. But I cannot consent that such a person as Mr. Boyle be so indifferent, decline a virtuous love, or imagine that the best ideas are represented only in romances, where love begins, proceeds, and expires in the pretty tale, but leaves us no worthy impres-



sions of its effects. We have nobler examples ; and the wives of philosophers, pious and studious persons, shall furnish our instances. For such was Pudentilla, that held the lamp to her husband's lucubrations ; such a companion had the learned Budæus ; and the late adventure of Madam Grotius, celebrated by her Hugo, who has not heard of ? We need not go abroad ; the committee chambers, and the parliament lobby, are sad, but evident testimonies of the patience, and the address, the love, and the constancy of these gentle creatures. In fine, they bear us out of love, and they give us such ; they divert us when we are well, and tend us when we are sick ; they grieve over us when we die, and some, I have known, that would not be comforted and survive. But, Sir, Ludov. Vives has written a volume on this subject, and taken all his histories from the love of Christian women. Jacobus de Voragine gives us twelve motives to acknowledge the good we receive by them, and I could add a thousand more, were not that of Pliny *instar omnium*, who writing to his mother-in-law Hispulla, that brought his lady up, gives her this character : 'Summum est acumen, summa frugalitas : amat me, quod castitatis indicium est. Accedit his studium literarum, quod ex mei charitate concepit. Meos libellos habet, lectitat, ediscit etiam. Qua illa solitudine cum videor acturus ; quanto, cum egi, gaudio afficitur' ; and a little after, 'Versus quidem meos cantat etiam, formatque cithara, non artifice aliquo docente, sed amore, qui magister est optimus' : whence he well foresees, 'perpetuam nobis majoremque indies futuram esse concordiam' : discoursing in that which follows, of the nobleness and purity of her affection, with this elegant and civil acknowledgment, 'certatim ergo tibi gratias agimus : ego, quod illam mihi : illa, quod me sibi dederis, quasi invicem deligeris.' And what if Mr. Boyle himself did love such a lady, 'gratâ aliqua compede adstrictus', would it hinder him from the seraphic, or the pursuit of his worthy inquiries ? There is no danger, that he should be taught philosophy as Socrates was, who already commands his passions, and has divinity sufficient to render even Xantippe a saint ; and whose arguments for the seraphic love would make all men to envy his condition, and suspect their own, if it could once be admitted that those who are given to be *auxilia commoda* should hinder them in the love of God, whereof marriage is a figure, for so the apostle makes the parallel, when he speaks of the spouse, Ephes. v ; and devotion is so generally conspicuous in the female sex, that they furnish the greater part of many litanies, and whom, if we may not pray to, we ought certainly to praise God for ; not so much because they were virgins, as that they were the mothers and the daughters of the greatest saints, and lights of the Church, who propagated the seraphic love with their examples, and sealed it with their blood. But, dear Sir, mistake me not all this while, for I make not this recital as finding the least period in your most excellent discourse prejudicial to the conjugal state ; or that I have the vanity to imagine my forces capable to render you a proselyte of Hymen's, who have already made the worthiest choice ; much less to magnify my own condition, and lay little snares for those obvious replies, which return in compliments, and odious flatteries. I have never encountered any thing extraordinary, or dare lay claim to the least of the virtues I have celebrated : but if I have the conversation capable of exalting and improving our affections, even to the highest of objects, and to contribute very much to human felicity, I cannot pronounce the love of the sex to be at all misapplied, or to the prejudice of the most seraphical. And if to have the fruition and the knowledge of our friends in heaven, will be so considerable an augmentation of our felicity, how great is that of the married like to prove, since there is not on earth a friendship comparable to it ? Or if paradise and the ark be the most adequate resemblances of those happy mansions, you may remember there were none but couples there, and that every creature was in love.

But why do I torment your eyes with these impertinencies ? which would never have end, did I not consider I am but writing a letter, and how much better you are wont to place your precious hours. But, Sir, I have now but a word to add, and it is to tell you, that, if after all this, we acknowledge your victory, find all our arguments too weak to contest with your seraphical object, pronounce you wise, and infinitely happy ; yet, as if envying that any one else should be so, you have too long concealed the discourses which should have gained you disciples, and are yet not afraid to make apologies for employing



that talent, which you cannot justify the wrapping up all this while in a napkin. We therefore, that are entangled in our mistakes, and acknowledge our imperfections, must needs declare against it, as the least effects of a seraphic lover, which were to render all men like himself. And since there is now no other remedy, make the best use of it we can, as St. Paul advises, 'ut qui habent uxores, sint tanquam non habentes', &c., and for the rest, serve and love God as well as we may, in the condition we are assigned; which if it may not approach to the perfection of seraphim, and that of Mr. Boyle, let it be as near as it can, and we shall not account ourselves amongst the most unhappy, for having made some virtuous addresses to that fair sex.

Dearest Sir, permit me to tell you, that I extremely loved you before; but my heart is infinitely knit to you now: for what are we not to expect from so timely a consecration of your excellent abilities? The *Primitiæ* sanctified the whole harvest, and you have at once, by this incomparable piece, taken off the reproach which lay upon piety, and the inquiries into nature; that the one was too early for younger persons, and the other the ready way to atheism, than which, as nothing has been more impiously spoken, so, nor has anything been more fully refuted. But Sir, I have finished; pardon this great excess; it is love that constrains me, and the effects of your discourses, from which I have learned so many excellent things that are they not to be numbered and merited with less than I have said, and than I profess, which is to continue all my life long, Sir, your most humble, obliged, and most affectionate servant,

J. EVELYN

*Jeremy Taylor to John Evelyn*

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,—Yours, dated July 23rd, I received not till All Saints' day; it seems it was stopped by the intervening troubles in England: but it was lodged in a good hand, and came safely and unbroken to me. I must needs beg the favour of you that I may receive from you an account of your health and present conditions, and of your family; for I fear concerning all my friends, but especially for those few very choice ones I have, lest the present troubles may have done them any violence in their affairs or content. It is now long since that cloud passed; and though I suppose the sky is yet full of meteors and evil prognostics, yet you all have time to consider concerning your peace and your securities. That was not God's time to relieve His church, and I cannot understand from what quarter that wind blew, and whether it was for or against us. But God disposes all things wisely; and religion can receive no detriment or diminution but by our own fault. I long, Sir, to come to converse with you; for I promise to myself that I may receive from you an excellent account of your progression in religion, and that you are entered into the experimental and secret way of it, which is that state of excellency whither good persons use to arrive after a state of repentance and caution. My retirement in this solitary place hath been, I hope, of some advantage to me as to this state of religion, in which I am yet but a novice; but by the goodness of God I see fine things before me whither I am contending. It is a great but a good work and I beg of you to assist me with your prayers, and to obtain of God for me that I may arrive to that height of love and union with God, which is given to all those souls who are very dear to God. Sir, if it please God, I purpose to be in London in April next, where I hope for the comfort of conversing with you. In the mean time, be pleased to accept my thanks for your great kindness in taking care of me in that token you were pleased to leave with Mr. Martin<sup>a</sup>. I am sorry the evil circumstances of the times made it any way afflictive or inconvenient. I had rather you should not have been burdened than that I should have received kindness on hard conditions to you. Sir, I shall not trouble your studies now, for I suppose you are very busy there; but I shall desire the favour that I may know what you are now doing, for you cannot separate your affairs from being of concern to, dear Sir, your very affectionate friend and humble servant,

Portmore, Nov. 3, 1659.

JER. TAYLOR

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Martin is the bookseller referred to in a previous letter, and the allusion is to an instalment of the pension still allowed to Taylor by Evelyn.



Jeremy Taylor to John Evelyn

Portmore, Feb. 10, 1659-60

HONOURED AND DEAR SIR,—I received yours of Dec. 2, in very good time ; but although it came to me before Christmas, yet it pleased God about that time to lay His gentle hand upon me ; for I had been, in the worst of our winter weather, sent for to Dublin by our late Anabaptist commissioners<sup>a</sup>, and found the evil of it so great, that in my going I began to be ill ; but in my return, had my ill redoubled and fixed ; but it hath pleased God to restore my health, I hope *ad majorem Dei gloriam* ; and now that I can easily write, I return you my very hearty thanks for your very obliging letter, and particularly for the inclosed. Sir, the *Apology*<sup>b</sup> you were pleased to send me, I read both privately, and heard read publicly with no little pleasure and satisfaction. The materials are worthy, and the dress is clean, and orderly, and beauteous ; and I wish that all men in the nation were obliged to read it twice : it is impossible but it must do good to those guilty persons, to whom it is not impossible to repent. Your character<sup>c</sup> hath a great part of a worthy reward, that it is translated into a language in which it is likely to be read by very many *beaux esprits*. But that which I promise to myself as an excellent entertainment, is your *Elysium Britannicum*. But, Sir, seeing you intend it to the purposes of piety as well as pleasure, why do you not rather call it *Paradisus* than *Elysium* ; since the word is used by the Hellenish Jews to signify any place of spiritual and immaterial pleasure, and excludes not the material and secular. Sir, I know you are such a *curieux*, and withal so diligent and inquisitive, that not many things of the delicacy of learning, relating to your subject, can escape you ; and therefore it would be great imprudence in me to offer my little mite to your already digested heap. I hope, ere long, to have the honour to wait on you, and to see some parts and steps of your progression ; and then if I see I can bring anything to your building, though but hair and sticks, I shall not be wanting in expressing my readiness to serve and to honour you, and to promote such a work, than which I think, in the world, you could not have chosen a more apt and a more ingenious.

Sir, I do really bear a share in your fears and your sorrows for your dear boy. I do, and shall pray to God for him ; but I know not what to say in such things. If God intends, by these clouds, to convey him and you to brighter graces, and more illustrious glories respectively, I dare not, with too much passion, speak against the so great good of a person that is so dear to me, and a child that is so dear to you. But I hope that God will do what is best : and I humbly beg of Him to choose what is that best for you both. As soon as the weather and season of the spring gives leave, I intend, by God's permission, to return to England : and when I come to London with the first to wait on you, for whom I have so great regard, and from whom I have received so many testimonies of a worthy friendship, and in whom I know, so much worthiness is deposited. I am, most faithfully and cordially, your very affectionate and obliged servant,

JER. TAYLOR

John Evelyn to Dr. John Wilkins<sup>d</sup>, 'President of our Society at Gresham College'

Sayes-Court, 17 Feb. 1659-60

SIR,—Though I suppose it might be a mistake that there was a meeting appointed to-morrow (being a day of public solemnity and devotion), yet because I am uncertain, and would not disobey your commands, I here send you my trifling observations concerning the anatomy of trees, and their vegetative motion. It is certain, as Dr. Goddard has shown<sup>e</sup>, that a section of any tree made parallel

<sup>a</sup> This is the trouble into which he was brought 'for using the sign of the cross in baptism' mentioned in his first letter from Portmore.

<sup>b</sup> *Apology for the Royal Party*. See Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings*, 1825, 4to, p. 169.

<sup>c</sup> *Character of England*. See *Miscellaneous Writings*, p. 141.

<sup>d</sup> So described by Evelyn ; and see *Diary*, pp. 199, 200.

<sup>e</sup> In his '*Observations concerning the nature and similar parts of a Tree*', which were afterwards published in folio, 1664. Dr. Jonathan Goddard was an eminent Physician, Botanist, and promoter of the Royal Society. He was born at Greenwich about 1617, and died in 1674.

to the horizon, will by the closeness of the circles point to the North, and so consequently, if a perpendicular be drawn through them for the meridian, the rest of the cardinals, &c., found out ; but this is not so universal, but that where strong reflections are made, as from walls, the warm fumes of dunghills, and especially if the southern side be shaded, &c., those elliptical and hyperbolical circles are sometimes very irregular ; and I doubt not but by some art might be made to have their circles as orderly as those which we find in Brasile, Ebene, &c., which, within a very little, concentre by reason of the uniform course of the Sun about them ; this being doubtless the cause of their greater dilatation on the south part only with us, when the pores are more open, and less constricted. The consideration whereof (though nowhere mentioned that I know) made the poet, giving advice concerning transplantations, to caution thus,

Quin etiam Cœli regionem in cortice signant,  
Ut quo quæque modo steterit, qua parte calores  
Austrinos tulerit, quæ terga obverterit axi,  
Restituant : adeo in teneris consuescere multum est.

And though Pliny neglect it as an unnecessary curiosity, I can by much experience confirm it, that not one tree in 100 would miscarry were it duly observed ; for in some I have made trial of it even at Midsummer. But what I would add is touching the grain of many woods, and the reason of it, which I take to be the descent, as well as the ascent of moisture ; for what else becomes of that water which is frequently found in the cavities where many branches spread themselves at the tops of great trees, especially pollards, unless (according to its natural appetite) it sink into a very body of the stem through the pores ? For example ; in the Walnut, you shall find, when 'tis old, that the wood is rarely figured and marbled as it were, and therefore much more esteemed by joiners, &c., than the young, which is whiter and without any grains : for the rain distilling along the branches, where many of them come out in clusters together from the stem, sinks in, and is the cause of these marks ; for it is exceedingly full of pores. Do but plane a thin chip off from one of these old trees, and interpose it 'twixt your eye and the light, and you shall perceive it full of innumerable holes. But above all conspicuous for these works and damaskings, is the Maple (a finer sort whereof the Germans call Air, and therefore much sought after by the instrument makers) : 'tis notorious that this tree is full of branches from the very root to the summit, by reason it bears no considerable fruit. These branches being frequently cut, the head is the more surcharged with them, which, spreading like so many rays from a centre, form that cavity at the top of the stem whence they shoot as contains a good quantity of water every time it rains : this sinking into the pores, as we hinted before, is compelled to divert its course as it passes through the body of the tree, wherever it finds the knot of any of these branches which were cut off from the stem of the tree ; because their roots not only deeply penetrate towards the heart, but are likewise of themselves very hard and impervious ; and the frequent obliquity of this course of the subsiding waters, by reason of these obstacles, is the cause of those curious and rare undulations and works which we find remarkable in this and other woods, whose branches grow thick from the stem.

Sir, I know not whether I have well explain'd my conception, but such as it is I offer it, and it was your commands I should do so, together with that *Treatise* or *History of Chalcography*, as part of the task you have imposed ; but with this hope and humble request, that, knowing upon what other subject I was engaged before I had the honour to be elected one of this august Society, I may obtain its indulgence, not to expect many other things from me 'till it be accomplished ; rather than you will take all occasions which may contribute to my design. It is there, Sir, that I have at large discoursed of the vegetation of plants, and upon that argument which Sir K. Digby and the rest so long discoursed at our last encounter, but it shall not be so in this paper, which is now at an end, &c. Your, &c.



*Samuel Hartlib to John Evelyn<sup>a</sup>*

1660

HONOURED SIR,—You cannot believe how welcome and obliging your last of February 4th was yesterday unto me. Mr. Poleman is a man of great and real worth. He is about another edition of his *Novum Lumen Medicum*: as soon as it is published I shall not fail to give you due notice of it. Here I present you with the model of the Christian Society really begun in Germany: but the cursed Bohemian wars did destroy so noble and Christian a design, as likewise the Protestant nunnery in Silesia founded by Schonaich. Campanilla in his Tract *De Subjugandis Belgis* is said to assert that by the force of schooling and educations whole nations may be subdued: children's senses and tempers should certainly be filled with all manner of natural and artificial objects as the truest pre-cognition for all their after-studies, which have been hitherto utterly neglected. By a discourse of the famous German critic Gilhardus Lubinus, which I have published, you will see what a lover I am of such foundations: it contains also discourses for the right improving of children's senses. Dr. Petty<sup>b</sup>, when he was in his flourishing condition in Ireland, had a main design to erect a Glottical College: the contrivance would have been more accurate, I am persuaded, than any that hath been hitherto extant, but now I fear he hath other fish to fry. I know Mr. Beale will also approve your judgment concerning monastic education: he hath begun some essays of this latter subject which were truly excellent. I should be mighty glad to be advertised when those select essays of St. Jerome shall come forth by that reserved hand. Sir, let me adjure you by the universal felicity of mankind to persevere in your worthy intentions to give us a true body (I mean such as you intimate) of Economical Government; and despairing to see it so as it ought to be from others, I most passionately beg it from your own hands, which done, will make me to profess myself for ever, honoured Sir, yours very truly to love and serve you, SAMUEL HARTLIB

*John, Lord Mordaunt to John Evelyn*

23rd April, 1661

SIR,—I have spoke with his majesty, and he expects your oration<sup>c</sup> as soon as he has dined. He asked me if it were in Latin, which I resolved: he said he hoped it would not be very long. This I thought fit to intimate to you. I shall dine at Court, at my Lord Steward's, where, if you inquire, you will find your most humble servant, MORDAUNT

*Thomas Barlow to John Evelyn*

Queen's College, Oxford, June 10, 1661

SIR,—I received yours, and return my heartiest thanks for that great and undeserved honour you were pleased to do me in the MS. you long since sent me. You may justly wonder why I did not this before, and why that ingenious piece which you had made speak English so well and naturally, came not out in print; seeing, besides the advantage to the public, it would in respect of the matter have been beneficial, and in respect to the hand whence it came honourable to me in particular, had it been published. This I understood well enough and put it into the printer's hand long ago, who (after finishing some work then in his hand) was to have undertaken it. The issue was, when I called upon him to go on with the MS., it was lost, and since cannot by any industry be retrieved. This fatal and sad accident, though it be not my crime, yet 'tis my great calamity, so that I shall deserve your pity, and if you will, your pardon too, if I have not been innocent in so great a loss. I hope you may have a copy of it still to present to that honourable person you mention, and then I shall not account the former miscarriage a misfortune, but a good providence, whereby that ingenious Tract was not lost but preserved for a dedication worthy of the person that presents it. This is the hope of, Sir, your most obliged faithful servant, THOMAS BARLOW

<sup>a</sup> See *Diary*, p. 213.

<sup>b</sup> See *Diary*, pp. 248, 249, 344-346.

<sup>c</sup> On the occasion of the Coronation of Charles II. It was not an oration but a poetical panegyric, the possible length of which had not unnaturally alarmed the king. See *Diary*, p. 243.

*John Evelyn to the Honourable Robert Boyle*

Sayes-Court, Sept. 13, 1661

SIR,—I send you the receipt of the varnish, and believe it to be very exact, because it is so particular; and that I received it from the hand of a curious person, who, having made trial of it himself, affirms it to have succeeded. I send you another trifle, which has a nearer relation to me, and you will easily pardon my indignation, however you pity the rest of my errors, to which there is superadded so great a presumption: not that I believe what I have written should produce the desired effects, but to indulge my passion, and in hopes of obtaining a partial reformation; if, at least, his Majesty pursue the resentment which he lately expressed against this nuisance, since this pamphlet was prepared. Sir, I am your creditor for Schotti, and shall faithfully render it whenever your summons calls: my leisure has not yet permitted me to transcribe some things out of it, which concerns me on another subject; but if the detaining it longer be no prejudice to you, it is in a safe depositum. Sir, I have not bought two of your last books, and yet possibly I could render you some account of them. My thirst and impatience is too great to show the least indifferency, when anything of yours is to be had; this does not absolve you from making him a present who, it may be, takes no greater felicity in the world than to see his small library enriched with your illustrious works, and they to come to me *ex dono authoris*. Dearest Sir, pardon this innocent stratagem, and the presumption of, Sir, your most faithful, and most obedient servant,

J. EVELYN

Sir, I must take this opportunity to give you thanks for your great civilities to my cousin Baily, and to supplicate the continuance of your favour to him, as by which you will infinitely oblige an industrious and deserving gentleman.

*Jeremy Taylor to John Evelyn*

Dublin, November 16, 1661

DEAR SIR,—Your own worthiness and the obligations you have so often passed upon me have imprinted in me so great a value and kindness to your person, that I think myself not a little concerned in yourself and all your relations, and all the great accidents of your life. Do not therefore think me either impertinent or otherwise without employment, if I do with some care and earnestness inquire into your health, and the present condition of your affairs. Sir, when shall we expect your *Terrestrial Paradise*, your excellent observations and discourses of gardens, of which I had a little posy presented to me by your own hand, and makes me long for more. Sir, I and all that understand excellent fancy, language, and deepest loyalty, are bound to value your excellent *Panegyric*, which I saw and read with pleasure. I am pleased to read your excellent mind in so excellent an idea, for, as a father in a son's face, so is a man's soul imprinted in all the pieces that he labours. Sir, I am so full of public concerns and the troubles of business in my diocese, that I cannot yet have leisure to think of much of my old delightful employment. But I hope I have brought my affairs almost to a consistence, and then I may return again. Royston, the bookseller, hath two sermons, and a little collection of rules for my clergy, which had been presented to you if I had thought them fit for notice, or to send to my dearest friends.

Dear Sir, I pray let me hear from you as often as you can, for you will very much oblige me if you will continue to love me still<sup>a</sup>. I pray give my love and dear regards to worthy Mr. Thurland: let me hear of him and his good lady, and how his son does. God bless you and yours, him and his. I am, dear Sir, your most affectionate friend,

JEREM DUNENSIS

<sup>a</sup> It is perhaps worthy of note that this is the last letter preserved of the long and affectionate correspondence of Taylor and Evelyn. Whether it really ceased at this time cannot with certainty be said, but it seems probable. Taylor survived his elevation to his bishopric six years, dying in August, 1667.



*John Evelyn to 'Tho. Chiffing<sup>a</sup>, Esq., Page of the back stairs to his Majesty and Keeper of his closet'*

In answer to the laudable design of his Majesty for fit repositories of those precious Treasures and Curiosities committed to your charge, I conceive you may completely marshal them in a Catalogue (as there set forth). This were in truth a noble way to preserve his treasure entire; so as upon occasion to permit a sight of it to great princes and curious strangers: for it is great pity it should not be made as famous as the Cabinet of the Duke of Florence and other foreign princes, which are only celebrated by being more universally known, and not because his Majesty's collection is not altogether as worthy, his Majesty being likewise himself so exquisite a judge, as well as possessor, of so many rare things as might render not only Whitehall, but the whole nation, famous for it abroad.

If it be his Majesty's pleasure, I shall, whenever you call upon me, and that it may least importune his privacy, make the inventory of particulars.

To this I would have added, in another Register, the names and portraitures of all the exotic and rare beasts and fowls which have at any time been presented to his Majesty and which are daily sent to his paradise at St. James's Park.

*John Evelyn to Lady Cotton<sup>b</sup>*

*Sayes-Court, 9 Sept. 1662*

MADAM,—It was by a visit which was made us this afternoon that we heard how it had pleased God to dispose of your little sweet babe; and, withal, how much the loss of it does yet afflict you. Whatsoever concerns you in this kind is, Madam, a common diminution to the family, and touches every particular of it, but so as our resentments hold proportion to the cause, and that the loss of one does not take away the comfort and the contentment which we ought to have in those who are left, since we must pretend to nothing here, but upon the conditions of mortality, and ten thousand other accidents; and that we may learn to place our felicities in our obedience to the will of God, which is always the best, and to sacrifice our affections upon that altar which can consecrate our very losses, and turn them to our greatest advantage. Madam, I have heard with infinite satisfaction how graciously God had restored you your health: why should you now impair it again by an excess of grief which can recall nothing that God has taken to himself in exchange without a kind of ingratitude? There be some may haply soothe your Ladyship in this sensible part (which was the destruction of my dear Mother); but your Ladyship's discretion ought to fortify you against it before it become habitual and dangerous. Remember that you have an husband who loves you entirely: that you have other children who will need your conduct; that you have many friends and a prosperous family. Pluck up your spirits, then, and at once vanquish these hurtful tendernesses. It is the vote of all that honour and love you; it is what God requires of you, and what I conjure you to resolve upon; and I beseech your La'p, let this express bring us some fairer confidences of it, than the common report does represent it to the grief of, Madam, your, &c.

*John Evelyn to Mr. Vander Douse, 'Grandson to the great Janus Dousa'*

*Sayes-Court, 13 Sept. 1662*

SIR,—I have to the best of my skill translated your *Relation of China*: if you find the Argument omitted, it is for that I thought it superfluous, being almost as large as the text; but I have yet left a sufficient space where you may, (if you think good) insert it. In the mean time, it would be consider'd, whether this whole piece will be to the purpose, there having been of late so many accurate

<sup>a</sup> Thomas Chiffinch, of Northfleet, Esq., Keeper of the Jewels to King Charles II, Keeper of the King's Closet, and Comptroller of the Excise. He was born at Salisbury in 1600, and was brought to the Court of King Charles I by Bishop Duppa. After the King's death, he, with his wife, went abroad to King Charles II, and continued with him till the Restoration. He died in 1666, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, where there is a monument erected to his memory. Hasted's *Hist. of Kent*, vol. i., p. 442.

<sup>b</sup> Wife to his brother, George Evelyn, of Wotton.

descriptions of those countries in particular, as what Father Alvarez Semedo has published in the Italian<sup>a</sup>; Vincent le Blanc in French<sup>b</sup>; and Mandelslo in high Dutch<sup>c</sup>; not omitting the *Adventures and Travels of Pinto* in Spanish<sup>d</sup>; all of them now speaking the English language. At least I conceive that you might not do amiss to peruse their works, and upon comparing of them with this piece of yours, to observe what there is more accurate and instructive; lest you otherwise seem *actum agere*, as the word is: but this, Sir, I remit to your better judgment, who am, Sir, your, &c.

*From John Evelyn to Mr. (afterwards Dr) Croone, Professor of Rhetoric at Gresham College<sup>e</sup>*

*Sayes Court, 11 July, 1663*

SIR,—It has neither proceeded from the unmindfulness of your desires, or your deserts, that I had not long before this gratified your inclinations, in finding you out a condition, which it might become you to embrace, if you still continue your laudable curiosity, by wishing for some opportunity to travel, and see the world. There have passed occasions, (and some which did nearly concern my relations) when I might happily have engaged you; but having long had a great ambition to serve you, since I had this in prospect, I rather chose to dispense with my own advantages that I might comply with yours. My worthy and most noble master, Mr. Henry Howard, has by my Cousin Tuke signified to me his desires of some fit person to instruct and travel with his two incomparable children; and I immediately suggested Mr. Croone to them, with such recommendations and civilities as were due to his merits and as became me. This being cheerfully embraced on their part, it will now be yours to second it. All I shall say for your present encouragement is but this: England shall never present you with an equal opportunity; nor were it the least diminution that Mr. Croone, or indeed one of the best gentlemen of the nation, should have the tuition of an heir to the Duke of Norfolk, after the Royal Family the greatest Prince in it. But the title is not the thing I would invite you to, in an age so universally depraved amongst our wretched nobility. You will here come into a most opulent worthy family, and in which I prognosticate (and I have it assured me) you shall make your fortune, without any further dependances: For the persons who govern there have both the means to be very grateful, and as generous a propensity to it as any family in England: Sir, if you think fit to lay hold on this occasion, I shall take a time to discourse to you of some other particulars which the limits of an hasty letter will not permit me to insert. I have been told to leave this for you at the College; because I was uncertain of seeing you, and that I have promised to give my friends an account of its reception. If your affairs could so far dispense with you as to afford me an afternoon's visit at my poor villa, I should with more liberty confer with you about it, and in hope of that favour I remain, Sir, your, &c.

*John Evelyn to Dr. Pierce, 'President of Magdalen College in Oxford; and one of his Majesty's Chaplains in Ordinary'<sup>f</sup>*

*Sayes-Court, 20 Aug. 1663*

REVEREND SIR,—Being not long since at Somerset-house, to do my duty to her Majesty the Queen Mother, I fortun'd to encounter Dr. Goffe<sup>g</sup>. One of the first things he asked me was, whether I had seen Mr. Cressy's<sup>h</sup> *Reply to*

<sup>a</sup> *History of the great and renowned Monarchy of China*; translated from the Portuguese into English, by a person of Quality; with cuts. Folio. 1655.

<sup>b</sup> *Voyages fameux du Sieur Vincent le Blanc*, Marseillois. 4to. Paris, 1658.

<sup>c</sup> *Peregrinations from Persia into the East Indies*, translated by John Davies. Folio.

<sup>d</sup> Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, his *Travels into the Kingdoms of Ethiopia, China, Tartaria, Cochín China, and a great part of the East Indies*; translated out of Portuguese into English by Henry Cogan. Folio. 1663.

<sup>e</sup> He founded a course of Algebraic Lectures in seven colleges at Cambridge, and also a yearly anatomical Lecture in the Royal Society.

<sup>f</sup> See *Diary*, p. 261.

<sup>g</sup> See p. 14.

<sup>h</sup> *Roman Catholic Doctrines no Novelties; or an Answer to Dr. Pierce's Court Sermon, miscalled, The Primitive Rule of Reformation.* 8vo. 1663.



Dr. Pierce's so much celebrated Sermon ? I told him, I had heard much of it, but not as yet seen it : upon which he made me an offer to present me with one of the books, but being in haste, and with a friend, I easily excused his civility, that I could not well stay 'till he should come back from his lodging : in the mean time he gave no ordinary encomiums of that rare piece, which he exceedingly magnified, as beyond all answer ; and to reinforce the triumph, he told me that you had written a letter to some friend of yours (a copy whereof he believed he should shortly produce) wherein (after you had express'd your great resentment that some of the Bishops had made you their property, in putting you upon that ungrateful argument) you totally declined to engage any farther in that controversy : intimating that you would leave it at the Bishops' doors, and trouble yourself no more with it. This (or words to this effect) being spoken to myself, and to some others who stood by, would have weighed more with me, had I not been as well acquainted with these kind of artifices to gain proselytes by, as of your greater discretion never to have written such a Letter, and abilities to vindicate what you have published, when you should see your time. Nor had I likely thought more of it, had not my Lord of Canterbury, the Bishop of Winchester, together with my Lord Chancellor (to whom upon some occasion of private discourse, I recounted the passage) expressly enjoined me to give you notice of it ; because they thought it did highly concern you ; and that you would take it civilly from me. And, Sir, I have done it faithfully ; but with this humble request, that (unless there be very great cause for it) you will be tender of mentioning by what hand your intelligence comes ; because it may do me some injury.

Sir, I am perfectly assured, that you will do both yourself and the Church of England that right which becomes you upon this occasion. I will not say that the burthen ought to be cast upon your shoulders alone ; but I will pronounce it a greater mark of your charity, and zeal, and such as entitles you to the universal obligation which all men have to you ; upon confidence whereof I satisfy myself you will soon dismantle this doughty battery, and assert what you have gained so gloriously.

Thus I discharge my duty, in obedience to their commands. But it is upon another account that I was not displeased with having an opportunity by this occasion to express my thanks and great acknowledgments to you, for the present you made me of that your incomparable Sermon, and which in my opinion is sufficiently impregnable ; but something must be done by these busy men, to support their credit, though at the irreparable expense of truth and ingenuity. The Epistle before Mr. Cressy's papers does not want confidence : and we are very tame whiles we suffer our Church to be thus treated by such as being once her sons did so unworthily desert her. But pardon this indignation. I am, Rev. Sir, your most, &c.

*John Evelyn to Dr. Pierce*

*Lond. 17th Sept. 1663*

SIR,—I received your favour of the first of this month with very different passions, whiles in some periods you give me reasons so convincing why you should rather consult your health, and gratify your charge, and personal concerns, than reply to impertinent books ; and in others again make such generous and noble offers, that the Church of England, and the cause which is now dishonoured, should not suffer through your silence ; and I had (according to your commands) made my addresses to those honourable persons with something of what you had instructed me, had either my Lord of Winchester, or my Lord Chancellor been in town. Since I received your letter my Lord of Winchester is indeed gone to Farnham some few days past ; but I was detained by special business in the country till this very moment, when coming to London on purpose to wait on him, I missed him unfortunately, and unexpectedly. In the meantime, I was not a little rejoiced at something my Lord of Salisbury did assure me, of some late kind intercourse between you and your Visitor, to the no small satisfaction of all those that love and honour you here.

In pursuance of your farther injunction, I was this very morning with Dr. Goffe : after a short ceremony we touched upon Cressy's pamphlet : He tells me there are eight sheets more printing (by a Reverend Father of the Society,



as he named him), who has put Mr. Cressy's rhapsody into mode and figure, that so it might do the work amongst scholars, as it was like to do it with his illiterate proselytes. Upon this I took occasion to remind him of the letter which he lately pretended you had written, intimating your resolution not to reply. After some pause he told me that was a mistake, and that he heard it was only a friend of yours which writ so. Whether he suspected I came a birding or no, I cannot be satisfied, but he now blenched what before (I do assure you) he affirmed to me concerning your own writing that letter. This is the infelicity (and I have observed it in more than one) that when men abandon their religion to God, they take their leave also of all ingenuity [ingenuousness] towards men. And what could I make of this shuffling, and caution, now turned to a mistake, and an hearsay? But so it seems was not that of your being offended with the Bishops for the ungrateful task they put upon you, which he often repeated; and the difference betwixt you and your Visitor: so after a short ventilation<sup>a</sup>, we parted. Sir, I have nothing more to add to your trouble, than that I still persist in my supplication, and that you would at last break through all these discouragements and objections for the public benefit. It is true, men deserve it not; but the Church, which is dearer to you than all their contradictions can be grievous, requires it. You can (in the interim) govern a disorderly College which calls for the assiduous care; but so does no less the needs of a despised Church; nor ought any in it concern themselves so much as to this particular, without being uncivil to you: though (I confess) after you have once chastised this insolence, no barking of the curs should provoke you for the future: Sir, I do not use a quarter of those arguments which your friends here suggest, why you ought to gratify the Church by standing in this gap; because I am confident you perfectly discern them; and that though some particular persons may have unjustly injured you, yet she has been kind and indulgent; and in a cause which concerns either her honour or veracity, it will be glorious (not to say grateful) you should vindicate her wrongs. You are not the only subject which that academic Jack-pudding has reproached more bitterly personally: The drunkards made a song of holy David, yet still he danced before the ark of God, and would be more vile. What are we Christians for? I do assure you, there is nothing I have a greater scorn and indignation against, than these wretched scoffers; and I look upon our neglect of severely punishing them as an high defect in our politics, and a forerunner of something very funest<sup>b</sup>. I would to God virtue and sobriety were more in reputation: but we shall turn plainly barbarians, if all good men be discouraged. Sir, you are of a greater mind than not to despise this. *Fa pùr bene e lascia dire*. But I run into extravagancies, and I beseech you to pardon my zeal, and all other the impertinencies of, Sir, your, &c.

*Thomas Barlow to John Evelyn*

*Queen's College, 21 June, 1664*

SIR,—I received by the hands of my worthy friend Dr. Wilkins the last part of the *Mystery of Jesuitism*; now not more a Mystery; being so well discovered to the world by the pious pains of the Jansenists and yourself. I return (all I am at present able) my hearty thanks and by you well deserved gratitude. I confess I wonder at your goodness and to me continued kindness, seeing upon a strict search, I can find no motive or merit in myself to deserve it, nor any reason to incline you to so much and so little deserved kindness, unless you make your own former favours obligations for future, and resolve to continue kind because you have been so. I am exceedingly pleased with those discoveries of the prodigious villainies and atheism of the Jesuits, who really are the wild fanatics of the Romish faction; who have been (so much as in them lay) the bane of truth and true piety for this last age, and probably may be the ruin of the Roman Idol (the Pope) and bring him low, as he deserves, while they impiously endeavour to set him up too high. Sure I am that Idol hath and will have fewer worshippers. I perceive by many letters from Paris and other parts of France that the sober French Catholics are strangely alarmed by the extravagant principles and practices of the Jesuits; that they seek after, and

<sup>a</sup> Skirmishing.

<sup>b</sup> Fatal.



read diligently, reformed authors to find means against the new heresy, by which they may happily come to discover more truth than they looked for, and at last find (which is most true), that since the Apostles left the world, no book but the Bible nor any definitions are infallible. Pray pardon this impertinent rude scribble of, Sir, your exceedingly obliged and thankful servant, THOMAS BARLOW

*John Evelyn to Mr. Sprat, 'Chaplain to the Duke of Buckingham, afterwards Bishop of Rochester'*<sup>a</sup>

Sayes-Court, 31 Octob. 1664

Upon receipt of the Doctor's letter, and the hint of your design, which I received at Oxford in my return from Cornbury, I summoned such scattered notices as I had, and which I thought might possibly serve you in some particulars relating to the person and condition of Sorbriere.

His birth was in Orange, where he was the son of a Protestant, a very indigent and poor man, but however making a shift to give him some education as to letters. He designed him for a minister, and procured him to be pedagogue to a cadet of Monsr. le Compte de la Suze, in whose family he lived easily enough, till being at length discovered to be a rampant Socinian, he was discharged of employment, but in revenge whereof ('tis reported) he turned apostate, and renounced his religion, which had been hitherto Huguenot. I forgot to tell you that before this he obtained to be made a schoolmaster to one of the classes in that city; but that promotion was likewise quickly taken from him upon the former suspicion. He has passed through a thousand shapes to ingratiate himself in the world; and after having been an Aristarchus, physician (or rather mountebank), philosopher, critic, and politician (to which last he thought himself worthily arrived by a version of some heterodox pieces of Mr. Hobbes), the late Cardinal Mazarin bestowed on him a pitiful canonicat at Avignon worth about 200 crowns per ann., which being of our money almost 50 pounds, is hardly the salary of an ordinary curate. But for this yet he underwent the basest drudgery of a sycophant in flattering the Cardinal upon all occasions the most sordidly to be imagined, as where I can show you him speaking of this fourb for one of the most learned persons of the age. He styles himself Historiograph du Roy, the mighty meed of the commonest Gazetteer, as that of Conseiller du Roy is of every trifling pettifogger, which is in France a very despicable qualification. It is certain that by some servile intelligences he made shift to screw himself into the acquaintance of many persons of quality, at whose tables he fed, and where he entertained them with his impertinencies. A great favourite of our late republic he was, or rather of the villainy of Cromwell, whose expedition at sea against Holland he infinitely extols, with a prediction of his future glorious achievements, to be seen in an epistle of his to Mons. de Courcelles, 1652, and upon other occasions: not to omit his inciting of our Roman Catholics to improve their condition under his Majesty by some effort, which smells of a rebel spirit, even in this relation which he presumes to dedicate to the French King.

Thus as to the person of that man and his communications: for the rest in which this audacious delator sufficiently exposes himself to your mercy, I forbear to add; unless it be to put you in mind of what occurs to me in relation to your vindicating my Lord Chancellor, whom all the world knows he has most injuriously vilified; and you have an ample field to proceed on, by comparing his birth and education with that of his Cardinal Patron, whom he so excessively magnifies, and even makes a demigod.

My Lord Chancellor<sup>b</sup> is a branch of that ancient and honourable family of Norbery in Cheshire, as it is celebrated by Mr. Camden in his *Britannia*, and so famous for the long robe, that an uncle's son of his present Lordship came to be no less a man than Lord Chief Justice of England not long since, which dignity runs parallel with their Premier President de Paris, one of the most considerable charges of that kingdom. Nor has this person ascended to this deserved eminency without great and signal merits, having passed through so many superior offices; as Chancellor of the Exchequer, Privy Councillor, Am-

<sup>a</sup> This letter alludes to Mons. Sorbriere's *Voyage to England*, then just published; and also to *Observations* on the same Voyage by Dr. Pratt.

<sup>b</sup> Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon.



bassador Extraordinary, &c., not to mention his early engagement with his Majesty Charles I in a period of so great defection ; the divers weighty affairs he has successfully managed, fidelity to the present King, his eloquent tongue, dexterous and happy pen, facetious conversation and obliging nature, all of them the products of a free and ingenious education, which was both at the University and Inns of Court, now crowned with an experience and address so consummate, that it were impossible this satirist should have hit on a more unreasonable mistake, than when he refined upon the qualifications of this illustrious Minister. You will meet in a certain letter of the old King's to his consort the Queen Mother, that his Majesty long since had him in his thoughts for Secretary of State. But these topics were infinite ; and 'tis no wonder that he should thus defame a Chancellor, who has been so bold as to dare to censure a crowned head, and to call in question the procedure of the King of Denmark about the affair of Cornlitz Ulefield<sup>a</sup>, for which Monsieur l'Abbé de Palmyre has perstringed him to that purpose, and published it in French, together with some observations of an English gentleman upon the relation of Sorbiere, in which those unworthy and malicious imputations of *lacheté* and baseness in your nation is perfectly vindicated, even by citations only of their own French authors, as namely André du Chesney, Antoine du Verdier, Philip de Commynes, and others of no mean name and estimation amongst their most impartial historians, sufficient to assert the courage and gallantry of the English, without mentioning the brave impressions the nation has made even into the very bowels of their country, which after the winning of several signal battles, they kept in subjection some hundreds of years.

You cannot escape the like choice which he made by which to judge and pronounce of the worth of English books, by the learned collection he carried over with him of the works of that thrice noble Marchioness<sup>b</sup>, no more than of his experience of the English diet by the pottage he ate at my Lord of Devonshire's : but it is much after the rate of his other observations ; or else he had not passed so desultorily our Universities and the Navy, with a thousand other particulars worthy the notice and not to be excused in one pretending to make relations ; to omit his subtle reflections on matters of state, and meddling with things he had nothing to do with : such as were those false and presumptuous suggestions of his that the Presbyterians were forsooth the sole restorers of the King to his throne ; and the palpable ignorance of our Historiograph Royal where he pretends to render an account of divers ancient passages relating to the English Chronicle, and the jurisdiction and legislative power of Parliaments, which he mingles and compares with that of Kings, to celebrate and qualify his politics : upon all which you have infinite advantages. It is true he was civilly received by the Royal Society, as a person who had recommended himself to them by pretending he was secretary to an assembly of learned men formerly meeting at Monsr. Monmors at Paris ; so as he had been plainly barbarous not to have acknowledged it by the mention he makes ; while those who better know whose principles the Mushroom<sup>c</sup> is addicted to, must needs suspect his integrity ; since there lives not on the earth a person who has more disoblighed it. Sir, I am, &c.

P.S. I know not how you may have design'd to publish your reflections upon this disingenuous Traveller ; but it would certainly be most communicative and effectual in Latin, the other particular of his relation coming only to those who understand the French, in which language it is already going to be printed.

*John Evelyn to the Honourable Robert Boyle*

*Sayes-Court, Nov. 23, 1664*

SIR,—The honour you design me by making use of that trifle which you were lately pleased to command an account of, is so much greater than it pretends to merit, as indeed it is far short of being worthy your acceptance : but if by

<sup>a</sup> Count Cornelius Ulefield Oxenstiern, Danish Prime Minister.

<sup>b</sup> Margaret Cavendish, Marchioness, afterwards Duchess of Newcastle, a very voluminous writer, both in verse and prose. There are fourteen volumes of her works in thin folios—greater favourites with Charles Lamb two hundred years after her Grace's death, than they appear to have been with Evelyn in her lifetime.

<sup>c</sup> Mr. Hobbes.



any service of mine in that other business, I may hope to contribute to an effect the most agreeable to your excellent and pious nature, it shall not be my reproach that I did not my best endeavour to oblige it. I do every day both at London and at home, put Sir Richard in mind of this suppliant's case ; and, indeed, he needs no monitor, myself being witness that he takes all occasions to serve him in it ; nor wants there any dispositions (as far as I can perceive), but one single opportunity only, the meeting of my Lord Privy Seal (who, for two or three Council days, has been indisposed, and not appeared), to expedite his request ; there being a resolution (and which Sir Richard promises shall not slacken), both to discharge the poor man's engagements here, and afford him a competent viaticum.

As for that sacred work you mention, it is said there is a most authentic copy coming over, the laudable attempt of this person being not so fully approved. This is, in short, the account I have, why the impression is retarded. I should else esteem it one of the most fortunate adventures of my life, that by any industry of mine I might be accessory in the least to so blessed an undertaking.

If my book of architecture do not fall into your hands at Oxon, it will come with my apology, when I see you at London ; as well as another part of the *Mystery of Jesuitism*, which (with some other papers concerning that iniquity) I have translated, and am now printing at Royston's, but without my name. So little credit there is in these days in doing anything for the interest of religion.

I know not whether it becomes me to inform you, that it has pleased his Majesty to nominate me a Commissioner to take care of the sick and wounded persons during this war with our neighbours : but so it is, that there being but four of us designed for this very troublesome and sad employment, all the ports from Dover to Portsmouth, Kent, and Sussex, fall to my district alone, and makes me wish a thousand times I had such a colleague as Mr. Boyle, who is wholly made up of charity, and all the qualifications requisite to so pious a care. But I cannot wish you so much trouble ; the prospect of it would even draw pity from you, as well in my behalf, as for the more miserable, who foresee the confusion and importunities of it, by every article of our busy instructions. But the King has laid his positive commands on me, and I am just now going towards Dover, &c., to provide for mischief. Farewell : sweet repose, books, gardens, and the blessed conversation you are pleased to allow, dear Sir, your most affectionate and most obedient servant,

J. EVELYN

P.S. Mr. Goldman's *Dictionary* is that good and useful book which I mentioned to you.

Here is Mr. Stillingfleet's new piece in vindication of my Lord of Canterbury's. I have but little dipped into it as yet : it promises well, and I very much like the epistle ; nor is the style so perplexed as his usually was.

Dr. Mer. Causabon, I presume is come to your hands, being a touch upon the same occasion.

One Rhea<sup>a</sup> has published a very useful and sincere book, concerning the culture of flowers, &c., but it does in nothing reach my long since attempted design of that entire subject, with all its ornaments and accessories, which I had shortly hoped to perfect, had God given me opportunity.

Your servant, my Wife, most humbly kisseth your hands, as I do Dr. Barlow's, &c.

To my Lord Viscount Cornbury<sup>b</sup>

London, 9 Feb., 1664-65

MY LORD,—Being late come home, imagine me turning over your close printed memoirs, and shrinking up my shoulders ; yet with a resolution of surmounting the difficulty, animated with my Lord Chancellor's and your Lordship's com-

<sup>a</sup> Q ? the celebrated Ray.

<sup>b</sup> Henry Hyde, Lord Cornbury, was the eldest son of Sir Edward Hyde, Earl of Clarendon, whom he succeeded in his titles and estate, Dec. 29, 1674. He had two wives. The first was Theodosia, daughter of Arthur Capel, Earl of Essex, beheaded for his loyalty to King Charles I ; and the second, alluded to in a subsequent letter by Evelyn, was Flower, widow of Sir William Backhouse of Swallowfield, Berks, Bart., by whom he had no issue. By this marriage Lord Cornbury became possessed of the manor and house at Swallowfield. The celebrated Lord Chancellor Clarendon resided at his son's house after his retirement from public life, and there wrote *The History of the Great Rebellion*.



mands, whom I am perfectly disposed to serve, even in the greatest of drudgeries, the translation of books<sup>a</sup>. But why call I this a drudgery? who would not be proud of the service? By the slight taste of it, I find God and the King concerned and I will in due time endeavour to present your Lordship and the world with the fruits of my obedience, cheerfully, and with all due regards: nor is it small in my esteem that God directs you to make use of me in anything which relates to the Church, though in my secular station. I began indeed (as your Lordship well remembers) with that Essay on St. Chrysostom some years since upon that consideration, though prompted by a lugubrious occasion, such a one (though in no respect so great a one) as what I but too sensibly perceive afflicts my Lord your father; for as I last beheld his countenance, in thought I saw the very shaft transfixing him; though the greatness of his mind, and pious resignation<sup>b</sup> suffer him to do nothing weakly, and with passion.

Besides the divine precepts, and his Lord's great example, I could never receive anything from philosophy that was able to add a grain to my courage upon these irremediless assaults like that Enchiridion and little weapon of Epicetetus, *Nunquam te quicquam perdidisse dicito, sed reddidisse*, says he: *Filius obijt? redditus est*; it is in his 15th chap. Repeat it all to my Lord, and to yourself; you cannot imagine what that little target will encounter; I never go abroad without it in my pocket. What an incomparable guard is that *τὰ στήθεα ἐφ' ἡμῶν*! cap. 1, where he discourses of the things which *are and are not* in our power: I know, my Lord, you employ your retirements nobly; wear this defensive for my sake, I had almost said this Christian office.

But, my Lord, I am told, we shall have no Lent indicted this year. I acknowledge, for all Dr. Gunning<sup>c</sup>, that I much doubt of its apostolical institution: but I should be heartily sorry a practice so near to it, so agreeable to antiquity, so useful to devotion, and in sum so confirmed by our laws, should now fail, and sink, that his Majesty and his laws are restored. I know not what subtle and political reasons there may be: It were better, flesh should be given away for a month or two to the poor in some great proportion, and that particular men should suffer, than a sanction and a custom so decent should be weakened, not to say abrogated; believe, 'twill not be so easy a thing to resume a liberty of this nature, which gratifies so many humours of all sorts. Because God gives us plenty, must we always riot? If those who sit at the helm hearken to the murmurs of impertinent and avaricious men, pray God they never have cause to repent of the facility when 'tis too late. I know religious fasting does not so much consist in the species and quality as the quantity; nor in the duration, as the devotion: I have always esteemed abstinence *à tanto* beyond the fulfilling of periods and quadragesimas; nor is this of ours every where observed alike by Christians; but since all who are under that appellation do generally keep it where Christ is named (I do not mean among the Romanists alone), a few imperfect reforms excepted, methinks a reverend and ancient custom should not so easily be cancelled; for so I look on it, if once we neglect the indiction. But were that for one fortnight, with a strict proclamation, and less indulgence to the *faulty* (as they call that shop of iniquity) and some other pretenders to liberty; in my opinion it would greatly become the solemn, and approaching station of the Passion-week: and I would to God it were reduced but to that, that the irksomeness might not deter the more delicate, nor the prohibition those whose interest it is to sell flesh. We in this island have so natural a pretence to mingle this concern of devotion into that of the state, that they might be both preserved without the least shadow of superstition; and if once our fishery were well retrieved (than which nothing could be more popular, nor endear the person who should establish it) the profit of that alone would soon create proselytes of the most zealous of our carnivorous Samaritans. Why should there be an interruption of our laws for a year, to the infinite disadvantage of the Church of England in many regards?

My Lord, you are a pious person, and the Lenten abstinence minds me of

<sup>a</sup> *Mysterie of Jesuitisme, and its pernicious consequences as it relates to Kings and States*, w<sup>h</sup> I published this yeare. (Evelyn's Note.)

<sup>b</sup> 'Upon ye death of his sonne Edward, a brave and hopefull young man.' (Evelyn's Note.)

<sup>c</sup> Dr. Peter Gunning, Bishop of Ely. He died July 6, 1684, æt. 71.



another incongruity that you Parliament-men will I hope reform, and that is the frequency of our theatrical pastimes during that indiction. It is not allowed in any city of Christendom so much as in this one town of London, where there are more wretched and obscene plays permitted than in all the world besides. At Paris 3 days; at Rome 2 weekly; and at the other cities of Florence, Venice, &c., but at certain jolly periods of the year, and that not without some considerable emoluments to the public; while our interludes here are every day alike: so as the ladies and the gallants come reeking from the play late on Saturday night, to their Sunday devotions; and the ideas of the farce possess their fancies to the infinite prejudice of devotion, besides the advantages it gives to our reproachful blasphemers. Could not Friday and Saturday be spared; or, if indulged, might they not be employed for the support of the poor, or as well the maintenance of some workhouse as a few debauched comedians? What if they had an hundred pound per ann. less coming in; this were but policy in them; more than they were born to, and the only means to consecrate (if I may use the term) their scarce allowable impertinences. If my Lord Chancellor would be but instrumental in reforming this one exorbitancy, it would gain both the King and his Lordship multitudes of blessings. You know, my Lord, that I (who have written a play<sup>a</sup>, and am a scurvy poet too sometimes) am far from Puritanism; but I would have no reproach left our adversaries in a thing which may so conveniently be reformed. Plays are now with us become a licentious excess, and a vice, and need severe censors that should look as well to their morality, as to their lines and numbers. Pardon this invective, my Lord, nothing but my perfect affection for your person and your virtue could have made me so intemperate; and nothing but my hopes that you will do the best you can to promote the great interest of piety, and things worthy your excellent opportunities, could have rendered me thus prodigal of my confidence. Season my Lord your father with these desiderata to our consummate felicity; but still with submission and under protection for the liberty I assume; nor let it appear presumption irremissible, if I add, that as I own my Lord our illustrious Chancellor for my patron and benefactor, so I pay him as tender and awful respect (abstracted from his greatness and the circumstances of that) as if he had a natural as he has a virtual and just dominion over me; so as my gratitude to him as his beneficiary, is even adopted into my religion and till I renounce that, I shall never lessen of my duty; for I am ready to profess it, I have found more tenderness and greater humanity from the influences of his Lordship, than from all the relations I have now in the world, wherein yet I have many dear and worthy friends. My Lord, pardon again this excess, which I swear to you, proceeds from the honest, and inartificial gratitude of, my Lord, your, &c.

*John Evelyn to Sir Thos. Clifford, afterwards Lord High Treasurer*

*London, 2 Apr. 1665*

SIR,—Upon receipt of yours of the 17th instant, I repaired to my Lord Arling-ton, and from him to his Majesty, who on sight of your letter added his particular commands, that upon arrival of the prisoner I should immediately bring young Everse to him, and that then he would instruct me farther how he would have him treated; which I perceive will be with great respect, and some think with liberty: for the other Captain, that I should pursue his Royal Highness's directions, and in order to this, I have commanded my Marshal to be ready. I am sorry we are like to have so many wounded men in their company, but I have taken all the care I can for their accommodation: I pray send me a list of the names and qualities of our prisoners, they being so apt to contrive and form stories of themselves, that they may pass for Embdeners or Danes. I thank God all our affairs here are in good order. I did yesterday repair to the Commissioners of the Navy to remove the obstruction which hindered our Receiver from touching the effects of our Privy Seal, they pretending a defect in the order, which I have been fain to carry back to the Council. Colonel Reymes writes for £700. Sir, here have been an host of women, making moan for their loss in the

<sup>a</sup> *Thyrsander*, a tragi-comedy, mentioned in Evelyn's list of MSS., as among the 'things he would write out faire and reforme if he had leisure.'



unfortunate London<sup>a</sup>: I have with much artifice appeased them for the present, but they are really objects of much pity; and I have counselled them to make choice of some discreet person to represent to us their respective losses and expectations, that we may consider their cases without clamour and disturbance. Sir, I am ravished to hear our fleet is in so flourishing a condition; I pray God continue it, and give you all success. I would beg the presentment of my most humble duty to his Royal Highness, and that you will grace with your more particular commands, Sir, your, &c.

*John Evelyn to Dr. (afterwards Sir) Christopher Wren*

*Sayes-Court, 4 Apr. 1665*

SIR,—You may please to remember that some time since, I begged a favour of you in behalf of my little boy: he is now susceptible of instruction, a pleasant, and (though I speak it) a most ingenious and pregnant child. My design is to give him good education; he is past many initial difficulties, and conquers all things with incredible industry: do me that eternal obligation as to inquire out and recommend me some young man for a preceptor. I will give him £20 per ann. salary, and such other accommodations as shall be no ways disagreeable to an ingenuous spirit; and possibly I may do him other advantages: in all cases he will find his condition with us easy, his scholar a delight, and the conversation not to be despised; this obliges me to wish he may not be a morose, or severe person, but of an agreeable temper. The qualities I require are, that he may be a perfect Grecian, and if more than vulgarly mathematical, so much the more accomplished for my design; mine own defects in the Greek tongue, and knowledge of its usefulness, obliges me to mention that particular with an extraordinary note: in sum I would have him as well furnished as might be for the laying of a permanent and solid foundation; the boy is capable beyond his years; and if you encounter one thus qualified, I shall receive it amongst the great good fortunes of my life that I obtained it by the benefit of your friendship, for which I have ever had so perfect an esteem. There is no more to be said, but that when you have found the person, you direct him immediately to me, that I may receive, and value him.

Sir, I am told by Sir John Denman that you look towards France this summer: be assured I will charge you with some addresses to friends of mine there, that shall exceedingly cherish you; and though you will stand in no need of my recommendations, yet I am confident you will not refuse the offer of those civilities which I shall bespeak you.

There has lain at Dr. Needham's a copy of the *Parallel*<sup>b</sup> bound up for you, and long since designed you, which I shall intreat you to accept; not as a recompense of your many favours to me, much less a thing in the least assistant to you (who are yourself a master), but as a token of my respect, as the book itself is of the affection I bear to an art which you so happily cultivate. Dear Sir, I am, your, &c.

*Sir Thomas Clifford to John Evelyn*

*'Swiftsure,' May 11, 1665*

SIR,—I received yesterday your letters of the 20th and 27th of April. I am obliged to you for the large account you give of young Everson; his actions are agreeable to the idea I had of him, but I rather think it dulness and want of breeding than sullenness, and that he will notwithstanding carry a grateful sense of His Majesty's bounty and kindness to him. By what I see of our Plymouth affair, I think the surgeons much in blame; you may please to discharge him, for though it be my district, I leave that matter wholly to you; and as to the Marshal, if you think fit, you may write to him, and hear what he says concerning his negligence, and if he do not give you a satisfactory account pray

<sup>a</sup> The 'London' frigate, blown up by accident, with above 200 men. See *Diary*, pp. 272, 274.

<sup>b</sup> *A Parallel of the Ancient Architecture with the Modern*, written by Roland Freart, sieur de Cambray, and translated by Mr. Evelyn.



make no scruple of discarding him, but let him first have notice that he may make up his accounts. I hope Sir William Doyley is not yet returned to you, but that we may find him at Harwich, or Ipswich, for the whole of the fleet is now returning thitherward, and I assure you here are a great many sick that will be set on shore there, and I believe so many that it will require the constant attendance of one of us upon the place at least. I intend to be ashore about it, but cannot stay long. If Sir W. Doyley cannot so well travel, I shall be extremely glad to meet you there. We were at anchor last night about 18 leagues West North West from the Texell; but now under sail toward the Gunfleet before Harwich, the seamen full of courage and cheerfulness, for they are not only satisfied of the good conduct of the Fleet, but also of our good fortune in this expedition, for we have broken the Dutch merchant fleet that was returning, and of 44 there are not above 16 got safe home; 14 or 15 of them we have taken, and the rest run ashore and broken to pieces; so that we have had success in this, and honour in braving their fleet in their ports.

I present my respects to Sir Richard Browne, and am with truth and affection,  
your faithful friend,

THOMAS CLIFFORD

We are now this 14th of May, Whitsunday, in sight of land in Norfolk, about Crammer Church: the Duke would have some one of us at Harwich and Ipswich while the fleet lies at the Gunfleet.

*John Evelyn to the Duke of Albemarle*

*Dover, 30 May, 1665*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,—Being here at Dover for the examining and auditing my accounts, as one of his Majesty's Commissioners in this Kentish district; and finding that our prisoners at the Castle here, since their late attempt to escape through the Magazine (over which till then they had a very spacious and convenient room to lodge in), are now for want of accommodation necessitated to be kept in a very strait place, by means whereof they grow miserably sick, and are indeed reduced to a sad condition, which cannot be remedied without extraordinary inconvenience to the Lieutenant: My most humble suit to your Grace is, that you will be pleased to give order that they be conveyed to Chelsea College; and the rather, that there being no great number of them, it will be hardly worth the while and charge to maintain officers for them here and particular guards: the condition of the poor men (who suffer for the attempt of their more daring fellows) is very deplorable, nor can it be prevented without enlargement of their quarters, which the Governor cannot spare them without danger. I have already informed your Grace how much we suffer by the scruples of those vessels, who refuse to transport our recovered men to the fleet, which makes me again to supplicate your Grace's fresh orders; it would infinitely conduce to his Majesty's service. But of this, as of several other particulars, I shall render your Grace a more ample account at my return to London; where I shall not fail to do my duty as becomes, may it please your Grace, your Grace's, &c.

*John Evelyn to Sir Thomas Clifford*

*Paynters Hall, Lond. 16 June, 1665*

SIR,—I was in precinct for my journey when your letter arrived, which imparted to us that most glorious victory, in which you have had the honour to be a signal achiever. I pray God we may improve as it becomes us; his Royal Highness being safe, becomes a double instance of rejoicing to us; and I do not know that ever I beheld a greater and more solemn expression of it, unless it were that on his Majesty's Restoration, than this whole city testified the last night, and which I cannot figure to you without hyperboles. I am heartily sorry for those heroes that are fallen, though it could not have been on a more transcendent occasion. Sir, I communicated your letter to my Lord Arlington, and to his Majesty, who read it greedily. My greatest solicitude is now how to dispose of the prisoners in case you should be necessitated to put them in at the Downs, in order to which my Lord Duke of Albemarle has furnished me with 400 foot and a troop of horse, to be commanded by me for guards if need require; and I am just going to put all



things in order. His Grace concludes with me, that Dover Castle would be the most convenient place for their custody, but would by no means invade his Royal Highness's particular province there without his Highness's consent, and therefore advises me to write his Highness for positive commands to the Lieutenant. It is therefore my humble request that you will move him therein, it being of so great importance at this time, and not only for his Castle of Dover, but for the forts likewise near it ; and that (besides my own guards) he would be pleased that a competent number of land soldiers might be sent with them from on board, to prevent all accidents, till they come safe to me ; for it was so likewise suggested by his Grace, who dismissed me with this expedient : ' Mr. Evelyn ', says he, ' when we have filled all the gaols in the country with our prisoners, if they be not sufficient to contain them, as they sent our men to the East Indies last year, we will send them to the West this year by a just retaliation '. Sir, I think fit to let you understand, that I have 3 days since obtained of the Council a Privy Seal, which I moved might be £20,000, in regard of the occasion ; together with the use and disposal of the Savoy-Hospital (which I am now repairing and fitting up, having given order for 50 beds to be new made, and other utensils), all which was granted. I also obtained an Order of Council for power both to add to our servants, and to reward them as we should see cause. His Majesty has sent me 3 chests of linen, which he was pleased to tell me of himself before I knew they were gone ; so mindful and obliging he is, that nothing may be wanting. Sir, I have no more to add but the addresses of my most humble duty to his Royal Highness, and my services to Mr. Coventry from, Sir, your, &c.

*John Evelyn to Sir Peter Wyche, Knt<sup>a</sup>*

SIR,—This crude paper (which begs your pardon) I should not have presumed to transmit in this manner, but to obey your commands, and to save the imputation of being thought unwilling to labour, though it be but in gathering straw. My great infelicity is, that the meeting being on Tuesdays in the afternoon, I am in a kind of despair of ever gratifying mine inclinations, in a conversation which I so infinitely honour, and that would be so much to mine advantage ; because the very hour interferes with an employment, which being of public concernment, I can in no way dispense with : I mention this to deplore mine own misfortune only, not as it can signify to any loss of yours ; which cannot be sensible of so inconsiderable a member. I send you notwithstanding these indigested thoughts, and that attempt upon Cicero, which you enjoined me.

I conceive the reason both of additions to, and the corruption of the English language, as of most other tongues, has proceeded from the same causes ; namely, from victories, plantations, frontiers, staples of commerce, pedantry of schools, affectation of travellers, translations, fancy and style of Court, vernility and mincing of citizens, pulpits, political remonstrances, theatres, shops, &c.

The parts affected with it we find to be the accent, analogy, direct interpretation, tropes, phrases, and the like.

1. I would therefore humbly propose, that there might first be compiled a Grammar for the precepts ; which (as did the Romans), when Crates transferred the art to that city, followed by Diomedes, Priscianus, and others who undertook it might only insist on the rules, the sole means to render it a learned and learnable tongue.

2. That with this a more certain Orthography were introduced, as by leaving out superfluous letters, &c. : such as *o* in woomen, people ; *u* in honour ; *a* in reproach ; *ugh* in though, &c.

3. That there might be invented some new periods, and accents, besides such as our grammarians and critics use, to assist, inspirit, and modify the pronunciation of sentences, and to stand as marks beforehand how the voice and tone is to be governed ; as in reciting of plays, reading of verses, &c., for the varying the tone of the voice, and affections, &c.

4. To this might follow a Lexicon or collection of all the pure English words by themselves ; then those which are derivative from others, with their prime,

<sup>a</sup> Chairman of a Committee appointed by the now organised Royal Society to consider of the improvement of the English tongue.



certain, and natural signification ; then, the symbolical : so as no innovation might be used or favoured, at least till there should arise some necessity of providing a new edition, and of amplifying the old upon mature advice.

5. That in order to this, some were appointed to collect all the technical words ; especially those of the more generous employments : as the author of the *Essaies des Merveilles de la Nature, et des plus nobles Artifices*, has done for the French ; and Francis Junius and others have endeavoured for the Latin : but this must be gleaned from shops, not books ; and has been of late attempted by Mr. Moxon<sup>a</sup>.

6. That things difficult to be translated or expressed, and such as are, as it were, incommensurable one to another : as determinations of weights and measures ; coins, honours, national habits, arms, dishes, drinks, municipal constitutions of courts ; old, and abrogated customs, &c., were better interpreted than as yet we find them in dictionaries, glossaries, and noted in the lexicon.

7. That a full catalogue of exotic words, such as are daily minted by our *Logodædali*, were exhibited, and that it were resolved on what should be sufficient to render them current, *ut Civitate domentur* ; since without restraining that same *indomitam novandi verba licentiam*, it will in time quite disguise the language. There are some elegant words : introduced by physicians chiefly and philosophers, worthy to be retained ; others, it may be, fitter to be abrogated ; since there ought to be a law, as well as a liberty in this particular. And in this choice, there would be some regard had to the well sounding, and more harmonious words ; and such as are numerous, and apt to fall gracefully into their cadences and periods, and so recommend themselves at the very first sight as it were ; others, which (like false stones) will never shine, in whatever light they be placed, but embase the rest. And here I note, that such as have lived long in Universities do greatly affect words and expressions no where in use besides, as may be observed in Cleaveland's Poems for Cambridge : and there are also some Oxford words used by others, as I might instance in several.

8. Previous to this it would be inquired what particular dialects, idioms, and proverbs were in use in every several county of England ; for the words of the present age being properly the *vernacula*, or classic rather, special regard is to be had of them, and this consideration admits of infinite improvements.

9. And happily it were not amiss, that we had a collection of the most quaint and courtly expressions, by way of *florilegium*, or phrases distinct from the proverbs : for we are infinitely defective as to civil addresses, excuses, and forms upon sudden and unpremeditated (though ordinary) encounters : in which the French, Italians, and Spaniards have a kind of natural grace and talent, which furnishes the conversation, and renders it very agreeable : here may come in synonyms, homoinyms, &c.

10. And since there is likewise a manifest rotation and circling of words which go in and out like the mode and fashion, books should be consulted for the reduction of some of the old laid-aside words and expressions had formerly *in deliciis* ; for our language is in some places sterile and barren, by reason of this depopulation, as I may call it ; and therefore such places should be new cultivated, and enriched either with the former (if significant) or some other. For example, we have hardly any words that do so fully express the French *clinquant*, *naïveté*, *ennui*, *bizarre*, *concert*, *façonier*, *chicaneries*, *consommé*, *emotion*, *defer*, *effort*, *chocq*, *entours*, *débouche* : or the Italian *vaghezza*, *garbato*, *svelto*, &c. Let us therefore (as the Romans did the Greek) make as many of these do homage as are like to prove good citizens.

11. Something might likewise be well translated out of the best orators and poets, Greek and Latin, and even out of the modern languages ; that so some judgment might be made concerning the elegance of the style, and a laudable and unaffected imitation of the best recommended to writers.

12. Finally, there must be a stock of reputation gained by some public writings and compositions of the Members of this Assembly, and so others may not think it dishonour to come under the test, or accept them for judges and approbators : and if the design were arrived thus far, I conceive a very small matter would dispatch the art of rhetoric, which the French proposed as one of the first things they recommended to their late academicians. I am, Sir, your most, &c.

Sayes-Court, 20 June, 1665

<sup>a</sup> In the second volume of his *Mechanick Exercises*.



*John Evelyn to Lord Viscount Cornbury*

Cornbury, 21 June, 1665

MY LORD,—Those who defined history to be *Disciplina composita de bono practico obtinendo* pointed us to that use of it which every wise man is to make of it by his reading of authors. But as it is the narration *Rerum gestarum* (for whatever is matter of fact is the subject of history) your Lordship cannot expect I should, at this distance from my study and books of that kind, be able to present you with so complete a series of authors as you require of me ; much less such a method as your affection for so noble a resolution, and so becoming a great person, does truly merit. However, that this may not be looked on as an excuse, and that I may in some measure obey your Lordship's commands, I shall, as far as my talent and my faithless memory serves me at present, give your Lordship the names of those authors which have deservedly been esteemed the most worthy and instructive of those great and memorable actions of the ages past.

A Recension of the Greek Historians from the reign of Cyrus (before which we have nothing of credible in any profane history) till after Justinian, and the confusion of the Roman Empire by the Goths and Vandals.

- |                      |                             |                   |
|----------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------|
| 1. Herodotus.        | 6. Dionysius Halicarnassus. | 11. Herodian.     |
| 2. Thucydides.       | 7. Josephus.                | 12. Zosimus.      |
| 3. Xenophon.         | 8. Arrianus.                | 13. Procopius.    |
| 4. Polybius.         | 9. Appianus.                | 14. Agathias, &c. |
| 5. Diodorus Siculus. | 10. Dion-Cassius.           |                   |

The Latin Historians from the foundation of Rome to the death of the Emperor Valens : Sallust, Cæsar, Titus Livius, Velleius Paterculus, Quintus Curtius, Tacitus, Florus, Suetonius, Justinus, Ammianus Marcellinus, &c. To these may be superadded, Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, Philostratus, and Eunapius, among the Greeks ; Cornelius Nepos, Æmilius Probus, Spartianus, Lampridius, and the Augustæ Scriptores, of the Latin, &c. : but, for being more mixed, and less methodical, they would haply be read in another order ; and if the Greeks have haply written more even of the Roman story than the Romans themselves, it is what is universally known and acknowledged by the learned ; which has made the enumeration of the one to exceed the mention of the latter. These are, my Lord, sufficient to afford your Lordship a fairer and more ample course than any of your quality usually pretend to ; being the best and most worthy consideration both as to the grandeur of examples, and politure of the language.

As to the later period, from Valens and the Gothic Emperors to our times, I shall furnish the curiosity, when you have finished this stage ; for it were now my Lord, to discourage you, the very calling over the names of so many ; how much more, should I add (what your Lordship's curiosity will desire to dip into, to emerge a complete historian) the Biography, or writers of particular lives, relations, negotiations, memoirs, &c., which are things apart, and that properly come within the series of the more solid and illustrious historians. Only as to that of Chronology, I conceive it of absolute necessity that your Lordship join it with all the readings, together with some geographical author and guide, whose tables, maps, and discoveries both for the ancient and modern names, situations and boundaries of the places, you shall with incredible advantage consult, to fix and make it your own. Scaliger's *Emendatio Temporum*, Petavii *Rationarium*, Calvisius, Helvicus, or our Isaacson<sup>a</sup>, may suffice to assist you, with Cluverius, our Peter Heylin, and the late accurate atlases set forth by Bleau. To these may be added, as necessary subsidiaries, H. Stephens's *Historical Dictionary* set lately forth in London ; and if your Lordship think fit to pursue the cycle with more expedition, which were likewise to gratify your curiosity by a preparation that will furnish you with a very useful prospect, before you engage yourself on the more particulars, there is in English one Howel (not James) who has published a very profitable *Compendium of Universal History*, so far as he has brought it ; to which you may join what Bishop Usher has set forth in two volumes, containing

<sup>a</sup> Henry Isaacson, author of the *Chronological Series of the Four Monarchies*. Folio, London, 1633.



the annals of all the memorable actions and passages which have happened in the Church from the Creation, mingled with divers secular passages of rare remark, and which may serve you instead of Baronius, or any of his voluminous epitomisers, Spondanus, Peruginus, &c. And by that time your Lordship is arrived thus far, you will have performed more than any man of your quality can pretend to in Court, by immense degrees, according to my weak observation, who sometimes pass my time at the circle where the gallants produce themselves with all their advantages, and (God knows) small furniture. Nor will it be difficult for you to go through the rest with delight and ease, whether you would begin at the present age, and read upwards, till you meet with the period where you left off (which is Grotius's advice to Monr Maurelique), or proceed in that order in which you began. But, my Lord, of this, as of whatever else you shall judge me worthy to serve you in, I shall endeavour to present your Lordship with something more material, and better digested, when you please to command, my Lord, your Lordship's, &c.

*John Evelyn to Lord Viscount Cornbury*

*Sayes-Court, 9th Sept. 1665*

MY LORD,—I should be exceedingly wanting to my duty, and to the interest you pleased to allow me in your friendship, not to preserve it by such acknowledgments as are due to you by infinite obligations: and if this have not been done oftener, distance, and the many circumstances of a jealous intercourse, will easily obtain your mercy; for I swear to you, my Lord, there breathes not a man upon earth who has a greater value for your noble person: because I have established it upon your virtues, and that which shines in you above titles, and adjuncts, which I regard but as the shadows of great men; nothing constituent of good and really permanent. But, my Lord, I intend not here a panegyric, where haply an epithalamium were due, if what has been lately told me, of your Lordship's being newly married, or shortly re-entering into those golden-fetters, be true<sup>a</sup>. But can your Lordship think of such a felicity, and not command me to celebrate it? not as a poet (for I know not what it means), but as one perfectly devoted to your good fortune; since that glory must needs be in my mouth, which already is so profoundly engraven in my heart. I thought indeed that golden key which I saw tied to your side by that silken ribbon<sup>b</sup> was the fore-runner of some other knot, constant as the colour, and bright as the metal. My Lord, I joyed you at Hampton-Court for the one, and I would joy you from Sayes-Court for the other. You have in the first a dignity conspicuous for the ornament it receives from your virtues; but in the second only, a reward of them above the pearls, and the rubies: 'tis a price which Fortune owes your Lordship, and I can celebrate her justice without flattery. Long may you live under her happy empire. When I am certain of the particulars, I will string more roses on this chaplet, and make you a country gardener's present; if the anxiety of being at this distance from a person whose influence is so necessary, do not altogether wither my genius.

But, my Lord, give me now leave to entertain you a little with mine own particular condition; since, as contraries illustrate one another, it cannot but improve your happiness.

After 6978 (and possibly half as many more concealed) which the pestilence has mowed down in London this week, near 30 houses are visited in this miserable village, whereof one has been the very nearest to my dwelling: after a servant of mine now sick of a swelling (whom we have all frequented, before our suspicion was pregnant), and which we know not where will determine, behold me a living monument of God Almighty's protection and mercy! It was Saturday last 'ere my courageous wife would be persuaded to take the alarm; but she is now fled, with most of my family: whilst my conscience, or something which I would have taken for my duty, obliges me to this sad station, till his Majesty take pity on me, and send me a considerable refreshment for the comfort of these poor creatures, the sick and wounded seamen under mine inspection through all the ports of my district. For mine own particular, I am

<sup>a</sup> See *ante*, p. 606.

<sup>b</sup> Lord Cornbury was at this time Lord Chamberlain to the Queen.



resolved to do my duty as far as I am capable, and trust God with the event ; but the second causes should co-operate : for in sum, my Lord, all will, and must, fall into obloquy and desolation, unless our supplies be speedily settled on some more solid funds to carry this important service on. My brother commissioner, Sir William D'Oily, after an account of £17,000, is indebted about £6000, and my reckoning comes after it apace. The prisoners of war, our infirmatories, and the languishing in 12 other places ; the charge of salaries to physicians, chirurgeons, officers, medicaments, and quarters ; require speedy and considerable supplies, less than £2000 a week will hardly support us. And if I have been the more zealous and descriptive of this sad face of things, and of the personal danger I am exposed to, it is because I beg it may be an instance of your goodness and charity to read this article of my letter to my Lord your father, who I know has bowels, and may seriously represent it to his Majesty and my Lord High Treasurer. For, my Lord, having made mine attempts at Court by late expresses on this occasion, I am driven to lay this appeal at his Lordship's feet ; because, having had experience of his favour in mine own concern and private affairs, I address myself with a confidence I shall succeed now that it imports the public. I dare not apply what St. Paul said to Timothy (because it does not become me), but give me liberty to allude : I know none (amongst all our Court great-ones) like minded, who does naturally care for our state. The consecretary is — ; for all seek their own. 'Tis, my Lord, a sad truth, and this no time to flatter ; we should succumb under the poise but for some few such Atlases as are content to accept of the burthen with the honour ; which, though it makes it sit heavy, makes it sit with a good conscience, and the expectation of a blessing. I am a plain country gentleman ; yet hear, and see, and observe, as those in the vallies best discern the mountains. This nation is ruined for want of activity on our parts ; religion and gratitude on all. But, my Lord, I tyrannise yr patience ; pardon the excess ; I have not often the opportunity, and God knows when I may enjoy another, who daily carry my life in my hands. If the malignity of this sad contagion spend no faster before winter, the calamity will be indicable.

But let me now acquaint your Lordship how I pass those moments which my assiduous prayers to God for your prosperity, and my service of His Majesty do not take up. It is now about 2 months since I consigned a large epistle to Royston ; for that piece your Lordship enjoined me to publish in consequence of the former, and which I have made bold to inscribe to my Lord Chancellor, under somewhat an enigmatical character, because of the invidiousness of the argument. The book itself was quite finished, and wrought off ; but Royston being fled, and the presses dissolved, we cannot hope to get our freedom, till it please God in mercy to abate the contagion. This is that which hinders us from that most incomparable piece of Mr. Stillingfleet's friend against Searjeant, and divers other particulars, which, though printed, will not as yet be published ; both vendors, and buyers, and readers, being universally scathed.

As to our philosophical concerns, Dr. Wilkins, Sir Wm. Petty, and Mr. Hooke, with our operator, live all together at my Lord Geo. Barclay's at Durdans near my brother, where they are excogitating new rigging for ships, new chariots, and new ploughs, &c., so as I know not of such another happy conversation of Virtuosi in England. And now I mentioned my brother, I were ungrateful to omit my acknowledgment of the infinite honour he tells me my Lord Chancellor was pleased to do me, before so many persons of quality and gentlemen of our county of Surrey as came in to wait on him at Farnham, at my Lord Bishop's of Winchester table ; when his Lordship was pleased to mention me with an eulogy, and kindness so particular and obliging, as I can never hope to merit from his goodness. But I would esteem it the most fortunate day in my life that should present me with an occasion, in which I might signalise my prone and most ardent inclinations to his service, as being professedly more engaged to his Lordship than to any person living in this world. And if God hear the humble prayers which I pour out for the continuance of your prosperity, I shall have performed but my duty, who am with a most unfegined resignation, my Lord, your, &c.



*John Evelyn to Lord Viscount Cornbury*

Sayes-Court, 12 Sep., 1665

MY LORD,—By this most agreeable opportunity I continue to present your Lordship with my faithful service, and if it arrive seasonably to supplicate your Lordship's pardon for the style, the mistake, and the length of mine of the ninth instant: it will excite in you different passions, and *one*, my Lord, not an unpleasant one. Smile at my intelligence, and pity all the rest; for it will deserve it, and find a way to your noble breast. My servant (whom I there mention to have sent from my house for fear of the worst) will recover, and prove sick only of a very ugly surfeit; which not only frees me from infinite apprehensions, but admits me to give my wife a visit, who is at my brother's, and within a fortnight of bringing me my seventh son: and it is time, my Lord, he were born; for they keep us so short of moneys at Court, that his Majesty's Commissioners had need of one to do wonders, and heal the sick and wounded by miracle, till we can maintain our chirurgeons. My Lord, I do not forget your injunction of waiting on you this month at Cornbury; but I am momentarily threatened to be hurried to the sea-side again, after this conflict of my Lord Sandwich: and the woman in the straw I would gladly see out of peril. I will not question your Lordship's being at Oxford this approaching reconvention of Parliament. My Father-in-law waits there, and it must go ill with me if I kiss not your hands. Just now I hear the guns from the Tower; this petty triumph revives us much; but the miserably afflicted City, and even this our poor village, want other consolations: my very heart turns within me at the contemplation of our calamity. God give the repentance of David, to the sins of David! We have all added some weight to this burthen; ingratitude and luxury, and the too, too soon oblivion of miracles.

The Almighty preserve your Lordship, and my best friend in the world my most honoured Lord Chancellor. I would say a thousand affectionate things more to conjure your Lordship's belief, that I am, &c., my Lord, your, &c.

*Sir Philip Warwick to John Evelyn<sup>a</sup>*

Stratton, 16 Sep. 1665, 8 at Night

COUSIN,—I am to seek how to answer your letter: for without passing any compliment upon you how much I am concerned in your safety, which I find endangered by your employment; without professing how sensible I am, that scarce any particular in the Navy ought to have that care and tenderness wait upon it as the sick and wounded men, and the prisoners, though a less regard in respect I hear ours are not so well used, and that the Ambassador's servant seems to take such little care for exchanges as if he meant to burthen us with them, and that these fellows are so stubborn that they will not work, nay beat any that will, yet a shame it is if they be not, in the proportion the King allows them, provided for. The ill effect of both these I acknowledge if they be neglected. And when I have said this you will wonder what I can say next, that my Lord Treasurer makes not the provision. Sir, I must say, though I offend my good friend Sir George Carteret, that from the first my Lord Treasurer told him this charge was a chief part of the expense of the Navy, and by his assignments to be provided for. It was the first sin, transferring faults one from another; and therefore I am ashamed to be making such returns, and know that it will as little feed the hungry and clothe the naked, as a mouth that's open with a benediction, and a hand closed with the money. And yet how to make you judge of this I cannot, without showing you how the whole royal aid is distributed. (And this I assure you, the distribution of the whole £2,500,000 is not of particular concern unto me, fine paid.)

<sup>a</sup> See *Diary*, p. 235. Sir Philip Warwick was at this time Secretary to the Lord High Treasurer. The letter is in answer to Evelyn's complaints of the inadequacy of funds for the proper discharge of his official duties as one of the commissioners for the care of the sick and wounded during the Dutch war.

Of the City, for the Navy, before the Parliament borrowed . . . . .	£200,000
Of the Dunkirk money . . . . .	50,000 <sup>a</sup>
Thirteen Counties wholly assigned . . . . .	1,277,604
County of Bucks, for the Naval Regiment . . . . .	47,346
The first three months of all the other counties . . . . .	96,047

Upon seventeen other counties, 102,000 pounds, and 40,000 pounds.

And now lately the dispute being that he had no proper assignment for the sick and wounded, my Lord told him he would assign him 28,000 pounds of those counties particularly for them . . . . . 170,000

But I fear that will not do you any service, Sir George saying, the assignment being upon the third year, he cannot borrow upon it.

This hath been already the Navy's portion of the Royal aid . . . . . 1,840,997

Ordnance hath had assigned unto it . . . . . 367,686

Guards hath counties set out for . . . . . 170,616

Garrisons . . . . . 45,121

Wardrobe had on Wales . . . . . 25,000

Remaining on the 17 counties, 50,000	} £109,000 . . . . .	608,423
on Wales 59,000		

And now do you see by whose friendship you have received that small refreshment, which I say not to diminish his kindness, but to show you that properly you were a care of Mr. Vice-Chamberlain's.

Total . . . . . 2,449,420

Remaining . . . . . 109,000

£2,558,420

All I can add is, my Lord Treasurer will endeavour to dispose the Vice-Chamberlain; and if it be in his power, for I think him as much overlaid as others, I doubt not he will undertake your charge. And because the assignment which remains to be made upon Wales, which is about £30,000 for the second year and the first quarter of the third, may better please him, my Lord Treasurer will offer him that, or offer it to Sir William D'Oyly and yourself, if you can procure credit upon it. He will make an essay whether out of the present prizes (which if his Majesty will not employ to this use, being a better fond of credit, he may be repaid from this assignment) he can get you a considerable sum. His lordship is ready to assign out of Wales, or the seventeen counties, £50,000 for this service singly. And if I could give you a better and more particular account, I would: for I value both yours and Sir William's integrities and informations so much, you may both assure yourselves I will not be wanting. And am really sensible of your cares and angers, which we want not (being for all comers) even here; but being in our station, and depending on Providence, I hope none of us shall miscarry. We are now separated and in motion, but I will haste the resolution. In the meantime you may reserve this to yourself. Only communicate it to Sir William D'Oyly, to whom I cannot at present write; for having received your letters but late this night, and the post going away in the morning, and I have to send my letter six miles thither. I beg his pardon and yours, and remain, with all truth and affection, your most faithful kinsman and servant,

P. WARWICK

*John Evelyn to Sir Philip Warwick*

*Sayes-Court, 30 Sept. 1665*

SIR,—Your favour of the 16th current from Stratton, has not only enlightened mine eyes, but confirmed my reason; for sure I am I durst write nothing to you which would carry in it the least diffidence of your most prudent economy; and you are infinitely mistaken in me if you think I have not established my opinion of your sincerity and candour in all that you transact, upon a foundation very remote from what the world does ordinarily build upon. I am sufficiently satisfied to whose care our supplies did naturally belong; for I do not believe the sums we have received to carry on our burthen thus far, trifling as

<sup>a</sup> 'This to be repaid.'



they have been compared to the occasion, proceeded from his (Sir George's) good nature (which I have been much longer acquainted with than you), but to shift the clamour which our necessities have compelled us to do; whilst our task-masters exacted brick without allowing us straw. And if I have expressed anything to you in a style more zealous than ordinary, it has been to lay before you a calamity which nothing can oppose but a sudden supply; and for that my Lord Arlington (to whom I have frequently said as much) directed me to the proper object. Nor was what I writ a prophecy at adventure. One fortnight has made me feel the utmost of miseries that can befall a person in my station and with my affections;—to have 25,000 prisoners, and 15,000 sick and wounded men to take care of, without one penny of money, and above £2000 indebted. It is true, I am but newly acquainted with business, and I now find the happy difference betwixt speculation and action to the purpose; learning that at once, which others get by degrees; but I am sufficiently punished for the temerity, and I acknowledge the burthen insupportable. Nor indeed had I been able to obviate this impetuous torrent, had not his Grace the Duke of Albemarle and my Lord Sandwich (in pure compassion of me) unanimously resolved to strain their authority, and to sell (though not a full quorum) some of the prizes, and break bulk in an Indian ship, to redeem me from this plunge; and all this, for the neglect of his personal care—whom you worthily perstringe, though for domestic respects and other relations they were not willing to express their resentments. Sir, I am in some hopes of touching the £5000 some day this week; but what is that, to the expense of £200 the day? Is there no exchange or pecuniary exemption to be proposed? or is his Majesty resolved to maintain the armies of his enemies in his own bosom? whose idleness makes them sick, and their sickness redoubles the charge! I am amazed at this method, but must hold my tongue. Why might not yet the French, who are numerous in this last action (and in my conscience have enough of the sea), be sent home to their master, not to gratify but plague him with their unprofitable numbers?

Sir, I most humbly acknowledge your goodness for the confidence you have in me, and for that *Arcanum*, the account of the disposure and assignment of this prodigious royal aid of £2,500,000 which you have so particularly imparted to me, and that I should have preserved with all due caution, though you had enjoined me none. If I obtain this small sum of £5000 it will be a breathing till I can meet my brother commissioners at Oxford, whither I am summoned to join for the effects and settlements of some of those more solid appointments mentioned in your audit, and which you have promised to promote; and therefore I will trouble you no further at present, than to let you know, that upon that account of your encouragement (I mean the providence of God and my sole desires of serving Him in anything which I hope He may accept, for I swear to you no other consideration should tempt me a second time to this trouble) I am resolved to maintain my station, and to refuse nothing that may contribute to his Majesty's service, or concern my duty, who am, Sir, your, &c.

*John Evelyn to Sir William Coventry<sup>a</sup>*

*Sayes-Court, 2 October, 1665*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR,—Nothing but a calamity which requires the application of the speediest redress to preserve the lives of men, the honour of his Majesty, and (as I conceive) a concernment of the weightiest importance to the whole nation, could have extorted this repetition of the sad posture our affairs are in, for want of those moneys and effects we were made believe should be assigned us for the carrying on of the province entrusted to us. I will not torment you with the particulars of my own story, which you know so well by all that has prevented my complaints; but I perfectly apprehend the funest and calamitous issue which a few days may produce, unless some speedy course be taken to stop it. Nor am I so little acquainted with the respect which I owe to the persons I now write to, as not to know with what decency and reserve I ought to make my addresses upon any other occasion: but the particulars I have

<sup>a</sup> Secretary to the Duke of York, and one of the Privy Council.



alleged are very great truths, and it were to betray his Majesty's gracious intentions, and even his honour, to extenuate here. Sir William D'Oyly and myself have near ten thousand upon our care, whiles there seems to be no care of us; who, having lost all our servants, officers, and most necessary assistants, have nothing more left us to expose but our persons, which are every moment at the mercy of a raging pestilence (by our daily conversation) and an unreasonable multitude; if such they may be called, who, having adventured their lives for the public, perish for their reward, and die like dogs in the street unregarded. Our prisoners (who with open arms, as I am credibly informed by eye-witnesses, embraced our men, instead of lifting up their hands against them) beg at us, as a mercy, to knock them on the head; for we have no bread to relieve the dying creatures. Nor does this country afford gaols to secure them in, unless Leeds Castle (for which I am now contracting with my Lord Culpepper) may be had; if at least half of them survive to be brought so far, to starve when they come there. As for the pittance now lately ordered us, what will that benefit to our numbers and the mouths we are to feed? Neither is that to be had suddenly, and will be spent before we touch it. I could assemble other particulars of a sad countenance relating to the miseries of our own countrymen. I beseech your Honour, let us not be reputed barbarians; or if at last we must be so, let me not be the executor of so much inhumanity; when the price of one good subject's life is (rightly considered) of more value than the wealth of the Indies. It is very hard, if in now a twelve-months' time that we have cost you little more than £30,000, through all England where we have supported this burthen there should not have been a sufficient fund consecrated and assigned as a sacred stock for so important a service; since it has been a thing so frequently and earnestly pressed to their Lordships, and that this is not an affair which can be managed without present moneys to feed it; because we have to deal with a most miserable indigent sort of people, who live but from hand to mouth, and whom we murder if we do not pay daily or weekly. I mean those who harbour our sick and wounded men, and sell bread to our prisoners of war. How we have behaved ourselves for his Majesty's advantage and honour, we are most ready to produce the accounts, and to stand to the comparison of what it cost a former usurper, and a power which was not lavish of their expenses. Let it please your Honour to consider of the premises, and if you can believe I retain so much of servile in me, as to inform you of tales, or design to magnify my own merits (whatever my particular and private sufferings have been), let me be dismissed with infamy; but let me beg of your Honour to receive first the relation of his Majesty's principal officers and commisssioners of the Navy which accompanies the paper of, Right Honourable, your, &c.

*John Evelyn to Samuel Pepys<sup>a</sup>*

*Sayes-Court, 3 Jan., 1665-6*

SIR,—I have according to your commands sent you an hasty draught of the Infirmary<sup>b</sup>, and project for Chatham, the reasons and advantages of it; which challenges your promise of promoting it to the use designed. I am myself convinced of the exceeding benefit it will every way afford us. If, upon examination of the particulars, and your intercession, it shall merit a recommendation from the rest of the principal officers, I am very confident the effects will be correspondent to the pretence of the papers which I transmit to accompany it. In all events, I have done my endeavour; and, if upon what appears demonstrable to me (not without some considerable experience, and collation with our officers, discreet and sober persons), I persist in my fondness to it, from a prospect of the singular advantages which would be reaped by setting it on foot, I beseech you to pardon my honest endeavours, with the errors of, Sir, your, &c.

<sup>a</sup> Pepys was now Clerk of the Admiralty, or, as it was then called, Clerk of the Acts of the Navy, and brought into frequent official communication with Evelyn. For evidence of their long friendship, only closed by death, see *Diary*, pp. 529, 530.

<sup>b</sup> See p. 620.

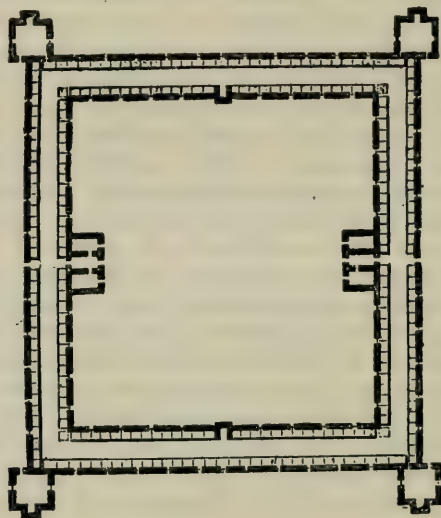


*John Evelyn to Lord Viscount Cornbury*

Sayes-Court, 20 Jan. 1665-6

MY LORD,—*Ubi Amor, ibi Oculus*, excuses the glances we cast upon desirable objects. My hand cannot contain itself from this presumption when I have any thing to write which affords me the least pretence ; and though you should not answer my letter, yet, till you forbid me writing, I please myself that you vouchsafe to read them. Great persons pay dear for such addresses, who afford them that honour ; and especially those that (like your Lordship) know so well to value their time. One period more, my Lord, and *beso los manos*.

Upon Wednesday last I went to London, and spent the whole afternoon in viewing my Lord Chancellor's *new house*<sup>a</sup>, if it be not a solecism to give a place so vulgar a name. My incessant business had till that moment prevented my passionate desires of seeing it since it was one stone advanced : but I was plainly astonished when I beheld what a progress was made. Let me speak ingenuously ; I went with prejudice, and a critical spirit, incident to those who fancy they know anything in art. I acknowledge to your Lordship that I have never seen a nobler pile : my old friend and fellow-traveller (cohabitant and contemporary at Rome) has perfectly acquitted himself. It is, without hyperboles, the best



contrived, the most useful, graceful, and magnificent house in England, I except not Audly-end ; which, though larger, and full of gaudy and barbarous ornaments, does not gratify judicious spectators. As I said, my Lord : here is state and use, solidity and beauty most symmetrically combined together : seriously, there is nothing abroad pleases me better ; nothing at home approaches it. I have no design, my Lord, to gratify the architect, beyond what I am obliged, as a professed honourer of virtue wheresoever 'tis conspicuous ; but when I had seriously contemplated every room (for I went into them all, from the cellar to the platform on the roof), seen how well and judiciously the walls were erected, the arches cut and turned, the timber braced, their scantlings and contignations disposed, I was incredibly satisfied, and do acknowledge myself to have much improved by what I observed. What shall I add more ? *rumpatur invidia* ; I pronounce it the first Palace in England, deserving all I have said of it, and a better encomiast.

<sup>a</sup> Evelyn himself contributes this note : ' Clarendon House, built by Mr. Pratt ; since quite demolished by Sir Thomas Bond, &c., who purchased it to build a street of tenements to his undoing. J. E.' The street thus referred to was Old Bond Street. Sir Thomas Bond was Comptroller of the Household to the Queen Mother, and the attached favourite of James the Second, with whom he went into exile. Frequent and interesting mention is made by Evelyn of this house. See *Diary*, pp. 266, 280, 291, 294, 300, 304, 401, 406, 414-415.

May that great and illustrious person, whose large and ample heart has honoured his country with so glorious a structure, and, by an example worthy of himself, showed our nobility how they ought indeed to build, and value their qualities, live many long years to enjoy it ; and when he shall have passed to that upper *building not made with hands*, may his posterity (as you, my Lord) inherit his goodness, this palace, and all other circumstances of his grandeur, to consummate their felicity ; with which happy augure, permit me in all faithfulness and sincerity, to subscribe myself, my Lord, your, &c.

*John Evelyn to Samuel Pepys*

*Sayes-Court, 26 March, 1666*

SIR,—I know not with what success I have endeavoured to perform your commands ; but it has been to the utmost of my skill, of which you are to be my judge. The favour I bespeak of you is, your pardon for not sending it before. I have not enjoyed one minute's repose since my return (now a fortnight past) till this very morning ; having been ever since soliciting for a little money to preserve my miserable flock from perishing. On Saturday, very late, I dispatched Mr. Barber towards my Kentish circle, where our sick people are in quarters ; and at his return, I hope to present you a complete account : but till this instant morning I had not written one line of those tedious papers ; so that, if through haste (the parent of mistakes), there may haply appear some escapes, give pardon to your servant ; or let me purchase it with a small present of fragments (such yet as you have been pleased to accept), and a little book that I also recommend to excuse my expense of such leisure as I can redeem from the other impertinences of my life. As to the report which I send you, I would receive it as a favour, however your resolutions of putting it in execution may succeed (the time of year being so far elapsed, in regard of action and more immediate use), it might yet be gratefully presented to his Royal Highness, or rather indeed, to his Majesty himself, who has so frequently been pleased to take notice of it to me as an acceptable project ; because it would afflict me to have them think I have either been remiss or trifling in my proposal. This obligation I can only hope for from your dexterity, address, and friendship, who am, Sir, your most affectionate and humble servant,

J. EVELYN

SIR, There is nothing in the other paper which you commanded me to return, but what is included in these, with ample and (I hope) considerable improvements.

I must beg a copy of those papers when the clerks are at leisure, having never a duplicate by me : and it may haply need a review.

SIR, The bearer hereof, Roger Winn, being our messenger (and without whose services I cannot possibly be, having so frequent occasions of sending him about business belonging to my troublesome employment), does by me supplicate your protection, that he may not be pressed, of which he is hourly in danger as he travels about our affairs without your particular indulgence, which I therefore conjure you to let him have under your hand and signature.

*John Evelyn to Samuel Pepys*

*Sayes-Court, 26 March, 1666*

SIR,—If to render you an account of the progress of my late proposal be any testimony of my obedience to your commands, be pleased to believe that I most faithfully present it in these papers according to the best of my talent. And if you find the estimate considerably to exceed the first calculation, you will remember it was made to the meridian of London ; that the walls were, both by his Majesty and the directions of the principal officers, to be made thicker and higher ; that the materials and workmen were presumed to be found much cheaper in the country ; and that the place and area to build on was supposed a level. But it has fallen out so much to our prejudice, and beyond all expectation in these particulars, that, to commence with the ground, we could not in four or five miles walking about Chatham and Rochester find one convenient



spot that would bear a level of 200 foot square, unless it were one field beyond the dock, in the occupation of Mr. Commissioner Pett, near the bog and marsh, which has neither solid foundation, nor fresh water to it. There is a very handsome green close at the end of the Long-Rope-house, towards Chatham; but the declivity is so sudden and great to the west, that less than ten-foot raising will not bring it to such a rectitude as that we can lay our plate upon the wall, which will be a considerable trouble and charge to reform, as may be easily demonstrated: for either the earth must be so much abated towards the east, or the wall advanced to the height of near twenty foot, while one extreme of the roof will touch the superficies of the earth: beside the field is not above 150 feet wide. But supposing all this might be encountered (as indeed it might with charge), it borders so near to the rope-houses, the dock, and that ample way leading to it from the hill-house and Chatham, as might endanger his Majesty's people in case of any contagion; because it will be impossible to restrain them from sometimes mingling amongst the workmen and others, who have employment in the dock, when the convalescent men shall be able or permitted to walk abroad. This, and some other difficulties, made us quit the thoughts of that otherwise gracefully-situated place. After many other surveys, we at last pitched on a field called the Warren, just beneath the Mill, and regarding the north towards the river. The access is commodious; it has a well of excellent water, ready dug, and wanting only repairs; and though this ground be likewise somewhat uneven, yet, with help, it will carry about 240 feet in length, and 150 in breadth, allowing the filling up of some valleys and depressures of about four or five foot deep to be taken from several risings. This, for many reasons, I conceive to be the fittest for our purpose, it having also a solid foundation on the chalk, and being at a competent distance from all dangerous commerce with the town, which will greatly contribute to the health of the sick, and protection of the inhabitants; but, being at present in lease to the Chest, leave must be obtained, and the tenant, who now rents it, satisfied; in all which Mr. Commissioner Pett (whose direction and assistance I took, according to the injunctions) informs me, there will be no difficulty.

Upon examination of the materials on the place:

	£	s.	d.
Bricks will not be delivered at the place under . . . . .	0	18	0
Lime, per load, containing 32 bushels, per thousand . . . . .	0	16	0
Drift sand, by ton . . . . .	0	1	2
Tiles, per thousand delivered . . . . .	1	1	0
Heart lathes, per load, containing 39 bundles . . . . .	2	1	0
Sawing, per hundred . . . . .	0	3	4
Workmen sufficient (in which was our great mistake) . . . . .	0	2	6

Upon those materials we conceived thus of the scantlings:

Walls, at one brick and a half.				
Wall plates . . . . .	9	in.	5	
Parallel rafters . . . . .	9	6	middle 16½ feet long	
	11	7	ends	
Single rafters . . . . .	4½	3½		
Purlins . . . . .	9	6	..	17
Binding-beams . . . . .	12	12		
Window-frames . . . . .	4½	3½	..	4 2
Door-cases, in brickwork, single doors . . . . .	7	6	..	6 2 8 in.
The two outward double, with architrave . . . . .	7	6	..	9 9 4
Ground-floor g'ist . . . . .	4	4	..	18

And if stone-floors to the four-corner rooms, as has been since judged more commodious, the

G'ists . . . . .	8	3
So'men . . . . .	14	11

Besides partitions, posts, interstices, quarterage.

At those scantlings, together with the alteration of the walls for height and thickness, &c.

Every rod of square brick-work, solid, at  $1\frac{1}{2}$  brick thick, containing in bricks of 9-inch, about 12 bars long, to  $16\frac{1}{2}$  feet in height; 15 bricks to every 3-feet high, which to  $16\frac{1}{2}$  is about 83; so that 83 by 21 is 1743 bricks superficial. This, at the designed thickness, is every square rod 5229 bricks, which I suppose at 17 (the lowest we can expect) delivered at the place, is every rod square, 9l. 8s. 1d. The total of brickwork then, contains about 118 square rod, without defalcations; of doors, windows (being 8 doors at 6 and 3-feet; windows 114 at 3 and 2-feet, reduced to measure, contains doors 24 feet by 48, which is 1152 square foot; windows, 342 feet by 228 feet is 77,976 feet square); both these reduced to square rods, are almost 30 rods square; whereof allow 10 square rods for the inequality of the foundation and chimneys (if upon the Warren-ground), and then the bricks of the whole (without lime and sand) will cost for 98 square rods, at 4l. 8s. 1d.

And every rod after the rate of 18d. for one foot high, in workmanship, to	£431	12	2
Which for 98 rod, is	122	6	0
So as the brick-work for the whole will come to	650	0	0
Tiling, at 36 per square	450	0	0
Timber, at 46 per square	600	0	0
Glass, about 684 feet, at 6d. per foot	17	0	0
Window-frames, at 4d. each	22	0	0
Single doors and cases, at 20s. each; double doors and cases (for the more commodious bringing in of the sick, being frequently carried), at 36s., with the casements, locks, hinges, &c.	30	0	0
Stone-floors	32	0	0
Stairs, per step, 3s., 76 in all	11	8	0
Levelling the ground, as computed upon view	46	10	0
Total	£1859	18	0

But this erection, reduced to 400 beds, or rather persons (which would be a very competent number, and yet exceedingly retrench his Majesty's charge for their maintenance), and the whole abated to near a fifth part of the expense, which amounts to about

The whole would not exceed	371	0	0
Whereof the timber and roof	487	18	0
The timber alone to	480	0	0
Which, if furnished from the yard, the whole charge of the building will be reduced to	360	0	0
So as the number of beds, diminished cradles, and attendance proportionable, the furniture complete will cost	127	168	0
Total	480	0	0
	£1607	18	0

According to the formerly-made estimate; and which whole charge will be saved in quarters of 400 men only, within six months and about fifteen days, at six-pence per head, being no less than £10 per diem, £70 per week, £280 per month, £3640 per annum; which is more than double what his Majesty is at in one year's quarters for them in private houses; besides all the incomparable advantages enumerated in the subsequent paper, which will perpetually hold upon this, or any the like occasion: the quartering of so many persons at six-pence per diem amounting to no less than 7280d. per annum.

If this shall be esteemed inconvenient, because of disfurnishing the yard, or otherwise a temptation to embezzle the timber of the yard:

All the materials bought as above	£1487	18	0
Furniture	480	0	0
Total	£1967	18	0

The whole expense will be reimbursed in eight months viz. in

400 men's diet alone, by sixpence per diem	378d. per month
	4536d. per annum

Whereas the same number at his Majesty's ordinary entertain-ment is

627	0	0	per month
7526	8	0	per annum

So as there would be saved yearly

£2990	8	0
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Note, that the salary of the steward (who buys all provisions, pays and keeps the accounts, take charge of the sick when set on shore, and discharges them when recovered, &c.) is not computed in this estimate : because it is the same which our clerks and deputies do by the present establishment.

Thus I deduce the particulars :

Chirurgeons seven : viz., three master-chirurgeons, at 6s. per diem	} £	280	
each ; mates four, at 4s. each ; diet for 400, 280 <i>l.</i> ; one		56	
matron, per week, 10s. ; twenty nurses, at 5s. per week ;		42	
fire, candles, soap, &c., 3 <i>d.</i> per week . . . . .		£378	per month
Cradle-beds, 200, at 11s. per cradle, at 4½ feet wide, 6 long . . . . .		110	0 0
Furniture, with beds, rug, blankets, sheets, at 30s. per bed . . . . .		300	0 0
Utensils for Hospital, &c. . . . .		70	0 0
		£480	0 0

But I do farther affirm, and can demonstrate, that supposing the whole erection, and furniture (according to my first and largest project, and as his Majesty and the principal officers did think fit to proportion the height and thickness of the walls), for the entertainment of 500 men, should amount to . . . . .	1859	18	0
Furniture to . . . . .	582	10	0
Total . . . . .	£2442	2	0

Then would be saved to his Majesty 332*l.* 18s. per month, 3994*l.* 16s. per annum.

So that in less than eight months' time there will be saved, in the quarters of 500 men alone, more money than the whole expense amounts to ; 500 men's quarters at 1s. per diem coming to £25 per diem, £175 per week, £700 per month, £9408 per annum.

Upon which I assume, if £3994, by five hundred men, or £3640 in four hundred men, or, lastly, if but £2990 be saved in one year in the quarters of 400 sick persons, &c., there would a far greater sum be saved in more than 6000 men ; there having been sent 7000 sick and wounded men to cure in my district only, and of these 2800 put on shore at Chatham and Rochester, for which station I proposed the remedy. Now, 500 sick persons quartered in a town at the victuallers and scattered ale-houses (as the custom is), will take up at least 160 houses, there being very few of those miserable places which afford accommodation for about two or three in a house ; with, frequently at greater distances, employ of chirurgeons nurses, and officers, innumerable ; so as when we have been distressed for chirurgeons, some of them (upon computation) walked six miles every day, by going but from quarter to quarter, and not being able to visit their patients as they ought : whereas, in our hospitals, they are continually at hand. We have essayed to hire some capacious empty houses, but could never meet with any tolerably convenient ; and to have many, or more than one, would be chargeable and very troublesome. By our infirmary, then we have these considerable advantages.

At six-pence per diem each (in the way of commons), the sick shall have as good, and much more proper and wholesome diet, than now they have in the ale-houses, where they are fed with trash, and embezzle their money more to inflame themselves, and retard and destroy their cures out of ignorance or intemperance ; whiles a sober matron governs the nurses, looks to their provisions, rollers, linen, &c. And the nurses attend the sick, wash, sweep, and serve the offices, the cook and laundrer comprehended in the number, and at the same rate, &c. By this method, likewise, are the almost indefinite number of chirurgeons and officers exceedingly reduced ; the sick dieted, kept from drink and intemperance, and consequently, from most unavoidably relapsing. They are hindered from wandering, slipping away, and dispersion. They are more sedulously attended ; the physician better inspects the chirurgeons, who neither can nor will be in all places, as now they are scattered, in the nasty corners of the towns. They are sooner and more certainly cured (for I have at present near thirty beds employed in a barn at Gravesend, which has taught us much



of this experience), they are received and discharged with infinite more ease. Our accounts better and more exactly kept. A vast and very considerable sum is saved (not to say gained) to his Majesty. The materials of the house will be good, if taken down ; or, if let stand, it may serve, in time of peace, for a store or workhouse ; the furniture will (much of it) be useful upon like occasion ; and, what is to be esteemed none of the least virtues of it, it will totally cure the altogether intolerable clamour and difficulties of rude and ungrateful people, their landlords and nurses, raised by their poverty upon the least obstruction of constant and weekly pays ; for want of which, they bring an ill repute on his Majesty's service, and incense the very magistrates and better sort of inhabitants (neighbours to them), who too frequently promote (I am sorry to speak it) their mutinies ; so as they have been sometimes menacing to expose our men in the streets, where some have most inhospitably perished. In fine, this would encounter all objections whatsoever ; is an honourable, charitable, and frugal provision ; effectual, full of encouragement, and very practicable ; so as, however, for the present it may be considered, I cannot but persist in wishing it might be resolved upon towards autumn at the farthest ; Chatham and Rochester alone, having, within seventeen or eighteen months, cost his Majesty full £13,000, in cures and quarters ; half whereof would have near been saved had this method been established. Add to this, the almost constant station of his Majesty's ships at the buoy in the Nore, and river at Chatham ; the clamour of that place against our quartering these, this crazy time ; and the altogether impossibility of providing elsewhere for such numbers as continually press in upon us there, more than any where else, after actions, or the return of any of his Majesty's fleet : which, with what has been offered, may recommend this project, by your favourable representation of the premises, for a permanent establishment in that place especially, if his Majesty and Royal Highness so think meet. This account, being what I have been able to lay before you, as the effects of my late inspection upon the places, by commands of the Honourable the Principal Officers, I request through your hands may be addressed to them from, Sir, your most obedient servant

J. EVELYN

We might this summer burn our own bricks, and procure timber at the best hand, which would save a considerable charge.

*John Evelyn to Sir Samuel Tuke*

*Sayer-Court, 27 Sep. 1666*

SIR,—It was some four days before the most fatal conflagration of the (quondam) City of London that I addressed a few lines to you, little thinking I should so soon have had two such dissolutions to deplore, the burning of the best town in the world, and the decease of the best friend in the world, your excellent lady. Sir, you know they are but small afflictions that are loquacious, great ones are silent ; and if ever great ones there were, mine eyes have beheld, and mine ears heard them, with an heart so possessed of sorrow, that it is not easily expressed ; because the instances have been altogether stupendous and unparalleled. But it were in vain to entertain you with those formal topics, which are wont to be applied to persons of less fortitude and Christian resignation, though I cannot but exhort you to what, I know, you do, look upon all things in this world as transitory and perishing ; sent us upon condition of quitting them cheerfully, when God pleases to take them from us. This consideration alone (with the rest of those graces which God has furnished you with) will be able to alleviate your passion, and to preserve you from succumbing under your pressures, which I confess are weighty, but not insupportable. Live therefore, I conjure you, and help to restore our dear country, and to console your friends. There is none alive wishes you more sincere happiness than my poor family.

I suppose I should have heard ere this from you of all your concerns, but impute your silence to some possible miscarriage of your letters ; since the usual place of address is with the rest reduced to ashes, and made an heap of ruins. I would give you a more particular relation of this calamitous accident ; but I should oppress you with sad stories, and I question not but they are come too soon amongst you at Paris with all minuteness, and (were it possible) hyperboles. There is this yet of less deplorable in it : that, as it has pleased God to order it,



little effects of any great consequence have been lost, besides the houses ; that our merchants, at the same instant in which it was permitted that the tidings should fly over seas, had so settled all their affairs, as the complying with their foreign correspondence, as punctually as if no disaster at all had happened ; nor do we hear of so much as one that has failed. The Exchange is now at Gresham College. The rest of the City (which may consist of near a seventh part), and suburbs, peopled with new shops ; the same noise, business, and commerce, not to say vanity. Only the poor booksellers have been indeed ill treated by Vulcan ; so many noble impressions consumed by their trusting them to the churches, as the loss is estimated near two hundred thousand pounds, which will be an extraordinary detriment to the whole republic of learning. In the meantime, the King and Parliament are infinitely zealous for the rebuilding of our ruins ; and I believe it will universally be the employment of the next spring. They are now busied with adjusting the claims of each proprietor, that so they may dispose things for the building after the noblest model. Everybody brings in his idea : amongst the rest I presented his Majesty with my own conceptions, with a discourse annexed. It was the second that was seen within two days after the conflagration : but Dr. Wren had got the start of me<sup>a</sup>. Both of us did coincide so frequently, that his Majesty was not displeased with it, and it caused divers alterations ; and truly there was never a more glorious phoenix upon earth, if it do at last emerge out of these cinders, and as the design is laid with the present fervour of the undertakers. But these things are as yet immature ; and I pray God we may enjoy peace to encourage those fair dispositions. The miracle is, I have never in my life observed a more universal resignation, less repining amongst sufferers : which makes me hope that God has yet thoughts of mercy towards us. Judgments do not always end where they begin ; and therefore let none exult over our calamities. We know not whose turn it may be next. But, Sir, I forbear to entertain you longer on these sad reflections ; but persist to beg of you not to suffer any transportations unbecoming a man of virtue ; resolve to preserve yourself, if it be possible, for better times, the good and restoration of your country, and the comfort of your friends and relations, and amongst them of, Sir, your, &c.

*Philip Dumaresque to John Evelyn*

*Jersey, 12th Nov. 1666*

SIR,—I should acknowledge but in part the obligations I have to your lady, if I did not confess myself equally indebted to you ; for, besides the particular kindness to me, I am obliged, with all his Majesty's subjects, for that excellent and useful piece of yours of planting and gardening, which Mr. Messerney did lend me to read ; the subjects therein so accurately handled being so suitable to my inclination and kind of life, that no fear of invasion from our ill neighbours can hinder me from putting daily in practice some of the directions therein prescribed. I was in good hopes to have had the honour of giving you the particulars of my proficiency myself during this winter, wherein there was some likelihood there would be no occasion for our stay here ; but our governor's commands have been so absolute to all that desired leave but for two months only, that I am out of hopes to pay you in person the respects I owe you for your favours ; but must be content, till a happier opportunity, to entreat from your goodness to believe that there is nothing I esteem more than the happiness to be accounted by you, as I am really, Sir, your most humble and obliged servant,

PHILIP DUMARESQUE

*John Evelyn to Lord Chancellor Clarendon*

*Sayes-Court, 27th Nov. 1666*

MY LORD,—I did the other day in Westminster Hall, give my Lord Cornbury, your lordship's son, my thoughts briefly concerning a most needful reformation for the transmitting a clearer stream for the future from the press, by directing

<sup>a</sup> These plans were afterwards printed by the Society of Antiquaries, and have been repeatedly engraved for the various histories of London. That by Mr. Evelyn is erroneously inscribed 'Sir John Evelyn'.



to immaculate copies of such books as, being vended in great proportions, do, for want of good editions amongst us, export extraordinary sums of money, to our no less detriment than shame; and I am so well satisfied of the honour which a redress in this kind will procure even to posterity (however small the present instance may appear to some in a superficial view) that I think myself obliged to wish that your Lordship may not conceive it unworthy of your patronage. The affair is this.

Since the late deplorable conflagration, in which the stationers have been exceedingly ruined, there is like to be an extraordinary penury and scarcity of classic authors, &c., used in grammar schools; so, as of necessity, they must suddenly be reprinted. My Lord may please to understand that our booksellers follow their own judgment in printing the ancient authors, according to such text as they found extant, when first they entered their copy; whereas, out of the MSS. collated by the industry of later critics, those authors are exceedingly improved. For instance, about thirty years since Justin was corrected by Isaac Vossius, in many hundreds of places most material to sense and elegance; and has since been frequently reprinted in Holland after the purer copy, but with us, still according to the old reading. The like has Florus, Seneca's tragedies, and near all the rest, which have in the mean time been castigated abroad by several learned hands; which, besides that it makes ours to be rejected, and dishonours our nation, so does it no little detriment to learning, and to the treasure of the nation in proportion. The cause of this is principally the stationer driving as hard and cruel a bargain with the printer as he can, and the printer taking up any smatterer in the tongues, to be the less loser; an exactness in this no ways importing the stipulation; by which means errors repeat and multiply in every edition, and that most notoriously in some most necessary school-books of value, which they obtrude upon the buyer, unless men will be at unreasonable rates for foreign editions. Your Lordship does by this perceive the mischievous effects of this avarice and negligence in them.

And now towards the removing these causes of the decay of typography, not only as to this particular, but in general, it is humbly proposed to consider whether it might not be expedient: first, that inspection be had what text of the Greek and Latin authors should be followed in future impressions; secondly, that a censor be established to take care and caution of all presses in London, that they be provided with able correctors, principally for school-books, which are of large and iterated impressions; thirdly, that the charge thereof be advanced by the company, which is but just, and will be easily reimbursed, upon an allowance arising from better and more valuable copies; since it is but reason that whoever builds a house be at the charges of surveying; and if it stand in relation to the public (as this does), that he be obliged to it.

My Lord, these reflections are not crudely represented, but upon mature advice and conference with learned persons with whom I now and then converse; and they are highly worthy your Lordship's interesting your power and authority to reform it, and will be inserted into the glorious things of your story, and adorn your memory. Great persons heretofore did take care of these matters, and it has consecrated their names. The season is also now most proper for it, that this sad calamity has mortified a company which was exceedingly haughty and difficult to manage to any useful reformation; and therefore (well knowing the benefit which would accrue to the public by so noble an attempt), I could not but recommend it to your Lordship out of the pure sense of gratitude I have to wish your Lordship all the happy occasions of increasing your honour, for the favours you always show me, and the obligations I have to your particular friendship and kindness. My Lord, if this paper find acceptance, I would be bold to add some farther hints for the carrying it on to some perfection; for, besides all I have said, there will need pains in reading, consulting MSS., and conference with learned men, good indexes, apt divisions, chapters, and verses, as the 'Dutch Variorum', embellishments of Roman and Italic letters to separate inserted speeches (especially in historians and sententious authors), and which adds to the use and lustre, together with a choice of succinct notes after more terse and profitable copies. For it is a shame that even such as our own countryman Farnaby has published should be sold us from other countries, because our own editions are so much inferior to them. If your



Lordship would set your heart upon other particulars concerning the reformation of our English press, I could give instance in some of high reputation and no mean advantage. But I would rejoice to see but this take effect. My Lord, I kiss your Lordship's hands, &c.

*John Evelyn to Dr. Wilkins<sup>a</sup>*

SIR,—I have read Mr. Tillotson's *Rule of Faith*, and am obliged to render him thanks for the benefit I acknowledge to have received by it. Never in my life did I see a thing more illustrated, more convincing, unless men will be blind because they will be so. I am infinitely pleased with his equal style, dispassionate treatment, and Christian temper to that important adversary: for my part, I look upon that business as dispatched, and expect only the grimaces and agonies of dying and desperate men for the future; plainly the wound is mortal.

Sir, that I presume to send you the consequence of what I formerly published in English, in the controversy betwixt the Jesuits and the Jansenists, speaks rather my obedience to a command from that great person<sup>b</sup>, than my abilities to have undertaken, or acquitted myself as I ought. I annexed an Epistolary Preface, not to instruct such as you are, in anything which you do not know; but for their sakes, who, reading the book, might possibly conceive the French kings to have been the only persons in danger: and because I hope it may receive your suffrage as to the pertinence of it *pro hic et nunc*.

I am heartily sorry that some indispensable avocations frequently deprive me of your meetings at Gresham College, and particularly that I cannot be there on Wednesday; his Majesty having enjoined me to repair to-morrow to Chatham, for the taking order about erecting an infirmary, capable to entertain about 500 sick persons, and all to be finished against the next occasion. If Almighty God do not vouchsafe to accept this service, as well as the King my master, I shall be an intolerable loser, by being so long diverted from a conversation so profitable and so desirable. But wars will once<sup>c</sup> have a period: and I now and then get a bait at philosophy; but it is so little and *jejune*, as I despair of satisfaction till I am again restored to the Society, where even your very fragments are enough to enrich any man that has the honour to approach you. Sir, I think I have at last procured the mummia which you desired: be pleased in the name and with authority of the Royal Society, to challenge it of the injurious detainers, therein using the address of Mr. Fox; Sir Samuel Tuke having written most effectually in our behalf, who deserves (together with the Hon. Mr. Hen. Howard, of Norfolk) a place among our benefactors. Sir, I am, &c.

*Sir George Mackenzie<sup>d</sup> to John Evelyn*

*Edinburgh, February 4, 1666-7*

SIR,—I have written two letters which, with my last moral discourses, now lie before me because I want your address. This I have at last ventured upon, which will assure you of a friendship as zealous, though not so advantageous as you deserve; as a testimony of which, receive this enclosed poem written by me, not out of love of poetry, or of gallantry, but to essay if I might reveal my curiosity that way. I could wish to know the censure of Sir William Davenant or Mr. Waller upon it; and in order to this, I beg that you will present this letter and it to Sir William, and if he pleases it, to give copies of it, or use it as you please. I wish he sent me an account of its errors, and as a penance I promise not to vomit any new one. I had sought my security in no other approbation than your own, if your friendship for me had not rendered you suspect. Dear Sir, pardon this imprudence in your most humble servant, GEO. MACKENZIE

<sup>a</sup> At this time Dean of Ripon. See *Diary*, p. 199, n. The allusions in this letter determine its date.

<sup>b</sup> The Lord Chancellor.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.*, One day.

<sup>d</sup> Sir George Mackenzie is frequently mentioned in the *Diary* (see in particular, p. 486. He was a very famous Scottish lawyer and antiquarian, whose memory is still preserved and revered in Edinburgh, notwithstanding his high-flying doctrines of divine right and passive obedience, as the founder of the celebrated Advocates' Library.



To Abraham Cowley, Esq.<sup>a</sup>

Sayes-Court, 12th March, 1666-7

SIR,—You had reason to be astonished at the presumption, not to name it affront, that I who have so highly celebrated recess, and envied it in others, should become an advocate for the enemy, which of all others it abhors and flies from. I conjure you to believe that I am still of the same mind, and that there is no person alive who does more honour and breathe after the life and repose you so happily cultivate and adorn by your example: but, as those who praised dirt, a flea, and the gout<sup>b</sup>, so have I *Public Employment* in that trifling Essay<sup>c</sup>, and that in so weak a style compared to my antagonists, as by that alone it will appear I neither was nor could be serious; and I hope you believe I speak my very soul to you. But I have more to say, which will require your kindness. Suppose our good friend were publishing some eulogies on the Royal Society, and, by deducing the original progress and advantages of their design, would bespeak it some veneration in the world? Has Mr. Cowley no inspirations for it? Would it not hang the most heroic wreath about his temples? Or can he desire a nobler or a fuller argument either for the softest airs or the loudest echoes, for the smoothest or briskest notes of his Pindaric lyre?

There be those who ask, What have the Royal Society done? Where their College? I need not instruct you how to answer or confound these persons, who are able to make even these inform<sup>d</sup> blocks and stones dance into order, and charm them into better sense. Or if their insolence press, you are capable to show how they have laid solid foundations to perfect all noble arts, and reform all imperfect sciences. It requires an history to recite only the arts, the inventions, and phenomena already absolved, improved, or opened. In a word, our registers have outdone Pliny, Porta, and Alexis, and all the experimentists, nay, the great Verulam himself, and have made a nobler and more faithful collection of real secrets, useful and instructive, than has hitherto been shown. Sir, we have a library, a repository, and an assembly of as worthy and great persons as the world has any; and yet we are sometimes the subject of satire and the songs of the drunkards; have a king to our founder, and yet want a Mæcenas; and above all, a spirit like yours, to raise us up benefactors, and to compel them to think the design of the Royal Society as worthy of their regards, and as capable to embalm their names, as the most heroic enterprise, or any thing antiquity has celebrated; and I am even amazed at the wretchedness of this age that acknowledges it no more. But the devil, who was ever an enemy to truth, and to such as discover his prestigious effects, will never suffer the promotion of a design so destructive to his dominion (which is to fill the world with imposture and keep it in ignorance), without the utmost of his malice and contradiction. But you have numbers and charms that can bind even these spirits of darkness, and render their instruments obsequious; and we know you have a divine hymn for us; the lustre of the Royal Society calls for an ode from the best of poets upon the noblest argument. To conclude: here you have a field to celebrate the great and the good, who either do, or should, favour the most august and worthy design that ever was set on foot in the world: and those who are our real patrons and friends you can eternise, those who are not you can conciliate, and inspire to do gallant things. But I will add no more, when I have told you with great truth that I am, Sir, &c.

<sup>a</sup> This and the following letter will be read with interest by all who have admired the masterly poem to which chiefly they relate, and which was published before the close of this year in Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*.

<sup>b</sup> Dornavius's *Amphitheatrum Sapientiæ Socraticæ Jacoseriæ* contains a large collection of facetiæ of this kind, in prose and verse, with which the scholars of those times relieved their serious studies.

<sup>c</sup> *Public Employment, &c.*, preferred to *Solitude*, 1667. Printed in Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings*, 1825, 4to, pp. 501, 509.

<sup>d</sup> An adjective—from the Latin *informis*.



*From Abraham Cowley to John Evelyn*

*Chertsey, 13th May, 1667*

SIR,—I am ashamed of the rudeness I have committed in deferring so long my humble thanks for your obliging letter, which I received from you at the beginning of the last month. My laziness in finishing the copy of verses upon the Royal Society, for which I was engaged before by Mr. Sprat's desire, and encouraged since by you, was the cause of this delay, having designed to send it to you enclosed in my letter : but I am told now that the History is almost quite printed, and will be published so soon, that it were impertinent labour to write out that which you will so suddenly see in a better manner, and in the company of better things. I could not comprehend in it many of those excellent hints which you were pleased to give me, nor descend to the praises of particular persons, because those things afford too much matter for one copy of verses, and enough for a poem, or the History itself ; some part of which I have seen, and think you will be very well satisfied with it. I took the boldness to show him your letter, and he says he has not omitted any of those heads, though he wants the eloquence in expression. Since I had the honour to receive from you the reply to a book written in praise of a solitary life<sup>a</sup>, I have sent all about the town in vain to get the author, having very much affection for the subject, which is one of the noblest controversies both modern and ancient ; and you have dealt so civilly with your adversary, as makes him deserve to be looked after. But I could not meet with him, the books being all, it seems, either burnt or bought up. If you please to do me the favour to lend it to me, and send it to my brother's house (that was) in the King's Yard, it shall be returned to you within a few days with a humble thanks of your most faithful obedient servant,

A. COWLEY

*Sir John Langham to John Evelyn*

*Crosby House, this 30th July, 1667*

WORTHY SIR,—I presume upon your goodness, though a stranger, so far to trouble you as to make a double enquiry concerning Mr. Phillips, who lately was entertained in your family. The one how he approved himself to you in learning and behaviour, whom I had long known to be the greatest judge of both : the other where he is now disposed of, and whether in the liberty of receiving an ingenuous employment, if your character of him and my discourse with him shall encourage me to give him a call thereto. One requisite that I am commissioned to be assured of, is his ability of speaking ready and refined Latin ; for as to his manners and regular conversation, there lies not a suspicion for anything in them unworthy of the sanctimony of your house, which hath long been venerated as the holiest temple of all virtue and ingenuity. I am sensible how far already I have trespassed upon your consecrated leisures, therefore, lest I should continue the fault, I add not more, than I am, Sir, your very humble Servant,

J. LANGHAM

*John Evelyn to Sir John Langham*

SIR,—It is from the abundance of your civility that you load me with eulogies, and because you are not acquainted with my imperfections, which are so much the greater by having not had the honour to be known to so deserving a person as yourself. I can say nothing to the disadvantage of Mr. Phillips, which might not recommend him to your good intentions, except it be that I did not observe in him any greater promptness of readily speaking Latin (which I find is one of the principal faculties you are in search of) ; but it was not for that, or indeed any other defect which made us part, but the passion he had to travel and see the world, which he was made believe he should have had a sudden opportunity of effecting with a son of my lord of Pembroke, who has now these two years been under his tuition without satisfying his curiosity as to that particular. Mr. Phillips is, I think, yet at Wilton, where my lord makes use of him to interpret

<sup>a</sup> Sir George Mackenzie's *Moral Essay upon Solitude, preferring it to Public Employment, &c.*, 1665.



some of the Teutonic philosophy, to whose mystic theology his lordship, you know, is much addicted. As to Mr. Phillips's more express character, he is a sober, silent, and most harmless person; a little versatile in his studies, understanding many languages, especially the modern, not inferior to any I know, and that I take to be his talent. Thus, sir, what I have said concerning Mr. Phillips in the matter you require, I hope shall not abate of your value for him, or the honour I promise myself in receiving your future commands, who remain, Sir, your very humble Servant,

J. EVELYN

*John Evelyn to Henry Howard<sup>a</sup>*

*Sayes-Court, 4 Aug. 1667*

SIR,—It is not without much regret and more concernment as it regards your honourable and illustrious family, that I have now so long a time beheld some of the noblest antiquities in the world, and which your grandfather purchased with so much cost and difficulty, lie abandoned, broken, and defaced in divers corners about Arundel House and the gardens belonging to it. I know your honour cannot but have thoughts and resolutions of repairing and collecting them together one day; but there are in the mean time certain broken inscriptions, now almost obliterated with age and the ill effects of weather, which will in a short time utterly be lost and perish, unless they be speedily removed to a more benign and less corrosive air. For these it is, I should be an humble suitor that you would think fit to make a present of them to the University of Oxford, where they might be of great use and ornament, and remain a more lasting record to posterity of your munificence, than by any other application of them whatsoever; and the University would think themselves obliged to inscribe your name, and that of your illustrious family, to all significations of gratitude.

I have also long since suggested to your honour, that you would cause the best of your statues, basso-relievos, and other antiquities standing in your gallery at Arundel House, to be exquisitely designed by some skilful hand, and engraven in copper, as Mons. Liancourt did those of Rome by Perrier, and long before him Raphael himself, Sadeler<sup>b</sup>, and other incomparable sculptors; because by this means they would be communicated to the world, and divers great and learned persons, studious of antiquity, might be benefited by them; and if such a thing were added to the impression of the *Marmora Arundeliana* (which I hear the University of Oxon are now preparing for a second impression), how greatly would it adorn that admirable work, and do new honours to your illustrious name and family, as it has formerly, and yet does to divers noble Italians and others, who have not been able to produce such a collection as you are furnished with, but which perish in obscurity, and yield not that to the public, who would be obliged to celebrate you, for want of a small expense! Methinks, whilst they remain thus obscured and neglected, the very marbles are become vocal, and cry to you for pity, and that you would even breathe life into them. Sir, you will easily see I have no other design in this, than to express the honour I have for your person and for your illustrious family; and because I find this would be one of the most glorious instances to augment and perpetuate it, I cannot but wish that it might take effect. I have no more to add but that I am, &c.

*John Evelyn to Dr. Bathurst<sup>c</sup>*

*London, 9th September, 1667*

SIR,—I heartily wish I had the good fortune to be as serviceable to you in particular for the many favours I have received, as I doubt not but I shall be to a place, which, for your sake as well as my own, I have so much reason to

<sup>a</sup> Heir apparent to the Dukedom of Norfolk, frequently mentioned in the *Diary*. 'This letter', Evelyn writes upon the MS. original, 'procured all the Marmura Arundeliana, Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Urns, Altar Tables, &c., now at Oxon. J.E'. See also his Dedication to Mr. Howard, prefixed to Roland Freart's *Idea of the Perfection of Painting*, and reprinted in his *Miscellaneous Writings*, 1825, 4to, p. 555.

<sup>b</sup> Little more than six years before the date of this letter the *Vestigi dell' Antichita di Roma*, engraved by Giles Sadeler, had appeared.

<sup>c</sup> At this time President of Trinity College, Oxford.



honour, I mean the University ; if, at least, it may be esteemed a service to have obtained of Mr. Henry Howard, of Norfolk, the freely-bestowing upon you all those learned monuments which pass under the famous names of *Marmora Arundeliana*. This, sir, the interest which that illustrious person has allowed me in his friendship has wrought for you ; and I dare pronounce it highly worthy your acceptance. For you shall not only be masters of some few, but of all ; and there is nothing more to be done, than, after you have taken notice of his munificence (which I desire, and wish may be speedily done, in a public address, as from the body of the University), to take order for their transportation to you ; for which effect, I conceive it would be worth your while to delegate Mr. Obadiah Walker, or Dr. Wren (Sir Christopher), persons that I much honour, who may take care and consult about the best expedients for their removal ; for they being marble, and some of them basso-relievos rarely cut, will deserve to be guarded from injuries : and when they are at Oxford, I conceive they can nowhere be more fitly placed than in some part about the new theatre, except you should think fit to protect some of the more curious and small ones, as urns, &c., in the galleries next the library, where they may remain secure. I have assured Mr. Howard that the University will not fail in their sense of this noble gift and munificence, by decreeing him a public and conspicuous inscription which shall consecrate his memory : and if I have hinted it more particularly to Mr. Walker, it is what I think will become your justice and such grateful beneficiaries. I shall entreat you to acquaint Mr. Vice-Chancellor with what I have done, as also Dr. Barlow and Dr. Pierce, the Warden and Presidents of Queen's and Magdalen Colleges, my worthy friends, and beg that through your address this service of mine may be acceptable to the University from, Sir, your, &c.

*John Evelyn to the Earl of Sandwich*

*Sayes-Court, 13 Decemb. 1667*

MY LORD,—I could hardly obtain of myself to give your Excellency this trouble, or dare to mingle my impertinencies amongst your public and weighty concerns, till, reflecting on the greatness of your genius, I concluded it would neither be disturbed, nor disdain my humble address, that confident of your communicative nature, I adventured to supplicate your Excellency's favour in behalf of a work of mine upon the Hortulan subject ; and in particular, that your Excellency would vouchsafe by the meanest of your servants to give me some short descriptions of the most famous gardens and villas of Spain<sup>a</sup>, and what other singularities of that kind might occur to the adorning of a labour wherein I chiefly pretend to gratify great and illustrious persons, and such as, like your Lordship, are the most worthy to cultivate and enjoy these amenities. The catalogue which I here presume to send your Excellency, and the pains I have already taken to render it no trifling or unuseful speculation, will in some degree commute for this bold address ; especially since I could never hope to receive so much light from any but your Excellency, to whom I am confident there can be nothing curious in this argument concealed, how close and reserved soever the Spaniards are. I have heard that there is lately a German at Madrid, who pretends to a successful invention for the setting of corn by a peculiar sort of plough. This, I am sure, cannot have escaped your Excellency ; and it will be due to the Royal Society, the history whereof, now at last published here with infinite applause, I doubt not is come to your hands, and that you will judge it worthy the most accurate translation. But, my Lord, I shall leave that to the joint request of the Society, and accumulate no more to these extravagances of mine, after I have supplicated your Excellency's pardon, who am, may it please your Excellency, your, &c.

<sup>a</sup> Evelyn subjoins this note. ' Which he sent me from Madrid, in many sheets of paper written in his own hand, together with the *Sembrador* or plough itself, which I gave to the Royal Society, and is described in their *Transactions*, J. E '. Lord Sandwich, it is needless to add, was at this time our Ambassador to Spain.



*Sir George Mackenzie to John Evelyn*

Edinburgh, 1668

I did, Sir, in my greener years believe that our lofty and more wingy thoughts could not be forced into rhymes or submit to the rules of poetry. But I attribute this partly to the rudeness of my ear, which the storminess of the place where I live fashioned from my infancy to take notice of no sound less loud than winds or thunder, and thus I undervalue poetry as soldiers accustomed to the noise of drum and cannon condemn the softer airs of the viol or lute. But being at last released from this error, I resolved to choose for my essay a theme which (like her for whom the poem was intended) would not look ill in any dress, and in which my duty might excuse my want of wit. This poem being the first fruits of my muse, I have sent to you as to whom it was due, being Apollo's high priest. Your eyes can ripen everything they see, and if there be any lameness in its feet, your touch can miraculously cure it. Your approbation is a sanctuary unto which if these lines can once get they will be secure, nor dare the avenger follow them; and your bays are branches enough to secure them against the heats of envy, though they need, I fear, more the pity than the rage of more exalted heads. I desire rather your assistance than your censure, and I fear as much the one, as they need the other. Pardon the rudeness of this address from your humble servant,

GEO. MACKENZIE

P.S. If you favour me with a return, direct it to Sir Geo. Mackenzie, Advocate in Edinburgh.

*Sir Robert Moray to John Evelyn*

Yester, 14th June, 1668

MY VERY WORTHY FRIEND,—By what telescope you read me at this distance, I do not know; but by your letter of the 13th December, I learnt that you are acquainted with my most illegible parts. I should hardly have suspected it. It seems you conclude me to be a greater master in another sort of philosophy than in that which is the business of the Royal Society; for if you were not confident I can govern the whole brood of my passions, as well, at least, as Banks did his horse, you would not have ventured to stir up so many of the fiercest of them at once. This I incline the rather to believe because I know you value my friendship and would not bend to a flame that might blow it up. Therefore, instead of flying over, like lightning, upon the wanton and tempting language by which you assault my humility and sobriety, my ingenuity and my unconcernedness, exciting me to pride, vanity, ambition, and affectation, I do but smile upon the liberty of your pen, and commend the pretty texture of your ingenious words, and only construct the design of all to be to express quaintly your kindness in desiring I may be where you are. And my return to that is, that were I at my own disposal, I could be as willing as you would have me to confine myself to that little world that goes under the name of Sayes Court, and choose, not covet, the most courted glories of our terrestrial planet, nay, nor envy those that inhabit the noble one that illuminates the rest, if any such people there be: and, then, if the two luminaries that keep up a perpetual spring in that rich place did but shine perpetually on such an obscure guest, what sublunary things would be wanting to complete the happiness of, my very much honoured friend, your faithful humble servant,

R. MORAY

*John Evelyn to the Rev. Joseph Glanvil<sup>a</sup>*

Sayes-Court, 24th June, 1668

SIR,—I received so welcome, and so obliging a token from you by the hands of Mr. Oldenburgh, that after all I can say in this letter in acknowledgment of that particular favour, I must continue to subscribe myself your debtor. For

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Glanvil, a Devonshire Clergyman, was a fellow of the Royal Society, one of the King's Chaplains in Ordinary, and a writer of some repute in his day. Evelyn writes upon this letter 'He sent me his book entitled, *Plus Ultra; or the Progress and advancement of Knowledge, since the days of Aristotle*, octavo, London, 1668. J. E'. An account of the book may be seen in the *Philosophical Transactions*, No. 36.



what have you seen in any of my productions, which should make you augur so favourably of that trifle of mine, upon so trite and humble a subject? or mention me amongst the heroes whom you so meritoriously celebrate! I cannot find anything to support it, but your most obliging nature, of which the comely and philosophic frame is abundantly conspicuous, by this worthy vindication both of yourself and all useful learning against the science (falsely so called) of your snarling adversary<sup>a</sup>. I do not conceive why the Royal Society should any more concern themselves for the empty and malicious cavils of these delators, after what you have said; but let the moon-dogs bark on, till their throats are dry: the Society every day emerges, and her good genius will raise up one or other to judge and defend her; whilst there is nothing which does more confirm me in the nobleness of the design, than this spirit of contradiction which the devil (who hates all discoveries of those false and prestigious ways that have hitherto obtained) does incite to stir up men against it. But, sir, you have discoursed this so fully in this excellent piece of yours, that I have no more to add, but the suffrage and subscription of, Sir, yours, &c.

*John Evelyn to the Earl of Sandwich*

*Sayes-Court, 21st August, 1668*

MY LORD,—I am plainly astonished at your bounty to me, and I am in pain for words to express the sense I have of this great obligation<sup>b</sup>.

And as I have been exceedingly affected with the descriptions, so have I been greatly instructed in the other particulars your Lordship mentions, and especially rejoice that your Excellency has taken care to have the draughts of the places, fountains, and engines for the irrigation and refreshing their plantations, which may be of singular use to us in England. And I question not but your Excellency brings with you a collection of seeds; such especially as we may not have commonly in our country. By your Lordship's description, the *Encina* should be the *Ilex major aculeata*, a sucker whereof yet remains in his Majesty's Privy-Gardens at Whitehall, next the door that is opposite to the Tennis-court. I mention it the rather, because it certainly might be propagated with us to good purpose; for the father of this small tree I remember of a goodly stature, so as it yearly produced ripe acorns; though Clusius, when he was in England, believed it to be barren: and haply, it had borne none in his time. I have sown both the acorns of the tree, and the cork with success, though I have now but few of them remaining, through the negligence of my gardener; for they require care at the first raising, till they are accustomed to the cold, and then no rigour impeaches them. What your Excellency means by the *Bama de Joseph*, I do not comprehend; but the *Planta Alois*, which is a monstrous kind of *Sedum*, will, like it, endure no wet in winter, but will certainly rot if but a drop or two fall on it, whereas in summer you cannot give it drink enough. I perceive their culture of choice and tender plants differs little from ours in England, as it has been published by me in my *Calendarium Hortense*, which is now the third time reprinting. Stoves absolutely destroy our conservatories; but if they could be lined with cork, I believe it would better secure them from the cold and moisture of the walls, than either mattresses or reeds with which we commonly invest them. I think that I was the first that ever planted Spanish Cardons in our country for any culinary use, as your Excellency has taught the blanching; but I know not whether they serve themselves in Spain with the purple beards of the thistle, when it is in flower, for the curdling of milk, which it performs much better than rennet, and is far sweeter in the dairy than that liquor, which is apt to putrify.

Your Excellency has rightly conjectured of the pomegranate; I have always kept it exposed, and the severest of our winters does it no prejudice. They will flower plentifully, but bear no fruit with us, either kept in cases and the reposi-

<sup>a</sup> Henry Stubbe, an inveterate enemy of the Royal Society, which he attacked in various pamphlets, now happily forgotten. Among them was an Answer to Glanvil, entitled, 'The *Plus Ultra* reduced to a *Non Plus*; or a Specimen of some Animadversions upon the *Plus Ultra* of Mr. Joseph Glanvil'. Q, 1670.

<sup>b</sup> See *ante*, p. 632.



tory, or set in the open air ; at least very trifling, with the greatest industry of stoves and other artifices.

We have asparagus growing wild both in Lincolnshire and in other places ; but [as] your Lordship observes, they are small and bitter, and not comparable to the cultivated.

The red pepper, I suppose, is what we call guinea-pepper, of which I have raised many plants, whose pods resemble in colour the most oriental and polished coral : a very little will set the throat in such a flame, as has been sometimes deadly, and therefore to be sparingly used in sauces.

I hope your Lordship will furnish yourself with melon seeds, because they will last good almost twenty years ; and so will all the sorts of garavances, calaburos, and gourds (whatever Herrera affirm), which may be for divers economical uses.

The Spanish onion-seed is of all other the most excellent : and yet I am not certain, whether that which we have out of Flanders and St. Omers, be all the Spanish seed which we know of. My Lady Clarendon (when living) was wont to furnish me with seed that produced me prodigious crops.

Is it not possible for your Excellency to bring over some of those quince and cherry-trees, which your Lordship so celebrates ? I suppose they might be secured in barrels, or packed up, as they transport other rarities from far countries. But, my Lord, I detain your Excellency too long in these repetitions, and forget that I am all this while doing injury to the public, by suspending you a moment from matters of a higher orb, the interest of states and reconciling of kingdoms : and I should think so of another, did I not know withal, how universal your comprehensions are, and how qualified to support it. I remain, my Lord, yours, &c.

*John Evelyn to Doctor Beale*

27th August, 1668

SIR,—I happened to be with Mr. Oldenburg some time since, almost upon the article of his receiving the notice you sent him of your fortunate and useful invention ; and I remember I did first of all incite him, both to insert it into his next transactions, and to provoke your further prosecution of it ; which I exceedingly rejoice to find has been so successful, that you give us hopes of your further thoughts upon that, and those other subjects which you mention<sup>a</sup>. You may haply call to remembrance a passage of the Jesuit Honorati Fabri, who speaking of perspectives, observes, that an object looked on through a small hole appears magnified ; from whence he suggests, the casting of two plates neatly perforated, and fitted to look through, preferable to glasses, whose refractions injure the sight. Though I begin to advance in years (being now on the other side of forty), yet the continuance of the perfect use of my senses (for which I bless Almighty God) has rendered me the less solicitous about those artificial aids ; which yet I foresee I must shortly apply myself to, and therefore you can receive but slender hints from me which will be worthy your acceptance upon that argument ; only, I well remember, that besides Tiberius of old (whom you seem to instance in), Joseph Scaliger affirms the same happened both to his father Julius and himself, in their younger years. And sometimes, methinks, I myself have fancied to have discerned things in a very dark place, when the curtains about my bed have been drawn, as my hands, fingers, the sheet, and bedclothes ; but since my too intent poring upon a famous eclipse of the sun, about twelve years since, at which time I could as familiarly have stared with open eyes upon the glorious planet in its full lustre, as now upon a glow-worm (comparatively speaking), I have not only lost the acuteness of sight, but much impaired the vigour of it for such purposes as it then served me. But besides that, I have treated mine eyes very ill near these twenty years, during all which time I have rarely put them together, or composed them to sleep, before one at night, and sometimes much later : that I may in some sort redeem my losses by day, in which I am continually importuned with visits from my neighbours

<sup>a</sup> The paper alluded to is entitled, *An experiment to examine what Figure and Celerity of Motion begetteth or increaseth Light and Flame*, and will be found in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. i, p. 226.



and acquaintance, or taken up by other impertinencies of my life in this place. I am plainly ashamed to tell you this, considering how little I have improved myself by it ; but I have rarely been in bed before twelve o'clock, as I said, in the space of twenty years ; and yet I read the least print, even in a jolting coach, without other assistance, save that I now and then used to rub my shut eye-lids over with a spirit of wine well rectified, in which I distil a few rosemary flowers, much after the process of the Queen of Hungary's water, which does exceedingly fortify, not only my sight, but the rest of my senses, especially my hearing and smelling ; a drop or two being distilled into the nose or ears, when they are never so dull ; and other *κολλουριον* I never apply. Indeed, in the summer time, I have found wonderful benefit in bathing my head with a decoction of some hot and aromatical herbs, in a lixivium made of the ashes of vine branches ; and when my head is well washed with this, I immediately cause abundance of cold fountain water to be poured upon me *stillatim*, for a good half-hour together ; which for the present is not only one of the most voluptuous and grateful refreshments imaginable, but an incredible benefit to me the whole year after ; for I never need other powdering to my hair, to preserve it bright and clean, as the gallants do ; but which does certainly greatly prejudice transpiration by filling up, or lying heavy upon the pores. Those, therefore, who (since the use of perukes) accustom to wash their heads, instead of powdering, would doubtless find the benefit of it ; both as to the preventing of aches in their head, teeth, and ears, if the vicissitude and inconstancy of the weather, and consequently the use of their monstrous perukes, did not expose them to the danger of catching colds. When I travelled in Italy, and the Southern parts, I did sometimes frequent the public baths (as the manner is), but seldom without peril of my life, till I used this frigid effusion, or rather profusion of cold water before I put on my garments, or durst expose myself to the air ; and for this method I was obliged to the old and noble Rantzow, in whose book *De conservandâ valetudine* I had read a passage to this purpose ; though I might have remembered how the Dutchmen treated their labouring horses when they are all over in a froth, which they wash off with several buckets of cold water, as I have frequently observed it in the Low Countries.

Concerning other aids ; besides what the masters of the catoptrics, phonocamptrics, otacoustics, &c., have done, something has been attempted by the Royal Society ; and you know the industrious Kircher has much laboured. The rest of those artificial helps are summed up by the Jesuit And. Schottus. I remember that Monsieur Huygens (author of the pendulum), who brought up the learned father of that incomparable youth Monsieur de Zulichem, who used to prescribe to me the benefit of his little wax taper (a type whereof is, with the history of it, in some of our Registers) for night elucubrations, preferable to all other candle or lamp light whatsoever. And because it explodes all glaring of the flame, which by no means ought to dart upon the eyes, it seems very much to establish your happy invention of tubes instead of spectacles, which have not those necessary defences.

Touching the sight of cats in the night, I am not well satisfied of the exquisiteness of that sense in them. I believe their smelling or hearing does much contribute to their dexterity in catching mice, as to all those animals who are born with those prolix smelling hairs. Fish will gather themselves in shoals to any extraordinary light in the dark night, and many are best caught by that artifice. But whatever may be said of these, and other senses of fish, you know how much the sagacity of birds and beasts excel us ; how far eagles and vultures, ravens and other fowls will smell the carcase ; *odorumque canum vis*, as Lucretius expresses it, and we daily find by their drawing after the games. Gesner affirms that an otter will wind a fish four miles distance in the water, and my Lord Verulam (cent. 8) speaks of that element's being also a medium of sounds, as well as air. Eels do manifestly stir at the cracking of thunder, but that may also be attributed to some other tremulous motion ; yet carps and other fish are known to come at the call and the sound of a bell, as I have been informed. Notorious is the story of Arion, and of Lucullus's lampreys which came *ad nomen* ; and you have formerly minded me of Varro's Greek pipe, of which Lucian and Cicero (*ad Atticum*) take occasion to speak. Pliny's dolphin is famous, and what is related of the American Manati : but the most stupendous



instance, that of the xiphia or sword-fish, which the Mamertines can take up by no other stratagem than a song of certain barbarous words, as the thing is related by Thom. Fazzello. It is certain that we hear more accurately when we hold our mouths a little open, than when we keep them shut; and I have heard of a dumb gentleman in England who was taught to speak (and therefore certainly brought to hear in some degree) by applying the head of a base viol against his teeth, and striking upon the strings with the bow. You may remember the late effect of the drum extending the tympanum of a deaf person to great improvement of his hearing, so long as that was beaten upon; and I could at present name a friend of mine, who, though he be exceedingly thick of hearing, by applying a straight stick of what length soever, provided it touch the instrument and his ear, does perfectly and with great pleasure hear every tune that is played: all which, with many more, will flow into your excellent work, whilst the argument puts me in mind of one Tom Whittal, a student of Christ Church, who would needs maintain, that if a hole could dexterously be bored through the skull to the brain, in the midst of the forehead, a man might both see and hear and smell without the use of any other organs; but you are to know, that this learned problematist was brother to him, who, preaching at St. Mary's, Oxford, took his text out of the history of Baalam, Numb. xxii., 'Am I not thine ass?' Dear Sir, pardon this rhapsody of, Sir, your, &c.

*Henry Howard to John Evelyn*

*London, 15th September, 1668*

SIR,—I send Knevelt to accompany a gentleman of the Ambassador's of Venice to Greenwich, where his business is to find out some private house to give the said Ambassador<sup>a</sup> shelter till the Earl of Anglesea come with his Majesty's barges, and the Master of Ceremonies, to make his entry on Thursday next. 'Tis not unknown to you how great the obligations of myself and family are to that republic, wherefore I do not only write as concerned for their satisfaction, but will even own as a most particular obligation to me whatever favour or civility is bestowed upon them by any of my friends or acquaintance: and therefore, sir, apply myself to the favour herein to assist us, leaving the rest to Knevelt to discourse more particularly with you, from your most affectionate and humble servant,

H. HOWARD, of Norfolk

*From the same to John Evelyn*

*Arlington House, 22nd September, 1668*

I herewith enclosed send you the relation of Signor Pietro, as unpolished as the usual styles of the Levanters are, and he has, as you will see, put together the story of both the impostures, not only of the Padre, but this new vagabond who I discovered lately at court. You may please to compose two distinct narratives, or all in one, as you please, for I see the trouble is not to be a translator but a composer; for these are but heads and hints, and I desire you will compile a story out of them. So as I do not now expect that under many weeks, I yesterday had proposed to myself to acquaint the King within a few days of; but if his Majesty call upon me before his progress for it, I will tell him where it is lodged; else I desire yourself will please to present it him after his return. I have made, as you will see, some marginal notes on Signor Pietro's memoirs, of which when you appoint me to bring him to your house to discourse farther, I obey; for I desire it should now be a little more accurate than first proposed, because I am resolved as soon as 'tis composed and finished by you, to have it translated and sent to divers places beyond sea. Signor Pietro desires after you have done with this paper book of his, that you will please to return it, and he will by that have more notes ready for your perusal, which shall be animadversions upon this counterfeit book, and may possibly (if but short) not be improper or unworthy to insert in his said story. I am now in some haste, so as I have only read the first story of the Padre, I send you the rest as it is, for I see you will have several discourses and queries to make ere you end the story; to which my two memoran-

<sup>a</sup> Signor Muccinigo, who was lodged at Evelyn's house. See *Diary*, p. 303.



dums are not amiss, first, that all the Turkish stories and people in those parts now that the last Grand Signor (father to this) never had but three sons born ; and that this Grand Signor was ever the eldest, and the two others still alive in the seraglio, and never stir but with him ; next, that no prince of the Ottoman blood, more especially not the Grand Sultana, ever travel but when the Grand Signor also journeys<sup>a</sup>. But I can detain you no longer. I am your affectionate servant,

H. HOWARD, of Norfolk

*John Evelyn to Sir Thomas Clifford<sup>b</sup>*

*Sayes-Court, 1st February, 1668-9*

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—In my conversations sometimes amongst books to redeem my time from other impertinencies, I think it my duty to give your Honour notice of some pieces which have come to my hands, the subjects wheron I cannot but esteem highly prejudicial to the honour of his Majesty and the whole nation, especially two books, the one written in French, the other in Latin (not inelegantly), both with the approbation of their superiors, the States of Holland licensing their publication. The argument of them is a remonstrance to all the world of the occasion, action, and success of the late war between the English and the Dutch ; but with all the topics of reproach and dishonour as to matter of fact ; every period being filled with the dissembled instances of our injustice, ingratitude, cruelty, and imprudence ; and the persons of divers particular gallant men, engaged in that action, injuriously treated and accused ; and, in sum, whatever they can else suggest to render his Majesty and people cheap, vile, the subjects of derision and contempt. I should think in my poor judgment (under submission to a better) that there is nothing which ought to be more precious to a prince, or his people, than their reputation ; sure I am, it is of more value with a man of honour than his life ; and certainly a great kingdom, which comprehends so many individuals as have been one way or other concerned in the public interest, ought to be tender of their fame, and consequently obliged to vindicate it, and cannot without a crime do less, without being wanting to themselves in a most necessary defence.

I know it may be said, that this is but a paper quarrel ; but your Honour does consider what effects such malevolent suggestions do produce, and with what a black and deep malice contrived, how far they fly, and how universally understood the Latin and French tongues are, the one amongst the grave and more intelligent sort (not by way of pamphlet, but of a formal and close treatise), and the other amongst the vulgar ; to which is also joined, for the better fixing their injurious ideas, the several types and figures cut in brass, to represent our misfortunes ; as in particular our want of conduct (as they term it) in the first encounter, our baseness in surprising a few poor fishermen, and the firing of Schelling, revenged in the dire conflagration of London, the metropolis of our nation ; the descent they made on Sheerness, and their glorious exploit at Chatham, where they give out we so ridiculously lost or betrayed the cream of our fleet, and bulwarks of our kingdom, by an unparalleled supineness : nor this crudely, nor in a trifling way of writing ; but so as may best affect the passions and prepossess the judgment and belief of the reader. I say nothing of some personal reflections on my Lord Arlington, Sir Robert Holmes, and even the King himself, whom they represent deliberating in a panic consternation of a flight to Windsor, &c., nor many other particulars pointed at ; nor of a thousand other notorious indignities plainly insupportable : but I have said enough to inflame a breast sensible of honour, and generous as I know yours to be, to approve, or at least to pardon, the proposal which I shall humbly submit to your consideration and encouragement, for the vindication of his Majesty's and the nation's honour, and especially of an action in which your honour bore so great and so signal a part. And that were doubtless by employing an able pen, not to a formal, or studied reply to any particular of this egregious libel (which might now haply be thought unseasonable), but to compose a solid and useful History of the late War, according to the truth of circumstances, and for the honour of

<sup>a</sup> There are two or three illegible lines in this letter.

<sup>b</sup> At this time Treasurer of the Household ; afterwards Lord High Treasurer.



those very many brave men who were actors in it, whose names deserve as well to be transmitted to posterity as our meaner antagonists ; but which must else die in obscurity, and what is worse, with obloquy and scorn, not of enemies alone, but of all that shall read what these men are permitted to scatter abroad in the world, whilst there is no care taken amongst us at home to vindicate them from it.

When I have mentioned to your Honour the employment of an able pen upon this occasion, I prevented all pretences to it as relating to myself ; who have neither the requisite talents, nor the least presumption for it<sup>a</sup>. But I would humbly suggest how worthy and glorious in your Honour it would be, to move my Lord Arlington, and with him, to provoke his Majesty to impose this province upon some sober and well-instructed person, who, dignified with the character of his Royal Historiographer, might be obliged to serve and defend his Majesty's honour, and that of the public, with his pen ; a thing so carefully and so industriously observed by the French king and other great potentates, who have any regards or tenderness to their own or their people's glory, the encouragement of gallant men, and prospect of their future stories, as there is nothing more notorious. It is history alone (however the writers of them may be esteemed) which renders the greatest princes, and the most deserving persons, what they are to the present age ; which perfumes their names to posterity, inspires them to an emulation of their virtues, and preserves them from being as much forgotten as the common dust in which they lie mingled. If your Honour think this worthy your thoughts (and worthy of them I pronounce it to be), all that I shall humbly supplicate to you is, that through your favour I may present his Majesty with a person highly deserving it ; as being one, who has not only been a sufferer in his capacity, but one who is perfectly able and accomplished to serve his Majesty : a learned, industrious person, and who will esteem himself gratified with a very modest subsistence, to be always at hand, and always laborious ; and not to wear a title (as some triflers have lately done to the reproach of it). If there be already a tolerable honorary appendant to the place of historiographer, we have no more to beg, but the grant of it ; if not, that through your mediation, some encouragement may be procured. It will be one of your least noble things, for which you will merit a just veneration of your memory. But I shall add no more at present, because I will beg the grace of a particular permission to discourse this affair to you, and with the joint request of my worthy friend Mr. Williamson<sup>b</sup> (who will likewise present your Honour with a specimen of the person's abilities) bespeak your Honour's favourable encouragement, who remain, your Honour's, &c.

*Dr. John Fell<sup>c</sup> to Dr. Bathurst*

7 March, 1668-9

GOOD SIR,—I presume you are not a stranger to our late transactions with the Royal Society concerning the MSS. of the Arundel Library, that they might be transferred hither, where they would remain more advantageously to all the interests of learning, and more conspicuously in reference to the name of my Lord and his family : we making a compensation to the Society by furnishing their library with such books as would be useful for the studies which they happily advance. The last night, Mr. Walker informs me, that the Royal Society are come to a resolution of referring the affair entirely to my Lord, and to that end to give up all the interest they have in the MSS. by his gift, that if he thinks fit he may bestow them here ; on the other side, if he would have them retained, they may remain as they are. He tells me farther, that this will speedily be put into execution, and therefore it will be advisable that my Lord may be possessed

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Evelyn was however himself appointed to write this History, and had made considerable progress (see *post*, p. 642), when upon the conclusion of the war he was ordered to lay it aside. What he had written is unfortunately lost, except the Preface, which he published in 1674 as a distinct treatise, under the title of *Navigation and Commerce, their Original and Progress* : (reprinted in Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings*, 1825, 4to, pp. 625, 687). This highly pleased the King ; but, because it gave great offence to the Dutch, it was for a time suppressed. See *Diary*, p. 295, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Afterwards Sir Joseph Williamson, and Principal Secretary of State.

<sup>c</sup> Subsequently Bishop of Oxford.



by some friend of the University's, of the convenience of placing them here and adding to his former donation. I cannot think of any person whom we should rather address so in this behalf, than to him whose favour we have already found so much benefit by : I mean Mr. Evelyn. I pray undertake this agency with him as speedily and effectually as you can, and when you do so be pleased to present him with my humble and faithful service. The present straightness of time allows me not a possibility of addressing him. My wishes for your safe return to your affectionate friend,

JOHN FELL

*John Evelyn to Henry Lord Howard*

*Sayes-Court, March 14, 1668-9*

MY LORD,—I am not prompted by the success of my first address to your Honour, when, as much for your own glory as that of the University, I prevailed with you for the marbles, which were inscriptions in stone : to solicit you now, on the same account, for the books, which are inscriptions but in parchment : but because I am very confident your Honour cannot consult a nobler expedient to preserve them, and the memory of your name and illustrious family, than by wishing that the Society (on whom you have so generously bestowed your library) might exchange the MSS. (such only, I mean, as concern the civil law, theology and other scholastic learning) for mathematical, philosophical, and such other books, as may prove most useful to the design and institution of it ; especially since the University do not only humbly desire it (as I can testify by divers letters which I have seen from the Vice-Chancellor, and other eminent persons there), but desire it with a design of owning it yours, and of perpetuating your munificence, by dignifying that apartment where they would place them with the title of Bibliotheca Arundeliana ; than which, what can be more glorious and conspicuous ? The learned Selden, Sir Kenelm Digby, Archbishop Laud (not to mention Sir Thomas Bodley, their founder, and several others who are out of all exception), esteemed this a safer repository than to have consigned them to their mansions and posterity ; and we have seen that when their persons, families, and most precious moveables have suffered (some of them the uttermost violences and dispersion), their books alone have escaped untouched in this sacred asylum, and preserved the names of the donors through all vicissitudes. Nor, in saying this, do I augur less of the Royal Society, should they think fit to keep them in their own library ; but because, by thus parting with such as are foreign to their studies to the University, your illustrious name and library will be reserved in both places at once with equal zeal and no less obligation ; when as many as shall have recourse to such books at Oxon as are under the Arundelian title, will have occasion to mention it in their works and labours to your eternal honour. For my part, I speak it with great sincerity and due veneration of your Lordship's bounty, that if I would to the utmost of my power consult the advancement of your Lordship's glory in this gift, it should be by declaring my suffrage in behalf of the University's request. I said as much in the late council ; where I must testify that even those who were of a contrary sense to some others of us, were yet all of them equally emulous of your Lordship's honour. But, since it was the unanimous result to submit this particular to your Lordship's decision, I cannot, upon most serious reflection on the reasons which I have alleged, and especially that of preserving your name and library by a double consignment, but implore your Lordship's favour and indulgence for the University, where your munificence is already deeply engraven in their hearts, as well as in their marbles ; and will then shine in letters of a more refulgent lustre ; for, methinks I hear their public orator, after he has celebrated your name amongst the rest of their glorious benefactors and heroes, end his panegyric in the resounding theatre, as once the noble poet, in the person of the young Arcadian,

*Nunc te Marmoreum pro tempore fecimus—Ecl. vii. :*

We yet, great Howard, thee but in marble mould,  
But if our books increase, thou shalt be gold.

I am your Lordship's, &c.



*From Dr. Isaac Basire to John Evelyn*

*York, May 22, 1669*

HONOURED SIR,—I wish all that are able were of your good temper, and public spirit, the want whereof generally is the bane of all good societies ; I was always a pretender to it, which made it therefore my design and study in fifteen years painful pilgrimage (only for my religion and allegiance) to purchase from both the eastern and western Churches their confessions and other public instruments, with no small care and cost, which, I thank God, I brought home with me, *per varios casus*. At my postliminium, all my hope and ambition was to exchange a shilling for three groats, that so my studies and thoughts, dispersed in the circumference of my scattered functions, being united in one centre, I might publish to the world my dear-bought collections ; but, being disappointed thereof, *non sum tam felix otii*, so that I fear they must die (abortives) with me : yet I have not been wanting, *pro virili*, to satisfy the honest demands of several in this kind ; witness the very question you proposed to me in yours of the 6th instant, received when I was in the heat of my late visitation in Northumberland, from whence no sooner returned, but I am, thus far in my way, hastening to my attendance in June ; till that be over I can hardly hope to do more than I have done already upon that very question, which, by a kind of providence, being propounded to me from France, Scotland, and Oxford, almost all at once. I did awhile ago return unto Monsieur Arnauld, a competent answer to his most material questions, but whereas he further desiring copies of those confessions which I did not allege in mine, it requires more time than this present juncture can afford ; of this you may be assured, that I shall never be wanting to serve the Catholic, especially at the request of such as you, for I am, Sir, your very faithful friend, and most humble Servant,

ISAAC BASIRE<sup>a</sup>

*Dr. Bathurst to John Evelyn*

*Oxford, August 12, 1669*

SIR,—The University having a design to set up my Lord Howard's arms, with an inscription of his titles, in acknowledgment of the noble donation of his marbles, it is Mr. Vice-Chancellor's desire that, as you have been eminently instrumental for procuring the gift, so you would be pleased to help us in the due commemoration of it, by directing us in these particulars :

1. What are his titles according to the patent lately given him by the King ?
2. Whether any distinction be added to his paternal coat upon the late creation, and what it is ?

3. Whether the difference of a second brother be necessary or no ?

If you will do us the favour to send your resolution of these in a few lines to Mr. Vice-Chancellor, who presents you with his most humble service. I have no more to add at present, but my thanks for your kind visit at Oxford, and my best service to all with you, and rest, Sir, your faithful, and very humble servant,

R. BATHURST

*John Evelyn to Dr. Meric Casaubon<sup>b</sup>, 'Is. Fil. Prebend of Canterbury, &c'*

*Sayes-Court, 17th January, 1669-70*

REVEREND SIR,—Though I am a stranger to your person, yet the name and the learning which you derive both from inheritance, as well as acquisition, draw a just veneration to them. Sir, whilst it has been lately my hap to write some-

<sup>a</sup> Endorsed by Evelyn, 'Concerning the Greek Church ; and the testimonials Dr. Basire received under the head and seal of all the oriental Patriarchs in his travels'. See *Diary*, p. 248.

<sup>b</sup> Meric Casaubon, the son of the great Genevese critic and controversialist, was educated and became resident in England, where his father's name and his own High Church opinions obtained him not only the notice of James the First, but afterwards the patronage of Laud, to whose memory he continued resolutely faithful through all the subsequent triumph of the Puritans. He obtained his reward at the Restoration. He was an honest man, but not a very wise one. His writings are remarkable only for their oddity. He was a faithful believer in spirits, and expounded the spiritual and supernatural experiences of the famous Dr. Dee.



thing concerning the nature of forest trees, and their mechanical uses, in turning over many books treating of that and other subjects, I met with divers passages concerning staves, which have in a manner obliged me to say something of them in a treatise which I am adorning : but whilst I was intent on this, I began to doubt whether I should not *actum agere* ; remembering this passage of your father (τοῦ μακαριτοῦ), in his *Comment on Theophrastus*, p. 172, edit. 1638 : *Sed hæc hactenus ; nam de Baculis et eorum forma, multiplicique apud veteres usu, plurima quæ observavimus ad lucem multorum Scriptorum veterum alibi, εἰαν ὁ Θεὸς ἐθέλῃ, commodius proferremus*. That which I now would entreat of you, sir, is to know whether your learned father did ever publish any express treatise concerning this subject, and if not, that you will be pleased to afford me some short hints of what you see noted in his *Adversaria* about it : by which means you will infinitely oblige me, who shall not fail to let the world know to whose bounty and assistance I am indebted. Sir, that worthy and communicative nature of yours, breathing in your excellent writings, prompts me to this great confidence ; but, however my request succeed, be pleased to pardon the liberty of, reverend Sir, your most humble, though unknown servant, &c.

*John Evelyn to the Lord High Treasurer (Sir Thomas Clifford)*

*Sayes-Court, 20th January, 1670*

RIGHT HONOURABLE,—I should much sooner have made good my promise of transmitting to your Honour the enclosed synopsis (containing the brief, or heads of the work I am travelling on), if, besides the number of books and papers that I have been condemned (as it were) to read over and diligently peruse, there had not lately been put into my hands a monstrous folio, written in Dutch<sup>a</sup>, which contains no less than 1079 pages, elegantly and carefully printed at the Hague this last year ; and what fills me with indignation, derogating from his Majesty and our nation : the subject of it being principally the war with England, not yet brought to a period, which prompts me to believe there is another volume preparing on the same argument. By the extraordinary industry used in this, and the choice pieces I find they have furnished the author with, his Majesty and your Lordship will see that to write such an history as may not only deliver truth and matter of fact to posterity, but vindicate our prince and his people from the prepossessions and disadvantages they lie under (whilst, remaining thus long silent, we in a manner justify their reproaches), will require more time to finish than at the first setting out could well have been imagined. My Lord, I dare affirm it without much vanity, that had I been ambitious to present his Majesty with a specimen only of my diligence, since first I received his commands, I could long ere this have prevented these gentlemen, who, I am told, are already upon the Dutch war. There had nothing been more easy than after a florid preamble to have published a laudable description and image of the several conflicts, and to have gratified abundance of worthy persons who were actors in them ; but since my Lord Arlington and your Lordship expect from me a solemn deduction and true state of all affairs and particulars, from his Majesty's first entering into treaty with the States at his arrival in England, to the year 1667, nay to this instant period (which will comprehend so great and so signal a part of his glorious reign), I easily believe his Majesty will neither believe the time long nor me altogether indiligent, if he do not receive this history so soon as otherwise he might have expected. All I will add in relation to myself is this ; that as I have not for many months done any thing else (taking leave of all my delightful studies), so by God's help I intend to prosecute what I have begun, with the same fervour and application. Your Lordship will consider how irksome a task it is to read over such multitudes of books, remonstrances, treatises, journals, libels, pamphlets, letters, papers, and transactions of state, as of necessity must be done before any one can set pen to paper. It would affright your Lordship to see heaps that lie here about me, and yet is this the least part of the drudgery and pains ; which consists in the judgment to elect and cull out, and then to dispose and place the materials fitly ; to answer many bitter and malicious objections, and dexterously, and yet candidly, to

<sup>a</sup> *Saken van Stuet en Orlogh door d'Heer Liewwe Van Aitzema, &c.*



award some unlucky points that are not seldom made at us ; and after all this the labour of the pen will not be inconsiderable. I speak not this to enhance of the instrument, but rather that I may obtain pardon for the lapses I may fall into, notwithstanding all this zeal and circumspection : and that his Majesty will graciously accept of my endeavours, and protect me from the unkindness of such as use to decry all things of this nature for a single mistake, or because some less worthy men find not themselves or relations flattered, and be not satisfied that (though they deserve not much) they are no way disobliged. As to the method, I have bethought myself of this (if your Lordship confirm it), namely, to transmit the papers, as fast as I shall bring them to any competent period, to my Lord Arlington and your Lordship ; that so being communicated (through both your favours) to his Majesty before they swell into enormous bulk, he may cast his royal eye over them with less trouble, and animadvert upon them till they are refined and fit for his gracious approbation ; since by this means I shall hope to attain two great things ; the performing of his Majesty's pleasure, and that part of a true historian which is to deliver truth ; and he (I think) who attends to this, *omne tulit punctum*. But, my Lord, there are yet divers considerable papers and pieces which I want ; letters, treaties, articles, and instructions to ambassadors, &c., which I can only receive from Mr. Secretary and from your Lordship, that so I may not be imposed on by such memoirs and transactions of state as I find to my hand (if I durst adventure on the coin) in the books of our antagonists published with a confidence so frontless. But since I may not well hope for these and other personal and living assistances (as I shall also have need of) 'till the more urgent affairs of parliament are over, I do in the mean time employ myself in adorning a preface (of which I here inclose your Lordship a summary), and go on in reading and collection of materials, that when I shall have received those other desiderates, I may proceed to the compiling part, and of knitting together what I have made some progress in. I am, my Lord, your Honour's, &c.

*Doctor Meric Casaubon to John Evelyn*

*January 24, 1669-70*

SIR,—You might have had a more speedy answer to your kind letter, but that soon after the receipt of it, I fell into my ordinary distemper, which is the stone, but with more than ordinary extremities, which hath continued these three or four days already, and what will be the end, God knows ; to whom, for either life or death, I heartily submit.

Presently, after the reading of yours I set myself to search my father's Adversaria and papers, and after a little search I found a proper head, or title *de Baculis*, as an addition to what he had written upon Theophrastus : and under that title, many particular references to all kind of ancient authors, but so confusedly that I think no man but I that have been used to his hand and way, can make anything of it. There are two full sides in quarto. Sir, if God grant me life, or some respite from this present extremity, it shall be one of the first things I shall do to send you what he hath written, copied out in the same order as I found it.

Whilst I was searching my father's papers, I lighted on a note concerning plants and trees, which I thought fit to impart unto you, because you tell me you have written of trees ; you have it here inclosed. Besides this, I remember I have, but know not where to find it at this time, Wormij Literatura Danica, where, if I be not much mistaken, he hath somewhat *de Baculis*, there, or in some other treatise, I am pretty confident. Sir, I desire you to believe that I am very willing to serve any gentleman of your quality in so reasonable a request. But if you be that gentleman, as I suppose, who have set out the first book of Lucretius in English, I must needs confess myself much indebted to you, though I never had the opportunity to profess it, for that honourable mention which you were pleased to make of me in your preface. Whatsoever I should think of your work or translation, yet civility would engage me to say so much. But truly, sir, if you will believe me, who I think was never accounted a flatterer by them that have known me, my judgment is, that you have acquitted yourself of that knotty business much better than I thought could be done by any



man, though I think those excellent parts might deserve a more florid and proper subject : but I submit to your better judgment.

Sir, it hath been some task to me to find so much free time to dictate so much : if there be any thing impertinent I desire you will be pleased to consider my case. So I take my leave, and rest, your very humble servant,

MERIC CASAUBON<sup>a</sup>

*John Evelyn to Dr. Meric Casaubon*

*Sayes-Court, Jan. 20, 1669-70*

REV. SIR,—There was no danger I should forget to return you notice of the favour I yesterday received, where I find my obligations to you so much improved by the treasure they conveyed me ; and that it is to you I am to owe the greatest and best of my subsidiaries. There are many things in your paper which formerly I had noted ; but more which I should never have observed ; and therefore, both for confirming my own, and adding so many more, and so excellent, I think myself sacredly engaged to publish my great acknowledgments, as becomes a beneficiary. As to the crude and hasty putting this trifle of mine abroad into the world, there is no danger<sup>b</sup> ; since I should thereby deprive myself of those other assistances which your generous bounty has in store for me : nor are those materials which lie by me brought into any tolerable order yet, as not intended for any work of labour, but refreshment, when I am tired with other more serious studies. Thus, Sir, you see me doubly obliged to return you my thanks for this great humanity of yours, and to implore the Divine goodness to restore you your health, who am, Rev. Sir, yours, &c.

*Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle<sup>c</sup>, to John Evelyn*

*Welbeck, February, 1670*

HONOURABLE SIR,—I have by your bounty received a book, named a *Discourse of Forest Trees* : you have planted a forest full of delight and profit, and though it is large through number and variety, yet you have enclosed it with elegance and eloquence, all which proves you more proper to be the head than a member of the Royal Society. The truth is, you are a person of singular virtues, for which all ought, as I do, admire you ; and am your humble servant,

MARGARET NEWCASTLE

My humble service, I pray, to your lady.

*The Reverend Nicholas Jameson (of Credwell, Wiltshire) to John Evelyn*

*Credwell, 11th April, 1670*

HONOURED SIR,—The delight I take in planting of trees and flowers hath often prompted unto me some little thoughts and designs concerning the raising of mulberries, which thoughts have been very much heightened and animated by the reading of some part of your most ingenious and excellent *Discourse of Forest Trees* ; but by all the enquiry I could hitherto make by my friends about London for some seed of the whiter kind, which your book treats of, I have not hitherto been so happy as to procure any, nor indeed to meet with those who ever heard of any such mulberry or seed. Now, loth as I was to give over my design, and as loth to be presumptuous, yet at length those thoughts, to which you gave

<sup>a</sup> This letter bears Casaubon's autograph signature, but the body of it is in another hand.

<sup>b</sup> Among Evelyn's papers there exists a small fragment of this treatise in Latin, consisting only of two or three pages ; it was evidently never finished. From an introductory paragraph, it would seem to have been intended as a jocular piece ; but the small part which is written is grave and solemn enough. It begins at the beginning of the subject ; the first staff mentioned being that which Jacob used when he met his brother Esau.

<sup>c</sup> See *Diary*, pp. 293, 294. The reader need not be reminded that this high, fantastical Duchess was a great favourite with Charles Lamb, who has frequently commended her life of her husband as a perfect ' jewel of a book '. And see *post*, p. 653.

life, urged me to apply unto yourself, as their most proper patron and nourisher ; and in their behalf I humbly beg that you would be pleased to give me some directions how, or by whom, such seed as I desire may be attained. Worthy Sir, I hope you will excuse my boldness ; it ought to be considered that it is not likely that such persons as yourself should come so publicly abroad without getting much bold acquaintance ; but not to add a second trespass by my tediousness, if this my confidence be thought worthy of a line or two in answer, be pleased to direct it to be left with Mr. Alestry, bookseller, at the Rose and Crown, in St. Paul's Churchyard, for Mr. Thomas Jameson, minister of God's word, at Hackney, near London, who will take care to send it to your humble servant and real honourer,

N. JAMESON

*Philip Dumaresque to John Evelyn*

*Jersey, 13th July, 1670*

WORTHY SIR,—I have received yours by Mr. Sealemont, together with your excellent present, than which nothing could be more acceptable to me ; who though naturally inclined to the things that make the subject of it, am much more moved by the manner of your handling of it ; for certainly Sir, the want either of sincerity or true knowledge had hitherto much discouraged the trusting of books in the like nature, and the practice and experience of any single man being hardly able to attain so universal a knowledge, it was no wonder if planting was not so much in fashion before you were pleased to recollect that art in a body, and give it to the public, the like of which, I believe was never so sincerely and exactly performed, as far as my weak capacity will permit me to judge. I wonder, Sir, to understand of the great disorder your noble plantation hath received by the rigour of the winter ; and it will encourage me somewhat here ; having planted about a score of cypress trees I had from France and some borders of phylyrea Mr. Messeray gave me, whereof most parts were of slips, which thrive indifferently well, although planted between two very hard frosts, and the extreme dry season, the like of which was never seen here ; for at Christmas last we could hardly find humour enough in the ground to plant, and springs which the memory of man had never known to fail have left their course ; which hath confirmed me in the opinion they are generally produced from the winter rains, percolated through the hills and produced by the opposition either of clay or rocks, which are at the basis of all the earth I have yet seen in our country here, having been obliged, by my little experience to dig deeper in respect of the sea than ever it was known here, having never observed any upon the plains, unless it came from the neighbour hills. Pardon me, Sir, if the season hath occasioned me to trouble you with our want of water in the most watered country of the world for the bigness. I have this year began a little plantation of vineyard, encouraged by the translation of the French Gardener ; but, as I understand, I am likely to be more troublesome to my friends, and, that which vexes me the more, about a thing doth not deserve it. I am obliged to sacrifice my rustic employment to the ambition of others ; but one thing shall allay the inconvenience of the troublesome journey, that I shall have the honour to acknowledge in person the favours I have received during my last abode, and particularly from Sir Richard Browne and yourself and worthy lady ; to whom I desire you to permit me to subscribe myself, your most humble and obliged servant,

PHILIP DUMARESQUE

*John Evelyn to the Lord Treasurer (Sir Thomas Clifford)*

*Sayes-Court, 31st August, 1671*

MY LORD,—It is not my fault, but misfortune, that you have not ere this received a full account of the time which (by your particular favour to me) I acknowledge to be wholly yours : your Lordship nas sometime since justified the queries which I first drew up, that they were material, and promised I should not want your assistance in the solution of them ; but the recess of the Court, and consequently your Lordship's absence, and otherways want of opportunity, and pressure of affairs, has deprived me of receiving those necessary directions which so important a subject as that under my hand does require. But though this



might serve somewhat to extenuate what may be thought wanting to my industry, yet I hope I shall not be found to have trifled in that which I am preparing to put shortly into your hands ; namely, the two former parts of the History, which (if your Lordship likewise approve) I think of disposing into the following periods. The first (giving a succinct account of their original, for method's sake) comprehends the state of the Hollanders in relation to England, especially their defection from the Crown of Spain, anno 1586, till his present Majesty's happy Restoration, 1660 ; and herein, a deduction of all the notorious injuries and affronts which the English have suffered from the Dutch, and what rebukes they have received for them from the powers who first made war against them, and from his Majesty whom they compelled to make another. The second sets forth at large the course and progress of the late differences, from his Majesty's return, anno 1660, to the year 1666 inclusively, by which time (his Majesty's ambassadors being recalled from their respective ministries abroad) the war was fully indicted. This period more especially relates his Majesty's endeavour to have composed matters in dispute between his subjects and the Dutch : answers all their cavils, vindicates his honour ; states the aggression, treaties with Munster ; describes the first battle, the action at Bergen ; transactions with the Dane, with the French, the rupture with both ; together with all the intercurrent exploits at Guinea, the Mediterranean, West Indies, and other signal particulars, in 169 paragraphs or sections ; and thus far it is already advanced. The third and last period includes the *status* or height of the war (against the three great potentates we named) to the conclusion of it in the Treaty at Breda, 1667, in which I shall not omit any of those numerous particulars presented to his Majesty through my Lord Arlington's hands, in my first project of the work, nor anything else which your Lordship shall command me to insert.

The two former parts being already dispatched want nothing save the transcribing, which I therefore have not thought convenient to hasten, till I receive your Lordship's directions in the difficulties which I herewith transmit ; upon return whereof, I shall soon present his Majesty with the better part of this work ; and then, as his Majesty shall approve of my diligence, proceed with the remainder, which I hope will not take up so long a time. If it shall be thought fit hereafter to cast it into other languages, especially Latin or French, it may be considerably contracted, so very many particulars in the English relating only to companies and more domestic concerns, in a legal style, full of tedious memorials and altercations of merchants ; which (though now requisite to deduce somewhat more at large for the justification of his Majesty's satisfaction of his subjects, and as a testimony published from authentic records amongst ourselves) will be of little importance to foreigners, and especially great persons, curious and learned men, who are to be entertained with refined and succinct narratives and so far with the cause of the war, as may best imprint the sense of the wrongs we have sustained, and take off the prejudices our enemies have prepossessed them with, together with the most shining matter of fact becoming the style of history.

I now send your Lordship my Preface. It is in obedience to a particular suggestion of my Lord Arlington's requiring of me a complete deduction of the progress of navigation and commerce, from its first principle to the present age ; and certainly not without great judgment ; since, (as his Lordship well observed) all our contests and differences with the Hollanders at sea derive only from that source : and if the Introduction (for a page or two) seem less severe than becomes the forelorn of so rude a subject as follows it, I have this to say that as no man willingly embarks in a storm, so I am persuaded your Lordship will not condemn me when you have perused it to the end, and considered how immense an ocean I have passed to bring it home to the argument in hand, and yet in how contracted a space I have assembled together that multitude of particulars the most illustrious. I have taken in all that is material, and more (permit me to affirm) than is to be found in many authors of great bulk, much less in any one single treatise ancient or modern ; by which your Lordship may perhaps a little estimate the diligence that has been used, and that I can do nothing which your Lordship thinks fit to command me superficially. I confess it were yet capable of politure, and would show much brighter in another dress among the curious, to whom singly it might haply prove no unacceptable entertainment. I could yet also add considerably to it, but some perhaps may think it already too large



for a *vestibule*, though that will best appear when the superstructure is finished, which, if my calculation abuse me not (from the model already framed, and in good part advanced) will amount to at the least, 800 or 1000 pages in folio, notwithstanding all the care I can apply to avoid impertinencies, as far as consists with integrity, and the numerous particulars which necessarily crowd into so active and extensive a war. Sure I am (whatever may be objected) it is apposite and proper to the subject and the occasion of it, and stands and falls by your Lordship's suffrage. His Majesty has yet two sheets, which I beseech your Lordship to retrieve for me; and after your animadversions on this, I will wait upon your Lordship, and receive your farther directions to My Lord, &c.

*John Evelyn to the Rev. Father Patrick<sup>a</sup>*

*Sayes-Court, 27th Sept., 1671, hoc Sanctum Benedictum*

REVEREND FATHER,—You require me to give you an account in writing, what the doctrine of the Church of England is concerning the Blessed Eucharist? and in particular, whether there be anything in it signifying to adoration? which, I conceive, an expression of mine one day at Mr. Treasurer's might occasion. Though I cannot suppose you to be at all ignorant of what her opinion is in these matters; and that indeed you ought to inquire concerning them of some of our learned Prelates and Doctors, whose province it is to unfold these mysteries; yet since you command it, and that I read in the Apostle<sup>b</sup> how every one is obliged to render an answer to those who demand a reason of the hope which is in them, I do with all alacrity comply with your desires, as far as my talent reaches<sup>c</sup>.

1. The doctrine of the Church of England is, or at least to my best understanding, imports, that after the prayer, or words of consecration, the symbols become changed into the body and blood of Christ, after a sacramental, spiritual, and real manner; and that all initiated, or baptized persons, of competent age and capacity, who by unfeigned repentance, and a faithful consideration of the life, doctrine, and passion of our Blessed Saviour, resolve to undertake His holy religion, and to persist in it, are made really participants of the benefits of His body and blood for the remission of their sins, and the obtaining of all other spiritual graces; inasmuch as it is a revival of the sacrifice of Christ on the cross, *once* offered for sin, and for ever effectual; and a renewing of the covenant of grace to the penitent.

But she who affirms this, holds also, that even after the words of consecration (or, rather, efficacy of the benediction), the bodily substance of the elements remain; yet so as to become the instruments of the Divine Spirit, conveying its influence and operation to the prepared recipient: and therefore she does not behold the elements altogether such as naturally they are to the corporeal refection, but (as Theodoret speaks), upon the change of the names, the change which grace superinduces. Or, if you like it better,—not merely bread and wine, naked figures and representations, but such as exhibit Christ Himself, and put the worthy communicant into sure possession of Him. In a word, they are seals to superior excellencies; give federal title to God's promises; and though they are not changed in natural qualities, yet are applicable of divine benefits, and a solemn profession of our faith, &c. And upon this account, the mysterious presence of Christ she holds to be a great miracle, engaging the infinite power of God, to render the flesh and blood of Christ so present in the elements by effect and benediction, as that the worthy receiver as really communicates in reference to his spirit, as he sacramentally communicates in reference to his body: the mystical presence being present with the material, by a supernatural conjunction really tendered to the faithful.

I could add infinite other forms to express the same thing, but this I take to be the clear sense of the article; and can, when you command me, defend it by

<sup>a</sup> A Roman Catholic priest whom Evelyn had met at the Lord Treasurer's table. Evelyn mentions in his *Diary* (p. 328) the fact of Clifford's 'warping to Rome' at this time. He seems to have had a grateful affection for this unfortunate Statesman, whose unvarying kindness he repeatedly acknowledges, and whose melancholy death he describes in his *Diary*, pp. 337-339.

<sup>b</sup> 1 Peter iii. 15.

<sup>c</sup> See *post*, p. 650.



the best and noblest instances of Scriptures, Fathers, and reason<sup>a</sup>; but you have not required it, and it were too tedious for a letter. Let it suffice, that the difference between us and the Church of Rome consists chiefly in the definition of the manner of the change; the *quomodo* or *modus*; about which (not to recite here what Ockham, Cajetan, Biel, &c., say) when P. Lombard had (as himself professes) collected the opinions and sentences of all the ancients, he ingeniously acknowledges he could no way make out that there was any substantial conversion: for the doctrine was then in the cradle; and when afterwards it grew up, and became an article of faith, Durandus says, plainly, the matter of bread remained, *Modum nescimus, præsentiam credimus*, and so says the Church of England: it was then left free. Why should it not be so still? We both affirm a change and the reality of it; only we retain the ancient and middle belief, and presume not to determine the manner of it, because we find it nowhere revealed; and can produce irrefragable testimonies for 1200 years, to explode the gross and material sense which the later age has forced upon it: when, to assert it, they tell us that a body consisting of all its physical dimensions and parts, occupies neither place nor space, but is reduced to a point invisible; that mere accidents can inhere without subject; that colour, taste, smell, and the tactile qualities can subsist after the destruction of the substance; that bodies are penetrable; that the same individual thing may be at the same time, in different places, visible and invisible at the same period; that the same proposition may be absolutely true and false in the same instance; that contradictions may consist with God's veracity; that Christ devoured Himself, and that His body was broken and torn with teeth when it was yet whole and entire; that Christ's body may be eaten, though only accidents be manducated and chewed; that a sacrifice should be made without the destruction of the oblation, and a thousand other impossibilities, riddles, and illogical deductions extinguishing the eye of reason, and making an error necessary to salvation. In brief, this new-minted transubstantiation, abhorring from the genuine and rational sense of the text, substitutes a device not only incredible, but impossible; so as Christians, who are enjoined to offer up a rational liturgy and service, or reason of the hope which should be in them, must bid defiance to it; for they must not believe their eyes, nor taste, nor touch, nor smell (the criterions by which St. John confirms the Christian doctrine, *quod vidimus oculis nostris, quod perspeximus, et manus nostræ contrectaverunt*, &c.<sup>b</sup>). But they must renounce them all, and not only quit the common principles of sciences, but even common sense. I will say nothing of those who have taken in these strange impressions with their milk; considering the incredible force of education, and that the profoundest learned amongst the heathen were not secured by it from the grossest errors upon this account. One would yet have thought the wise Athenians<sup>c</sup> needed not a lecture from St. Paul upon the topics he preached; but that persons enlightened as the Doctors of the Church of Rome pretend to be, should fall into absurdities so illogical and destructive to the very definition of that which discriminates men from brutes, is plainly stupendous; and seems, methinks, to be pointed at by the great Apostle, where he tells us in the later days, that God shall send some of them strong delusions<sup>d</sup>, and you know what follows. He would be thought a thick-skinned doctor in any of their own, as well as our schools, who skilled not to discern how a thing might be real and yet spiritual, or as if nothing were real, but what were corporeal and natural. These do not consider how God Himself operates on the conscience and souls of men, and that the gifts of His sacred spirit are real graces, and yet not things intelligible and sensible as bodies are. That the Church of England believes a *real presence*, she expresses in the Canon of her Eucharistical office<sup>e</sup>, *verily and indeed*, and than *that*, what can be more *real*?

To object, that the faith in the Holy Trinity obliges us to as great a difficulty as the Pontifical modality, is very trifling, since that is only matter of belief indefinite. We are not required to explain the matter of the mystery; nor have we, or the most metaphysical wit living, faculties and adequate instruments to dissolve that knot: spiritual things belong to spirits; we can have no notices proportionable to them; and yet, though they are unfathomable by our reason, they are not inconsistent with it, nor do they violate our understanding

<sup>a</sup> See *post*, p. 650.

<sup>d</sup> 2 Thess. ii. 11.

<sup>b</sup> 1 Jo. i. 1-3; Acts iv. 20.

<sup>c</sup> Acts vii. 22, &c.

<sup>e</sup> See the Catechism in *Book of Common Prayer*.



by enjoining nonsense. They indeed exceed our explications, but disparage not our religion ; rather they procure it veneration ; since there are in nature and common objects things which we know to be, but know not how they be. But when the dispute (as in this of the Holy Eucharist) is of bodies and material things, we can define, and may pronounce concerning their affections, and possibilities ; they are obnoxious to sense, and fall justly under our cognisance and explication. But your Reverence enjoins me to say what our Church permits her sons to believe concerning Adoration. I will tell you, the very same that St. Augustine, *Nemo digne manducat, nisi prius adoraverit* : she holds, therefore, that the Holy Eucharist is an homage, and an act of adoration, and receives it in that humble gesture ; for Christ being there present in an extraordinary manner, she worships Him at a time when He exhibits Himself to her in so extraordinary and mysterious a manner, and with so great advantages ; but then this act is to her blessed Lord, as God's right hand : or, if it please you better, she adores the flesh and blood of her Saviour in the mystery and venerable usage of the symbols, representing and imparting it to our souls ; but she gives no divine honours to the bare symbols, without that signification : since it is certain, had the primitive Christians done otherwise<sup>a</sup>, their enemies would have said they worshipped the work of their own hands too, and so retorted their reproaches. The Church of England, and we her sons, worship what we know ; you worship what you know not, and whatsoever is not of faith is sin. Species and accidents, representations and mere creatures, though consecrated to holy uses, are not proper objects of adoration : God is a jealous God, and it should be seriously considered how innumerable the contingencies are (though your opinions were tolerable) that render your manner of worshipping the Host extremely obnoxious and full of peril ; since the possible circumstances and defects of the priest's ordination, consecration, recitation of the words, want of intention, impurity of the elements, their disproportion and mixture, if the priest be illegitimate, simoniacal, or irregular, and several other impediments of the like nature, render the adorers gross idolaters by your own tenets and confession.

I have but a word to add, and that is concerning the Oblation, in which the Church of England differs from that of Rome. She affirms, that the notion amongst the ancients imported only *Oblatum celebrare, et memoria renovare* ; and that if Christ were really offered (as you pretend) He must every time be put to death again. But St. Paul tells us plainly He was but once<sup>b</sup> offered, as now shortly on Good Friday He is said to be crucified, and at Christmas to be born, &c. But we add, if Christ delivered His holy body, and sacrificed it in a natural sense, when He instituted the Holy Sacrament, before His real passion on the cross (as, according to you, indisputably He did), it could not be propitiatory ; and if it were not propitiatory, what becomes of your mass ? For if it was propitiatory when He instituted it, His blessed Father was reconciled before His suffering, which I think we neither dare to affirm. It was then representative and memorative only of what *was to be*, as now it is to us of what it has already been ; and yet the Church of England does for all this acknowledge it in another sense to be a sacrifice, both propitiatory and impetratory ; because the oblation of it to God with and by the prayers and praises of her members, does render God propitious, by obtaining the benefits which the death of our Lord does represent : and therefore over it we beseech God for the universal peace of the Church ; for the state of the world ; for kings, priests, and magistrates ; for the sick ; for a glorious resurrection of the saints<sup>c</sup>. In sum, with St. Cyril, we implore that it may move God to grant all that is desired by the regular and assiduous offices of the Catholic Church, especially of those who at that time offer and communicate.

This, Reverend Father, is the best account I am able for the present, and in so short limits, to give you : it is what our Church will own, what I believe, and what I endeavour to practise, who in great charity and humility, subscribe myself, your most faithful servant,

J. EVELYN

Sir, you must pardon my frequent blots, &c.

<sup>a</sup> See Minutius Felix Octav.

<sup>b</sup> Compare Romans vi., and Hebrews ix.

<sup>c</sup> See the prayer in our Communion Office, for the whole state of Christ's Church militant, &c.



*Note to page 647.*

If it be transubstantiated, it is a miracle : now our blessed Saviour never did miracles (that we read of), but the visible change was apparent to all the world, as from blindness to sight, from sickness to health, from death to life ; so the loaves were augmented, the water converted to wine, &c. : but here is a miracle wrought without any visible change, which we never read He did, and is indeed a contradiction, and destroys the effect of our common sense and reason, by which alone we have assurance of all that Christ did and suffered ; and if we may not credit these, we may justly doubt of the whole Christian religion itself ; which God would never tempt His rational creatures to do.

*Note to page 648.*

And now we mentioned Fathers, there occurs to me one passage in that excellent treatise of St. Augustine, *De Doctrina Christi* : Book iii., Chap. vi., upon that famous period in St. John on which our antagonists put so much stress, that as it instructs us how to interpret the literal sense of divers the like places in Scripture, so has it perfectly convinced me as to the meaning of that pretended difficulty : I say so fully, as I dare oppose it to whatsoever can be produced out of all the Fathers of the Church (as they call them) put all together. The words are these, *Si preceptiva*, &c. If a preceptive speech or expression seems to enjoin a thing that is flagitious or wicked, or to prohibit a beneficial or profitable thing, it is figuratively to be taken ; *e.g.* ; ‘ Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink His blood (says our Saviour), ye shall have no life in you ’. This seems to command a flagitious and unlawful thing ; it is therefore figurative, enjoining us to communicate in the passion of our Lord, and sweetly and profitably to keep in mind that His flesh was crucified and wounded for us : and this is so plainly the sense and the voice of the Church of England, that I think men must be out of their wits to contend against it. I could yet augment the number of as plain testimonies and suffrages from more of those good men ; but it is unnecessary.

*John Evelyn to the Lord Treasurer*

*Sayes-Court, November 14th, 1671*

MY LORD,—I was yesterday at Whitehall to wait on your Lordship, and a little to expostulate with you upon the work enjoined me, for want of that assistance which Mr. Secretary promised me from time to time ; so as unless your Lordship interpose and procure those papers, I must desist and go no further. It is, my Lord, a grave and weighty undertaking in this nice and captious age, to deliver to posterity a three-years war, of three of the greatest powers and potentates of Europe against one nation newly restored, and even at that period conflicting with so many calamities besides. If this deserve no application extraordinary, I have taken but ill measures when I entered on it ; but I rely on your Lordship, whose commands first animated, and by whose influence only I care to proceed. If the materials I have amassed lie still in heaps, blame not me, who write not for glory, unless you approve of what I write, and assist the deferrent, for I am no more. It is matters of fact his Majesty would have me deliver to the world ; let me have them authentic, then ; and now especially in this crisis of exinanition (with grief and indignation I speak it), and that the whole nation is sinking. As to the action at Bergen, I am ready to transmit what I have drawn up ; but it shall go no further till you have cast your eye upon it, since without your Lordship’s approbation (after the measures I have taken of your comprehensive and consummate judgment, *quorumq; pars ipse fuisti*) I neither can nor ought to like any thing I do ; but this, either your modesty or business denies me ; and unless I overcome it, let all I have done wither and rise no more. Augustus Cæsar had weighty affairs on his hand, but he suffered nothing to pine of lesser concern, when he sometimes heard poems recited ; and Scipio would converse with Lælius, and often with Lucullus too ; and will you let your country suffer, and that, which you with so much earnestness and vigour pressed might be published with the greatest expedition, languish now for want of your assistance ? My Lord, what you were wont to say was prediction, and we are already blown upon and profaned without recovery.



The inscription<sup>a</sup> I here enclose will more than a little discover that it were high time to think of all imaginable ways to recover the dignity of the nation ; and I yet assure myself your Lordship has been inflamed with a disdain becoming you at the sound of this disgrace ; I do protest solemnly, I have not in my life received a more sensible mortification. O that ever his Majesty and this glorious country should in our time (and when your Lordship sits at the helm) succumb under the reproach ; see ourselves buried alive, and our honour (which is ten thousand times more precious than life) borne thus away by a perfidious and ungrateful people ! To see our glory dragged in triumph, and a pillar to our infamy set up on that foul turf which had not been a name but for our indulgence. I dare say, my Lord, your heart is as big as your breast can contain, and that you would be one of the first should even devote themselves to tear down that impudent trophy, and take away our reproach ; and if God Almighty do not shortly stir up amongst us some such generous indignation, I do not for my part desire to live, and see the ruins that are coming on us : but this is reserved for men of great hearts, and for such as your Lordship. My part will be to represent it so, when I come to that cutting period. If it incite not all that call themselves English to rise as one man in rescue of our honour, the whole world will blush at our stupid *lâcheté*, and the ingratitude of our foes be styled a virtue. Let me, therefore, my Lord, receive your further directions seasonably. Whilst you still incite me to dispatch, your Lordship's not furnishing me those pieces renders it impossible to advance I am, my Lord, &c.

*Desiderata* : The particulars of the Treaty with the Dutch after the first war with the Parliament, to be found (I suppose) in the Paper Office.

2. What commission was given De Ruyter when he went to Guinea, of which we charge the States ?

3. Mr. Henry Coventry's instructions for Sweden, so far as concerns the action at Bergen.

4. Colonel Nichol's instructions, &c., with the articles of the redition of New Amsterdam.

5. Lord Fitz Harding's instructions, which I suspect are corrupted in the Dutch relations.

6. The instructions of Sir Walter Vane sent to the Duke of Brandenburg.

7. His Majesty's treaty with the Bishop of Munster.

8. By whose importunity was the sail slackened in the first encounter with the Dutch, or whether I am to blanch this particular ?

9. What particular gentleman volunteers, &c., am I more especially to mention for their behaviour in the first engagement ?

10. Was Mr. Boyle's head carried into the sea from the trunk ?

11. Did there no wound or bruise appear upon my Lord Falmouth's body ?

12. On whom is the breaking bulk of the East India prizes to be really charged ?

13. Did Bastian Senten board the Earl of Sandwich, take down the blue flag, set up the orange, and possess him three hours, as the Dutch relations pretend ?

14. Sir Gilbert Talbot's letter to the Commander in Chief at Bergen, which I find not in your Lordship's papers.

15. I desire the order your Lordship promised me to the Clerk of the Parliament, that I may search the Journals for those important particulars your Lordship mentioned, &c.

*Theodore Haak ('the learned German') to John Evelyn*

*London, 27th November, 1671*

SIR,—The original and author of the *History of the Smyrna Imposter*, being arrived here from thence, I believed you might be desirous to be acquainted with him. He hastens home, and may stay but a few days more with us ; if I knew whether you would be in town on Wednesday or Thursday, and where to meet you, I would endeavour to bring him to you, for to have some conference with him, and further satisfaction about that matter. It is but sending me the least notice to my lodging at Mr. Martin's, in Cushion Yard, Broad Street, and I shall attend your pleasure, as ever ready and obliged to approve myself, noble Sir, your very humble servant,

THEODORE HAAK

<sup>a</sup> Set up for De Witt on his exploit at Chatham.



*John Evelyn to the Lord Treasurer<sup>a</sup>**Sayes-Court, 21 Aug. 1672*

MY LORD,—According to my duty, I send your Lordship the letters and papers which your Lordship has been pleased to trust me withal, for the compiling of that part of the History of the late War, which (having received both his Majesty's and your Lordship's approbation) I design to publish, and the rather because I have no other means to express my great obligations to your Lordship than to set that forth in which your Lordship's courage and virtue has been so conspicuous. And now, my Lord, the great ability, uprightness, and integrity, which your Lordship has made to give lustre through the rest of those high offices and charges which you have rather dignified, than they your Lordship, makes me perfectly deplore your Lordship's so solemn, so extraordinary, and so voluntary a recess. I am deeply sensible of my own great loss by it, because I have found your Lordship has ever been the most obliging to me; but much more of the public. I pray God to bless your Lordship, and humbly beg this favour, that you will still regard me as your most grateful beneficiary, and reckon me amongst the number of those who not only make the sincerest professions, but who really are what they profess, which is to be, my Lord, &c.

*John Evelyn to Lord Viscount Cornbury**Whitehall, 17 Sept. 1672*

MY LORD,—I think it is not unknown to your Lordship that I have sometime since been commanded by his Majesty to draw up a narrative of the occasions of the first Dutch war; in order to which my Lord Clifford acquaints me he did formerly and does still continue to desire of you, that you would be pleased to give me the perusal of Sir George Downing's dispatches to my Lord Chancellor your father, which (as I remember) you told me were at Cornbury, where now you are. My Lord, 'tis an extraordinary mortification to me, that my untoward employments here have not suffered me to wait upon you all this time of your sweet recess; that I might also have seen how that place is adorned and improved since I was there, and where I might likewise have seen those papers without giving your Lordship this trouble; but your Lordship will consider my present condition, and may be assured that I shall make use only of such particulars as conduce to the province imposed on me by his Majesty. I would likewise be glad to know, what light your Lordship can give me out of the letters and dispatches of my Lord Holles, Mr. Coventry, and Sir Gilbert Talbot, which have all of them an influence into that affair, as it concerned France, Denmark, and Sweden; upon which I am also directed to touch, but shall not be able to do it with any satisfaction, unless your Lordship favour me with the communication of the subsidiaries in your Cabinet, who am, my Lord, &c.

*From Lord Mordaunt to John Evelyn**Fish-Court, 11 April, 1673*

Whoever can demur in sending Mr. Evelyn what plants soever he desires, deserves not the advantages he may have found by excellent rules and encouragements he has obliged his country with. I am sure I am much better pleased to send him so just a tribute, than I can be to receive any additional accessions to my gardens, howsoever I love them. The tube-roses are now in the hot-bed and begin to appear; if you think it not too early to remove them from so warm a quarter, send your gardener whenever you please and I will send you some, or what other plants you desire, that are worthy to be seen at Sayes-Court. When the season of budding comes, you shall have of what kinds of oranges and

<sup>a</sup> Clifford was now a peer (his creation dates the 22nd April, 1672); and to the margin of Evelyn's congratulatory letter to him on his new dignity, is added this note: 'Who was ever a most obliging friend to me in particular; and after Treasurer (whatever his other failings were), a person of as clean hands and generous a mind, as any who have succeeded in that high trust.'



lemons you please. A friend of yours at Clarendon House has laid his commands upon me, to wait on him to-morrow to Kennington with intent to buy some oranges that are lately come over. If you could spare two hours you would oblige him, for I fear 'twill prove too hard a province for me to make the choice ; the plants are small, and of as small a price, a crown a plant. If you can with your convenience go with us, I will call for you about two of the clock, at Whitehall, or where you shall appoint : pray believe me your most humble servant,

MORDAUNT

*John Evelyn to the Duchess of Newcastle<sup>a</sup>*

*Sayes-Court, 15th June, 1674*

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,—I go not into my study without reproach to my prodigious ingratitude, whilst I behold such a pile of favours and monuments of your incomparable spirit, without having yet had the good fortune, or the good manners indeed, to make my recognitions as becomes a person so immensely obliged. That I presume to make this small present to your Grace (who were pleased to accept my collection of Architects, to whom timber and planting are subsidiaries) is not for the dignity of the subject, though princes have not disdained to cultivate trees and gardens with the same hands they managed sceptres ; but because it is the best expression of my gratitude that I can return. Nor, Madam, is it by this that I intend to pay all my homage for that glorious presence, which merits so many encomiums, or write a panegyric of your virtues, which all the world admires, lest the indignity of my style should profane a thing so sacred ; but to repeat my admiration of your genius, and sublime wit, so comprehensive of the most abstracted appearances, and so admirable in your sex, or rather in your Grace's person alone, which I never call to mind but to rank it amongst the heroines, and constellate with the graces. Such of ancient days were Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, that writ the history of her country, as your Grace has done that of my Lord Duke your husband, worthy to be transmitted to posterity. What should I speak of Hilpylas, the mother-in-law of young Pliny, and of his admirable wife ; of Pulcheria, daughter to the emperor Arcadius ; or of Anna, who called Alexius father, and writ fifteen books of history, &c. ! Your Grace has title to all their perfections. I pass Cornelia, so near the great Scipio, and mother of the Gracchi, to come to the later wits, Isabella, Queen of Castile, wife of Ferdinand, King of Arragon, of which bed came the first Charles, and the mother of four learned daughters, of whom was one Katherine, wife to our Henry the 8th ; Mary of Portugal, wife to John Duke of Braganza (related to her Majesty the Queen Consort), rarely skilled in the mathematical sciences ; so was her sister, espoused to Alexander, Duke of Parma ; Lucretia d'Esté, of the house of Ferrara ; Duchess of Urbin, a profound philosopher ; Vittoria Colonna, wife of Ferdinand d'Avila, Marquis of Pescara, whose poetry equalled that of the renowned Petrarch ; Hippolita Strozzi, daughter to Francis, Duke of Milan ; Mary of Aragon ; Fabiala, Marcella, St. Catherine of Sienna, St. Bridget and Therese (for even the greatest saints have cultivated the sciences), Fulvia Morata, Isabella Andreini ; Marguerite of Valois (sister to Francis the First, and grandmother to the great Henry of France), whose novels are equal to those of the witty Boccaccio ; and the memoirs of another Marguerite, wife of this great prince, that name having been so fertile for ladies of the sublimest genius ; Catharine de Roches, of Poitiers, a celebrated wit, and Claudia de Cleremont, Duchess of Retz, Mary de Gournay, and the famous Anna M. Schurman ; and of our own country, Queen Elizabeth, Queen Jane, the Lady Weston, Mrs. Philips, our late

<sup>a</sup> This letter, says Evelyn, in a marginal note to it, was written to her Grace 'at Bolsover, when she sent me her works'. It might be taken for a banter on the poor duchess, notwithstanding the occasion of it, were it not remembered that the homage paid to high rank in that day was excessive ; and that Evelyn generally was very profuse of compliment in his dedications and letters of acknowledgment. Similar glorifications of the Duke and Duchess are collected in a scarce and curious volume, entitled, *A collection of Letters and Poems, written by several Persons of Honour and Learning, upon divers important subjects to the late Duke and Duchess of Newcastle*, London, 1678, which is quite an astonishing exhibition of the sort of language commonly proffered on such occasions, not simply by learned men, but by bodies of learned men.



Orinda, the daughters of Sir Thomas More ; also the Queen Christina of Sweden, and Elizabeth daughter of a queen, to whom the renowned Des Cartes dedicated his learned work, and the profound researches of his extraordinary talent. But all these, I say, summed together, possess but that divided, which your Grace retains in one ; so as Lucretia Marinella, who writ a book (in 1601), *dell' Eccellenzia delle Donne, con difetti é mancamenti de gli Huomini*, had no need to have assembled so many instances and arguments to adorn the work, had she lived to be witness of Marguerite, Duchess of Newcastle, to have read her writings, and to have heard her discourse of the science she comprehended. I do, Madam, acknowledge my astonishment, and can hardly think too great of those souls, who, resembling your Grace's, seem to be as it were wholly separate from matter, and to revolve nothing in their thoughts but universal ideas. For what of sublime and worthy in the nature of things, does not your Grace comprehend and explain ; what of great and noble, that your illustrious Lord has not adorned ? For I must not forget the munificent present of his very useful book of Horsemanship, together with your Grace's works upon all the profound as well as politer subjects, which I received of Sir Francis Tapps from both your Graces' hands ; but this accumulation ought to be the argument of a fresh and more ample acknowledgment, for which this paper is too narrow. My wife (whom you have been pleased to dignify by the name of your daughter, and to tell her that you look upon her as your own, for a mother's sake of hers who had so great a veneration of your Grace) presents her most humble duty to you, by Madam, your Grace's, &c.

*John Evelyn to Dr. Meric Casaubon<sup>a</sup>*

*Sayes-Court, 15 July, 1674*

REVEREND SIR,—I am infinitely obliged to you for your civil reply to my letter, but am not a little troubled that it should importune you in a time when you were indisposed. The stone is an infirmity which I am daily taught to commiserate in my poor afflicted and dear brother who languishes under that torture, and therefore am much concerned when I hear of any that are exercised under that sad affliction : I will therefore beg of you, that no impertinence of mine (for truly that trifle is no other) may engage you to the least inconvenience, and which may prejudice your health. You have already greatly obliged me by the hints you are pleased to send me, and by the notice you are pleased to take of that poor essay of mine on Lucretius, so long since escaping me. You may be sure I was very young, and therefore very rash, or ambitious, when I adventured upon that knotty piece. 'Tis very true, that when I committed it to a friend of mine (and one whom I am assured you intimately know) to inspect the printing of it, in my total absence from London, I fully resolved never to tamper more with that author ; but when I saw it come forth so miserably deformed, and (I may say) maliciously printed and mistaken, both in the Latin copy (which was a most correct and accurate one of Stephens') and my version so inhumanly depraved, shame and indignation together incited me to resolve upon another edition ; and I knew not how (to charm my anxious thoughts during those sad and calamitous times) to go through the five remaining books : but when I had done, I repented of my folly, and that I had not taken the caution you since have given us in your excellent *Enthusiasm*, and which I might have foreseen. But to commute for this, it still lies in the dust of my study, where 'tis like to be for ever buried.

Sir, I return you a thousand thanks for the favour and honour you have done me, and which I should have sooner acknowledged, had I not been from home when your letter came to my house : I shall now beg of God to restore your health, not for the satisfaction of my impertinent inquiries, but for the universal republic of learning, and the benefit which all good men derive from the fruits of your worthy labour, who am, &c.

<sup>a</sup> See Casaubon's Letter to Evelyn, *ante*, p. 643.

*Dr. Thomas Good to John Evelyn*

*Baliol College, 13th Dec., 1675*

MR. EVELYN,—Many years and troublesome are past and gone since you lived gentleman commoner amongst us, insomuch as you seem to have forgotten your old college; for you were in Oxford last act, and did not vouchsafe us a visit. The last year I wrote a letter to you, showing how unfortunate our college has been by reason of the late wars, and the dreadful fire in London; besides, you have printed several books, and not bestowed one of them upon our college library; these things I thought fit to signify unto you, to make you sensible that we did expect more kindness from a gentleman of your parts and ingenuity; you may resent as you please, they are intended out of a respect to you, as some time a member of our college, from him that is your friend and servant,

THOMAS GOOD

*John Evelyn to Dr. Good*

SIR,—The letter which was left at my house some time since, has been so little out of my thoughts, that I have ever since placed it so in my study as seldom there has passed a day, when I have been at home (which indeed has been very seldom, in regard of much business taking me almost continually from thence for more than these two years past), wherein I have not looked on the inscription as a monitor, obliging me to give you an account of it; and that I have not hitherto done it was not out of any forgetfulness, but because I could not do it so effectually as I desired, by reason of some inconvenient circumstances which I have ever since, and do still lie under; there being due to me little less than 2,000*l.*, most of it for rent, which you may believe is no small disorder to me and my family, who have little other dependence. It is not to every one that I would discover this infirmity, but I assure you it has been the only cause why I answered not your letter, having it still in my resolution to gratify your patience so soon as I was in some handsomer condition. This, as I am a Christian, has been the cause of my remissness; which I cannot yet be so disingenuous as not to acknowledge a fault, and, indeed, want of good manners in me, complicated, as you justly reproach me, with my passing by you lately at Oxford without waiting upon you. I have only to say for that, that unless it were for a gentleman of Magdalen College, who was sick, I was not at liberty to make one visit all the time of my stay, tied as I was to attend to those ladies with whom I came down, not for my pleasure, but business at the assizes at Northampton, which hurried me out of the town when I had resolved to wait upon you and make this apology. As to the books which I have written, I never sent any one that I can tell of, but what were required of me expressly; for though I have had the vanity to publish, and to think some of them might be useful to persons of my little force, I did not think them considerable enough to make any public present of. The honour they have done me in marking them in the Bodleian Catalogue was not only beside my expectation, but beyond my merit or ambition.

Thus, Sir, I have endeavoured to reply to the various periods of your letter with all truth and sincerity; the reproaches you give me are but what indeed I deserve, nor will I farther extenuate the causes of them. I am only sorry that the posture of my affairs does not permit me to make the college a handsome present. I am, dear Sir, your most humble and faithful servant, J. EVELYN<sup>a</sup>

*Dr. Thomas Good to John Evelyn*

*Baliol College, Oxford, 2nd March, 1675-6*

WORTHY SIR,—I do not remember that there was one syllable in my late letter tending to your reproach: it is true I imputed a piece of unkindness to you in passing by your old college and your old friend unsaluted, for which you have

<sup>a</sup> Evelyn has endorsed this letter (which is without date) as follows: 'I now sent him by Dr. Crouch *20*l.**, which was much more than Dr. Good expected, as I since understood from him.'



made ample satisfaction by your apology, and have given a sufficient testimony that you have not forgotten the place or your education by your free and liberal remembrance of us, for which be pleased to accept of this return of our hearty thanks ; and, notwithstanding your modest expressions concerning your ingenious books, if you shall vouchsafe to bestow them upon our library, you will very much oblige our whole society, and especially, your very thankful and humble servant,

THOMAS GOOD

*Dr. John Fell (Bishop of Oxford) to John Evelyn*

April 26, 1676

SIR,—We must never forget the obligation which my Lord Marshal has laid upon the university in the donation of his Marbles<sup>a</sup> ; and, while we remember that, cannot choose to bear in mind your great kindness in that affair. Having at last finished the account of his and our other monuments, they are all dedicated to my Lord, and would be presented to him by the mediation of the same person who was so instrumental in the gift of them. The bearer hereof is the editor, by whose industry and care the work was done ; and he is ordered by Mr. Vice Chancellor, in the name of the university, to present you with a copy, as a testimony of the sense they have of your favour to them. This is all that I have at present to trouble you with, adding my wishes of all health to you, I remain,

JOHN OXON

*Anne, Countess of Sunderland, to John Evelyn*

February 11, 1677-8

I am most confident of your friendly wishes, and value them extremely. For this honour the King has done my Lord<sup>b</sup>, I cannot think it worth the rejoicing much at as times now are ; I have else reason to be glad for what you mention ; I could say much to you of my thoughts of this matter, but it is my waiting day : I pray God to direct my Lord, and prosper him to the good of his country, and to God's glory ; pray for him and me, and I am sincerely your friend,

A. SUNDERLAND

*Anne, Countess of Sunderland, to John Evelyn*

March 6, 1677-8

I believe the news of the Duke and Duchess being gone will surprise you, as it does other people ; the King has declared that he commanded his brother to retire. I beseech God it may produce the effects hoped for from it. I am heartily grieved for poor Lady S., who has gone with them, it is so bad weather. I thought myself obliged, on all accounts, to tell you this by letter, which should be longer, but I am not well. Your very sincere friend,

A. SUNDERLAND

*Anne, Countess of Sunderland, to John Evelyn*

Whitehall, 28th October, 1678

I can never want inclination to give you any satisfaction in my power, but there is yet very little discovery made. On Saturday the Commons made an address to the King to banish all the Catholics to twenty miles from London, which was favourably answered. There were named to go to-night to visit the prisoners in Newgate, Lord Treasurer, Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Essex, Lord Clarendon, and the Bishop of London, in order to examine them, and to report to the House ; but they could not learn any thing of them ; found Coleman very insolent, and not at all inclined to enlighten them. They are to go again to-day, to try for better success. This day the two Houses were much alarmed with

<sup>a</sup> See *ante*, pp. 631, 632. All the circumstances of the gifts are detailed in the *Diary*, vol. ii. pp. 298-360. Mr. Howard was now Lord Howard. He was created baron in 1669, and succeeded as sixth Duke of Norfolk in 1677. For private circumstances connected with his life, which gave great offence to Evelyn, see *Diary*, pp. 321 and 359.

<sup>b</sup> Lord Sunderland was appointed Secretary of State at this time.

Sir Edward Rich, of Lincolnshire, coming when they were sitting, and bidding them begone, or they would all be blown up ; upon which there was search made, but nothing found, and he looked upon as a madman. The Commons sent up to the Lords to join with them in making all papists incapable of sitting in either House, but as yet they have done nothing in it. There is a strange consternation amongst all sorts of people. I beseech God to fit us to bear all the sad things we have in prospect prepared for us. Madam Mazarin was named in the House of Commons to-day for one of the Pope's emissaries : 'twere to be wished that assembly would stick to the weightier concerns of our laws and religion, but God knows what is best for us. When there is any thing new, assure yourself you shall hear from yours very sincerely, A. SUNDERLAND

*Anne, Countess of Sunderland, to John Evelyn*

25th December, 1678

I should think I was mighty happy were it in my power to show you any friendship ; till it is, accept of what I can do, which is very small, but very willingly performed by me. I think, when you left, the business of my Lord Treasurer was afoot, which proceeded to an impeachment, containing six articles : the two first, which they built most upon, was what Mr. Montague's letters furnished, which they divided into two articles, that went under the name of high treason. The treating with the King of France for peace, as they must suppose without the knowledge of the King, because these letters bear date the 25th, and the King's revealed will, declared in Parliament the 20th, was the reason to go on with a thorough war with France ; this they say is treason, and therefore impeached him of traitorously to have assumed the regal power to himself by treaties of peace and war by his own counsel : the other was about the breach of act of Parliament in keeping up the army. These were the two of treason ; the others are misdemeanours, of great kind, too long to write : but it was their intent the putting in treason to have obliged the Lords to have committed him, and then made no question, but to have proved all upon him ; but after a long debate it was not found treason according to the act, and therefore the Lords would not allow of sequestering him of his place, and his Lordship does yet keep the King's ear. Between you and I, I fear he will find he is ill-advised if he thinks to carry it with a high hand ; for I believe he will prove a wounded deer, and be very unserviceable to the King in the place he is in : this is, at least, the opinion of wise persons. To-morrow, they say, will be a hot day, and show as much. I am told they mean to move him an enemy to the country, and that they will never give money while he has the managing of it : if they do that, God knows what will follow, and how far he will be able in such cases to carry things. It is out of my province to speak on these matters, but what ought I not to do to save one to whom I have such great obligations. As to the plot, it looks as if God Almighty would bring it all out, whether we will or not, and show us our wilful blindness. The day you went, Bedloe cast his eye upon a man that followed his coach, and on a sudden cried out that they should lay hold of him, for that was the man that he had described to the two Houses, and that he could never find : upon which the man was seized, loaded with chains, and sent to Newgate. Bedloe says, swearing, he was one that killed Godfrey, and that, if he would confess, he could make great discoveries ; upon which the Lords obtained his pardon of the King, and went on Monday with it to the dungeon, where they were a considerable time, my Lord Winchester, Lord Essex, Lord Shaftesbury, Lord Grey. At their coming away the King went to my Lord Winchester, and asked him what they had discovered ; he answered, not any thing, that the fellow seemed to be an idle fellow, and contradicted himself : this very well satisfied the King : but they had entered into a solemn oath not to discover. On Monday they obtained a summons from Secretary Williamson to search Somerset House, where they found all the people, save one, that he had told them, and seized them. This made a great noise yesterday ; and this fellow, who is a silversmith, and used to clean the plate of the Queen's Chapel, was brought before the King and Council, and upon search they are now satisfied the murder was done at Somerset House. The King



himself begins to believe it ; my Lord Bellasis is still named to be the chief in it by this fellow, too ; several other very weighty circumstances he told, and several other persons he has named in private to a committee of the House of Commons last night, who were writing what he said two hours at the prison. One thing more I must not omit, which is said, that in the search at Somerset House after the men this fellow accused, they found between fifty and sixty Irish and other priests, but not having a warrant to seize them, they could not. I assure you of my sincere friendship, and am your attached servant,

A. SUNDERLAND

*Mr. Henry Green (a Florist) to John Evelyn*

June 24th, 1679

HONOURED SIR,—You may remember, about August last, there was a person with you to desire your opinion about Imbibition of seeds. He adventured to discourse with you about improvements, and entreated your directions about what at that present might tend to best account. You have generously pleased to express yourself on some particulars, and referred him to the Reverend Doctor Beale as one fully acquainted with all the parts of husbandry, and of a most communicative spirit. I addressed that worthy divine, and have found him fully to answer the excellent character you gave of him. I have told him, since, you (for whom he has so high an honour) gave me encouragement to apply to him for advice, which he has nobly obliged me with beyond my expression. I lately hinted, if he had any thing to convey to you, I would be his willing messenger, and put it into your hands, and pay you my humblest duty and acknowledgments for recommending me to so incomparable a master, to whom I owe more than to any man living. I write these few lines to be left with you, together with a letter from the Doctor, in case I should be so unhappy as to miss of you at home, and for your above mentioned signal favour I return you my heartiest thanks. I am, worthiest sir, your most humble servant,

HENRY GREEN

*John Evelyn to the Countess of Ossory*

Whitehall, 5th June, 1680<sup>a</sup>

MADAM,—I cannot account myself to have worthily discharged my duty to the memory of my noble Lord, without deeply condoling the loss your Ladyship has sustained in the death of that illustrious person : never did a great man go off this earthly stage with more regret and universal sorrow ; never had Prince a more loyal subject, never nation a more public loss ; and how great my own were in particular, the uninterrupted obligations of above thirty years (joined with a most condescending and peculiar friendship) may serve to declare, that nothing could have happened to me more calamitous. But all this does but accumulate to your Ladyship's affliction, which were indeed deplorable, had you not, besides the great and heroic actions of his life, the glorious name he has left behind, the hopeful branches that remain to imitate his virtues, the consolation, above all, of his being safe, where he has received a crown brighter than any earthly Prince. It was my duty (as well as honour) to be with him night and day till I closed his eyes, and to join in those holy offices which were so devoutly performed by the Bishop of St. Asaph to the last article, and during all his Lordship's sickness ; which was passed through with such Christian patience and resignation, as that alone ought to give your Ladyship exceeding comfort. I am sure it does to me ; and your Ladyship is to bless Almighty God for it, who after so many honourable hazards in this wicked world, would have him to a better, and that he is departed hence as a great man and a true Christian should do, though for the present to our infinite loss. And now, Madam, I should beg pardon for entertaining you so long on this mournful occasion, did I not assure myself that the testimony I give your Ladyship of the religious and pious circumstances of his sickness, would afford you some consolation, as well as to show how sincerely devoted I was to his Lordship's service, how much obliged for his constant and generous friendship to me, and how much I am, Madam, your, &c.

<sup>a</sup> For two letters of 26th June, 1680, see pp. 747-8.

*John Evelyn to Dr. Morley (Bishop of Winchester)*

1 June, 1681

. . . Father Maimbourg has had the impudence to publish at the end of his late *Histoire du Calvinisme*, a pretended letter of the late Duchess of York<sup>a</sup>, intimating the motives of her deserting the Church of England; amongst other things to attribute it to the indifference, to call it no worse, of those two bishops, upon whose advice she wholly depended as to the direction of her conscience, and points of controversy. 'Tis the universal discourse that your Lordship is one of those bishops she mentions, if at least the letter be not suppositious; knowing you to have been the most domestic in the family, and one whom her Highness resorted to in all her doubts and spiritual concerns, not only during her former circumstances, but all the time of her greatness to the very last. It is therefore humbly and earnestly desired (as well as indeed expected) amongst all that are concerned for our religion, and the great and worthy character which your Lordship bears, that your Lordship would do right it to, and publish to all the world how far you are concerned in this pretended charge, and to vindicate yourself and our Church from what this bold man would make the world believe to the prejudice of both. I know your Lordship will be curious to read the passage yourself, and do what becomes you upon this signal occasion, God having placed you in a station where you have no great one's frowns to fear or flatter, and given you a zeal for the truth and for His glory. With this assurance I humbly beg your Lordship's blessing<sup>b</sup>.

*John Evelyn to Samuel Pepys<sup>c</sup>*

Sayes-Court, 5 June, 1681

SIR,—I have been both very sorry and very much concerned for you since your Northern voyage, as knowing nothing of it 'till you were embarked (though I saw you so few days before), and that the dismal and astonishing accident was over, which gave me apprehensions and a mixture of passions not really to be expressed 'till I was assured of your safety, and I gave God thanks for it with as much sincerity as any friend you have alive. 'Tis sadly true there were a great many poor creatures lost, and some gallant persons with them; but there are others worth hundreds saved, and Mr. Pepys was to me the second of those some; and if I could say more to express my joy for it, you should have it under the hand, and from the heart of, Sir, your, &c.

*John Evelyn to Mr. William London, at Barbados*

Sayes-Court, 27 Sept., 1681

SIR,—I find myself so exceedingly obliged for the great civility of your letter (abating only for the encomiums you are pleased to bestow upon me, and which are in no sort my due), that having nothing to return you but my thanks and acknowledgments, I was not to delay that small retribution, for so many useful and excellent notices, as both your letter and the papers enclosed have communicated me. I have, indeed, been formerly more curious in your culture of trees and plants, and blotted a great deal of paper with my crude observations (and some of them I have had the vanity to publish), but they do in no degree amount to the accurateness of your design, which I cannot but applaud, and wish you all the success so excellent an undertaking deserves. I do not know that ever I saw a more pertinent and exact enumeration of particulars, and if it please God you live to accomplish what you have drawn the scheme of, I shall not doubt to pronounce it the most absolute and perfect history that we

<sup>a</sup> This letter may be found in a small collection of *Letters of Eminent Persons*, 2 vols. 12mo.

<sup>b</sup> On the margin of this letter is the following note by Evelyn: 'This letter was soon followed with the Bishop's full vindication published in print'. The latter was entitled an *Answer to a Letter written by a Romish Priest: together with the Letters themselves*. Dr. Morley also published a *Letter to Ann, Duchess of York, a few months before her death*.

<sup>c</sup> This letter was written after the shipwreck in which the Duke of York escaped so narrowly, as he was returning from Scotland.



have anywhere extant of either our own, or other plantations. So that I cannot but highly encourage, and augur you all the prosperity imaginable ; and I shall not fail, in order to it, to impart your papers to the Royal Society, who I am very confident will be ready to do you any service ; although I do not see that your design is any where defective. And I persuade myself that you will be curious to adorn your work with true and handsome draughts of the animals, plants, and other things that you describe in the natural part. This I am bold to mention, because most of those authors (especially English) who have given us their relations, fill them with such lame and imperfect draughts and pictures, as are rather a disgrace than ornament to their books, they having no talent that way themselves, and taking no course to procure such as can design ; and if now and then you sprinkle here and there a prospect of the countries by the true and natural landscape, it would be of infinite satisfaction, and imprint an idea of those places you pass through, which are so strange to us, and so desirable. Gaspar Barlaeus (in his elegant *History of Brazil*) has given an incomparable instance of this ; in which work the landscapes of divers parts of that country are accurately exhibited and graven in copper, besides the chorographical maps and other illustrations : but, sir, I beg your pardon for mentioning a thing, which I am sure you have well thought of, and will provide for. In your account of plants, trees, fruits, &c., there are abundance to which we are here utter strangers, and therefore cannot but be desirable to the curious. I am told there is newly planted in Barbados an orange of a most prodigious size : and such an improvement of the China as by far exceeds these we have from Portugal, which are of late years much degenerated. As for flowers, I think I have heard that the *narcissus tuberosus* grows wild, and in plenty with you. I have not the impudence to beg for myself any of those rarities you mention, but wish with all my heart I had anything of my own worthy your acceptance. I had at the beginning of last spring some foreign and exotic seeds, which I imparted to my friends, and some I sowed and set, but with very little success ; and, as rightly you complain, there is no trust in our mercenary seedsmen of London for anything. In the meantime concerning nutmegs, cinnamon, cloves, and those other aromatics you so reasonably covet, I fear it will be a very difficult province to obtain such, of them from the East Indies they being mostly in possession of the Hollanders, who are (you know) a jealous people, and as I have been informed, make it capital to transport so much as a single nutmeg (I mean such a one as being set would produce a tree) out of their country. The late Sir John Cox, who had often been at Nova Batavia, told me he could not procure one handful but such as were effete and deprived of their sprouting principle, upon any terms ; much less could he obtain a plant ; and yet I have been told by a confident broker about the Custom-house (whose name occurs not), and who has himself been in the Indies more than once (pretending to curiosities), that he brought away two or three plants of the true nutmeg tree belonging to a certain Dutch merchant ; I suppose for the learned Dr. Munting of that country who has brought up both nutmeg and cinnamon plants in his garden in Holland, but to what improvement I cannot tell. It were not to be despaired but that some subtle and industrious person (who made it his business), might overcome this difficulty among some of their plantations, and why not ? as well as that a countryman of ours, who some years since brought home the first heads of saffron out of Greece (whence it was death to transport it) in the hollow head or top of his pilgrim staff, if what our Hollingshed writes be true. Some such contrivance or accident will doubtless at last enrich our western and propitious climate with those precious deficiencies ; as it has done sugar, ginger, indigo, and other beneficial spices and drugs ; and I know not whether the Jamaica pepper be not already comparable to many of those we have enumerated. I am sure it gratifies the taste and smell with most agreeable qualities, and little inferior to the oriental cinnamon. There is a walnut in Virginia whose nuts prosper very well with us, but we want store of them. It is, in the meantime, deplorable that the Bermudas cedar, of all others the most excellent and odoriferous, is (as I am told) almost worn out for want of propagation : if it will thrive in other countries, 'tis pity but it should be universally cultivated. But, sir, I tire you. The *Hortus Malabaricus*<sup>a</sup> presents us with the most stupendous and unheard-of

<sup>a</sup> Published at Amsterdam in twelve volumes folio.



plants in that elaborate work ; the cuts being in copper, are certainly (of any published) the most accurately done ; nor are their shapes and descriptions less surprising. Sir, the Royal Society have lately put their Repository into an excellent method, and it every day increases through the favour and benevolence of sundry benefactors, whose names are gratefully recorded. If anything incur to you of curious (as certainly there daily do, innumerable), you will greatly oblige that assembly of virtuosi in communicating any productions of the place you travelled through, upon the occasion of the return of vessels from those parts. The particulars they collect are animals and insects of all sorts, their skins and skeletons, fruits, stones, shells, swords, guns, minerals, and whatever nature produces in her vast and comprehensive bosom. Sir, your letter came to me from Mr. Harwell, the 23d of Sept., and by the same hand and favour I return you the hearty thanks, and acknowledgments of, Sir, your, &c.

*John Evelyn to Samuel Pepys<sup>a</sup>*

*Sayes-Court, Dec. 6, 1681*

SIR,—In compliance with your commands, I have already transmitted to you the two large sea-charts, and now I send you the sheets I have long since blotted with the Dutch War, for which I should now make another apology (besides its preface) were it not that you well understand the prejudices I lay under at that time, by the inspection of my Lord Treasurer Clifford, who could not endure I should lenify my style, when a war with Holland was the subject : nor with much patience suffer that France should be suspected, though in justice to truth, as evident as the day, I neither would, nor honestly could, conceal (what all the world might see) how subdulously they dealt and made us their property all along. The interception of De Lyonne's letters to his master, p. 266, is sufficient to make this good : and I am plainly astonished it should not long since have opened our statesmen's eyes : unless it be, that we design to truckle under France, and seek industriously the ruin of our country. You will, sir, pardon this severe reflection, since I cannot think of it without perfect indignation. As to the compiler's part, it is not easy to imagine the infinite fardles of papers, treaties, declarations, relations, journals, original letters, and other volumes of print and writing, &c., which I was obliged to read and peruse (furnished, and indeed imposed on me, from the secretaries of state and others) for this small attempt, and that which was to follow. I am only sorry that I was so hasty to return some pieces to my Lord Treasurer, which I might honestly have kept, and with better conscience than his carrying them away to Devonshire, *unde nulli retrorsum*.

I had drawn a scheme of the entire work down to the Treaty of Breda, and provided the materials ; but the late Lord Treasurer Danby<sup>b</sup> cutting me short as to some just pretensions of another nature I had to his more particular kindness, I cared not to oblige an ungrateful age ; and perhaps the world is delivered by it from a fardle of impertinences.

Clifford (his predecessor) was, with all his other imperfections, a generous man, and, I verily believe, of clean hands : I am sure I was obliged to him : the other had been sometimes so to me and mine, but that is all past. Clifford had great failings, but was grateful and firm to his friend.

As to your other queries, I have not anything relating to the Prize Office ; and for that discourse wherein I did attempt to show how far a gentleman might become learned by the only assistance of the modern languages, (written at the request of Sir Samuel Tuke for the Duke of Norfolk) to my grief, I fear I never shall recover it ; for, sending it to the person I named sometime since, he tells me he cannot find it ; and so, for aught I see, it is lost. There is a list in it of authors, and a method of reading them to advantage, besides something in the

<sup>a</sup> The original of this letter is in the possession of Samuel Pepys Cockerell, Esq., who kindly contributed it, with several other letters by Evelyn.

<sup>b</sup> Thomas Viscount Dumbaine, afterwards Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds. He married the Lady Bridget, second daughter of Montague Bertie, Earl of Lindsey, Lord Great Chamberlain of England, and died at Easton in Northamptonshire, the seat of his grandson, the Lord Lempster, on his journey to his house in Yorkshire, July 26, 1712, in the 81st year of his age.



discourse which would not have displeased you ; nor was it without some purpose of one day publishing it, because it was written with a virtuous design of provoking our court fops, and for encouragement of illustrious persons who have leisure and inclinations to cultivate their minds beyond a farce, a horse, a whore, and a dog, which, with very little more, are the confines of the knowledge and discourse of most of our fine gentlemen and beaux. I will desire Sir James to make another search for it, when next I see.

In the meantime the particulars which here I send you are,

The battle of Lepanto ; a description of the Armada in [15]88, I suppose authentic.

A paper written in French, touching the severity of their Marine Laws.

Trajan's Column, with Alphonso Ciaconius's notes, referring to the bas-relief by the figures. Such as concerns ships and gallies, &c., you will find by the figures 57, 243, 260, 153, 24, 236, 239, 152, 155, and especially 303, 235, where he speaks of copper or brass instead of iron-work ; and the best season for felling of timber ; and there is, as to other notices, subject for a world of erudition beyond what Ciaconius has touched, which would deserve an ampler volume.

A Discourse concerning the Fishery and Duty of the Flag.

A large volume of Sir R. Browne's Dispatches from 1641 to 1644, &c., during his public ministry and character in the French court. Besides which I have two folios more that continue it longer.

I also send you the Journal of Martin Frobisher and Captain Fenton.

That of Drake I cannot find as yet, so many papers and things there are to be removed and turned over in my confused study.

Item, a Map of an Harbour, whose name I find not to it.

Also an old Map of a Sea-fight.

Also a packet of original Letters, belonging to the former of my Lord Leicesters, in number fourteen, which are all I have remaining.

With a Declaration of the old Prince of Orange, William of Nassau, who was assassinated at Delft.

The Earl of Leicester's Will.

Another packet of Letters and other matters, and Transactions of State relating to the late times, in number eighty-eight, and of which I have thousands more that you may command sight of, but these I think are most material.

A particular of wages due to the Deputy, army, and other state officers and affairs relating to Ireland, anno 1587, 1588.

A packet of thirty-eight papers containing Instructions and matters of State to several public ministers abroad, &c.

Item, another packet of thirty-three original letters to and from great persons during the late rebellion here.

A Scheme of the action of the Hollanders at Chatham, 1667, when they burnt our ships, and blocked up the Thames<sup>a</sup>.

Order of Council of State (then so called) for the apprehension of Charles Stewart, his present Majesty, so named by the regicides.

Lastly, a Relation of his Majesty's action and escape at Worcester, when he came out of Scotland with his army, being as far as Sir Richard Browne wrote out of the Queen Mother's letters at Paris ; that which he took from his Majesty's own dictating (when he, after that escape, came into France at Paris) was sent to Mons. Renodaut, and was published by him in the Weekly Extraordinary, Anno 1651, where you'll find it in French among the volumes of his Gazettes. I am sorry the original was not retrieved from him.

Thus, Sir, you see how diligent I have been since I came home, to answer your queries, as I shall in all other your commands as far as is in the power of, Sir, your, &c.

These papers<sup>b</sup>, maps, letters, books, and particulars, when you have done with, be pleased to take your own time in returning.

<sup>a</sup> This 'Scheme' is a pen and ink sketch by Eveyln, preserved with Pepys' Official Correspondence in the Bodleian Library. An accurate fac-simile copy was made, and published in *Pepys' Diary and Memoirs*.

<sup>b</sup> Evelyn has here written in the margin : ' Which I afterwards never asked of him '.

*Dr. Edward Tyson to John Evelyn**London, 15th March, 1681-2*

HONOURED SIR,—I lately received the enclosed from Dr. Plot at Oxford, who desired me to transmit it to you, as also to acquaint you that he intends to come to town on the 22nd, against which time it is desired, if it may be, that the answers to the proposed queries of Mr. Anthony Wood may be ready. I had hopes that I might have seen you at the Society, but not having an opportunity of delivering it to you there, I was informed it might safely reach your hands this way ; which, when it does, it is only farther to present you with Dr. Plot's service, as also of your most humble servant,

EDWARD TYSON

*John Evelyn to the Bishop of Oxford (Doctor Fell)**Sayes-Court, 19th March, 1681-2*

MY LORD,—It cannot but be evident to your Reverend Lordship, to how great danger and fatal consequences the *Histoire Critique*, not long since published in French by Père Simon, and now lately translated (though but ill translated) into English, exposes not only the Protestant and whole Reformed Churches abroad, but (what ought to be dearer to us) the Church of England at home, which with them acknowledges the Holy Scriptures alone to be the canon and rule of faith ; but which this bold man not only labours to unsettle, but destroy. From the operation I find it already begins to have amongst divers whom I converse with, especially the young men, and some not so young neither, I even tremble to consider what fatal mischief this piece is like to create, whilst they do not look upon the book as coming from some daring wit, or young Lord Rochester revived, but as the work of a learned author, who has the reputation also of a sober and judicious person. And it must be acknowledged that it is a masterpiece in its kind ; that the man is well studied in the oriental tongues, and has carried on his project with a spirit and address not ordinary amongst critics ; though, after all is done, whether he be really a Papist, Socinian, merely a Theist, or something of all three, is not easy to discover ; but this is evident, as for the Holy Scriptures, one may make what one will of them, for him. He tells the world he can establish no doctrine or principles upon them ; and then, are not we of the Reformed Religion in a blessed condition ! For the love of God, let our Universities, my Lord, no longer remain thus silent : it is the cause of God, and of our Church ! Let it not be said, your Chairs take no notice of a more pernicious plot than any that yet has alarmed us. Whilst everybody lets it alone, men think there's nothing to be said against it ; and it hugely prevails already, and you will be sensible of its progress when it is too late to take off the reproach. I most humbly therefore implore your Reverend Lordship to consider of it seriously ; that the pens and the Chairs may openly and on all occasions assert and defend the common cause, and that Oxford may have the honour of appearing the first in the field. For from whom, my Lord, should we expect relief, if not from you the Fathers of the Church, and the Schools of the Prophets ? It is worthy the public concern to ward the deadly blows which sap the roots, and should by no means be abandoned to hazard, or the feeble attempts of any single champion, who, if worsted, would but add to the triumph of our enemies, Papists and Atheists. My Lord, he who makes bold to transmit this to your Lordship, though he be no man of the Church, is yet a son of the Church, and greatly concerned for her ; and though he be not learned, he converses much with books, and men that are as well at Court as in town and the country ; and thinks it his duty to give your Lordship an account of what he hears and sees, and is expected and called for from you, who are the superintendents and watchmen that Christ has set over His Church, and appointed to take care of His flock. Sir John Marsham's book<sup>a</sup> should like-

<sup>a</sup> *Chronicus Canon Ægyptiacus, Hebraicus, et Græcus, cum Disquisitionibus Historicis et Criticis*, fol. Lond. 1672. Marsham had travelled into France, Italy, and part of Germany ; he was a lawyer, and had held the office of one of the Six Clerks in Chancery. He suffered, during the Civil Wars, as a partisan of King Charles the First, but on the Restoration was restored to his office, and soon after created a Baronet. He was one



wise be considered farther than as yet it seems to have been, and the obnoxious passages in it not put off to prefaces and accidental touches only ; whilst neither to that, nor yet to Spinosa (made also vulgar), we have had any thing published of express, or equal force in a just volume, fitted either for domestic or foreign readers. I know that the late Bishop of Chester<sup>a</sup>, Dr. Stillingfleet, Huetius, and some few others, have said abundantly to confute our modern Atheists ; but as these start new and later notions, or rally and reinforce the scattered enemy, we should, I think, march as often out to meet and encounter them. For the men of this curious and nicer age do not consider what has been said or written formerly, but expect something fresh, that may tempt and invite them to consider, that for all the bold appearances of the enemy, they are no stronger than heretofore, and can do us no more hurt, unless we abandon and betray ourselves and give up the cause. It is not, my Lord, sufficient to have beaten down the head of the hydra once, but as often as they rise to use the club, though the same weapon be used, the same thing repeated ; it refreshes the faint, and resolves the doubtful, and stirs up the slothful, and is what our adversaries continually do to keep up and maintain their own party, whenever they receive the least rebuke from us : *fas est et ab hoste doceri*. Nor, my Lord, whilst I am writing this, do I at all doubt of your Lordship's great wisdom, zeal, and religious care to obviate and prevent this and all other adversaries of our most holy faith, as built upon the Sacred Scriptures of the Prophets and Apostles, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner-stone. But if the excess of my affection for the University (which I have sometimes heard perstringed, as not taking the alarm so concernedly upon these occasions) have a little too far transported me, I most humbly supplicate your Lordship's pardon for my presumption, and for my zeal and good wishes to the prosperity of our Zion, your Lordship's blessing, who am, my Reverend Lord, your, &c.

*The Rev. Thomas Creech<sup>b</sup> to John Evelyn*

*Oxford, 8th, 1682*

SIR,—This brings you my most humble thanks for your kind and obliging letter, which discovers a noble temper, and truly generous, that can bestow praise and commendation when my vainest hopes could scarce expect pardon. You were pleased to direct to me Fellow of Wadham College ; a good-natured mistake, and I believe you wish that my condition : but I can boast no such thing, being yet a boy scarce able to reckon twenty, and just crept into a bachelor's degree. I am sensible how much I want of being correct, nor would the necessary exercise of the House, or my own severer studies, permit me to take longer time than two months for the completing it ; so that the shortness of the time and the weakness of my own genius, make me justly fear that it wants not its imperfections and lies too open to censure. Your charitable hand may remedy this, and if your more useful studies would permit you to look it over and observe the faults, none should more gratefully acknowledge the benefit than, Sir, your most obliged humble servant, THOMAS CREECH

*John Evelyn to Samuel Pepys*

*Sayes-Court, 19 Sept., 1682*

SIR—In answer to your queries, I will most ingenuously declare my thoughts upon the second meditation since I published my *Treatise of Commerce*, and what I have been taught, but was not there to speak in public without offence. I

of the greatest antiquaries and most learned writers of his time. Father Simon calls him the Great Marsham of England. He wrote the Preface to the second volume of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, besides the Diatribe above mentioned. Sir John was ancestor of the present Earl of Romney.

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Wilkins.

<sup>b</sup> Creech was at this time nearly three-and-twenty, so that his plea in abatement for the errors of his *Lucretius* (to the second edition of which, already in preparation, the letter refers) is somewhat overstated on the score of juvenility. He took his master's degree in the year following the date of this letter, and obtained a fellowship, not at Wadham, but at All-souls.



will therefore reply in the method you seem to hint, and then say what I have concerning our pretence to dominion on the seas. To the first :

Boxhornius has written a history of the Hanseatic Towns, where you will find in what condition and credit Holland was for traffic and commerce, and in the Danish Annals. It should be inquired when the English staple was removed into Brabant, being 100 years since, and now fixed at Dort. How far forth Charles the Fifth pursued or minded his interest at sea ? As to Henry the 4th of France, 'tis evident he was not negligent of his interest there, by his many projects for trade, and performances at Marseilles ; all that Richelieu and his successors in that ministry produced was projected by their Great Henry, as is plain out of Claude B. Morisot his preface. And now :

To our title of *Dominion* and the Fishery (which has made such a noise in this part of the world), I confess I did lately seek to magnify, and assert it as becomes me *pro hic et nunc* (to speak with logicians), and as the circumstances you know then required. But between friends (and under the rose as they say), to tell you really my thoughts, when such like topics were used sometimes in Parliament, 'tis plain they were passed over there upon important reasons. To begin with the very first. Supposing the old Britons did prohibit foreigners to come into their country, what infers that to any claim of dominion in the *Narrow*, but a jealousy rather over their proper coasts ? Nor read we that they ever practised it over the Gauls. The Chinese, we find, forbade all to enter their country : are they, therefore, Lords of the Oriental seas ? As for King Arthur (abating what is fabulous, *viz.*, his legendary dominion), the *Comes Litoris Saxonici*, &c. stretched to Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Iceland, infers either too much or nothing. Have we, therefore, any right of claim to those realms at present ? Why then to the seas ? Again, admit the most, may not dominion be lost or extinguished ? Was not this rather a momentary conquest or excursion, rather than an established dominion ? Was it not lost to the Danes ? Had they not all the characters of domination imaginable, Lords of our seas, Lords of our shores too, and the tribute of *Danegelt* from England and Ireland both ? If ever there were a real dominion in the world, the Danes must be yielded to have had it : and if their title cannot be extinguished by subsequent revolutions, I greatly question whether ours will ever be evinced. In short, the story of King Edgar is monstrously romantic, and the pretended deed I doubt will appear but spurious. Truly, if foreign chronicles had been as much stuffed with the renown of this prince as with King Arthur, I should give more credit to it. In the mean time, what they report of Athelred is totally against us, since 'tis plain he paid the *Danegelt* as a tribute to them, and settled it to the end. One may query whether the Scots seas, and Scotland to boot, be not a fee to England ; for with as much reason we might challenge it, if the producing rolls, records, and acts of Parliament, and of Statutes to that purpose were of any importance ; because we can show more to the purpose than in the other case : but how would then that nation take it, and what become of their laws about fishing ? 'Tis declared in our laws that we are the Lords of the *Four Seas*, and so adjudged in our courts, as to those born upon those seas ; and yet the Parliament of Scotland can impose a tax on our fishermen, which is a shrewd argument against us. Who ever read that the Kings of England prohibited any to fish on the coast of Scotland ? Or charged them with usurpation for taking toll and custom for the herring-fishery ? The truth is, the licences (which I speak of in my book, from Scarborough) were only to fish on the Dogger-bank. Such English as were to fish in the Scottish seas about Orkney, and Shetland, Iceland, and Fero, &c., did take licences to fish from the Kings of Norway, at Bergen and Northbarum ; and this jurisdiction and sovereignty undoubted of the Norwegian Kings, is recognised by our own Parliament in a statute of 8 Hen. 6, c. 2, and by innumerable treaties betwixt the two crowns, even within a century of years ; and if so, consider how feeble a proof is that famous roll *pro hominibus Hollandiæ*, and how it is to be limited in itself (by the history and occasion that caused it) to the Narrow or Channel only. 'Tis also to be considered that the Danes protested at Breda, that the cession of the Scots fishery about Orkney and Shetland was never made to our King James upon his marriage of Queen Anne (as our tradition is), nor any time before to any Scottish King ; and supposing that there were any such authentic deed, it were better to fix the fishery (we contend about) even in the



Dutch, than either permit it to be regulated by the decrees of a Scotch parliament, or transfer it to that nation. Now as to the great trade and multitude of English vessels, by the history of the Hans Towns, their privileges and power in England, one shall find, that for the bulk our navies consisted most of hired ships of the Venetians, Genoese, and Hanseatics, till Queen Elizabeth, though her father Henry the Eighth had a flourishing fleet. The right of passes, and petitions thereupon, were formed upon another part of the *Jus Gentium*, than our pretended dominion of the seas; which (to speak ingenuously) I could never find recognised expressly in any treaty with foreigners. And to return to the fishery, that of the Dutch fishing without licence, the *intercursus magnus* (so boasted) was a perpetual treaty, and made as well with all the people as the princes of Burgundy; and so as to be obligatory, though they rejected their governors, as we see most of them did, and as perhaps they might according to the *latus introitus*. And that the Dutch are still, and by Queen Elizabeth were so declared to be, a *pars contrahens*, after their revolt and abjuration of Spain, does as much invalidate that proceeding of King James, and Charles the First, who both signed that *intercursus*, and were in truth included thereby though they had not signed it.

But besides all this, the nature of prescription would be inquired into as well when it makes against us, as for us; and, therefore, it should be demanded whether Queen Elizabeth did not first assert the *mare liberum* in opposition to the Danes, and whether his present Majesty has not done it at Jamaica against the Spaniard; pray consider the seal of that Admiralty. To speak plain truth: when I writ that Treatise, rather as a *philological* exercise, and to gratify the present circumstances, I could not clearly satisfy myself in sundry of those particulars, nor find really that ever the Dutch did pay toll or took licence to fish in Scotland after the contest, from any solid proofs. Indeed (as there I relate), they surprised Brown who came to exact it, and detained him in Holland several months; but I think they never paid a penny for it, though the papers I have perused speak of an *assize herring*: nor did I find that any rent (whereof in my 108th page I calculate the arrears) for permission to fish, was ever fixed by both parties; and so cannot properly be called a settled rent. This should, therefore, be exquisitely inquired into; and perhaps, both for these and many other particulars, a thorough search in his Majesty's Paper Office may afford clearer light, if there have any due care been taken to collect and digest such important matters. As for the years 1635 and 1637, you cannot but espy an intrigue in the equipping those formidable fleets; and that they were more to awe the French than terrify Holland (see how the times and interests change! but no more of that, 'tis now a tender point) I fancy were no difficult matter to prove; and that any licences were taken in those years, I could never be assured of, that of 1636 being but a single act of force on some particular men, the States never owning them in it; and you know the Admiral Dorp was cashiered for not quarrelling it with our Northumberland, and our conduct and licences flatly rejected in 1637, when Capt. Field came. Lastly:

When King James fixed his chamber, did he not either renounce the English sovereignty of the seas, or violate therein his league with Spain (as that nation urged, pleading that the British seas were *territorium domini regis*)? but he did not the latter, wherefore I am not single in this declaration. In a word, the entire argument of this fishery is too controvertible to be too peremptorily decided by the pen, and upon many other accounts (of which the plenty and wantonness of our full-fed unfrugal people, which deters them from hard labour, is not the least), a project wholly useless as circumstances be, and therefore might with much more benefit, ease, and facility, be supplied by increasing our fishery at Newfoundland. Finally:

As to the commerce in general of this nation. From all that I could observe during my short being of that noble and honourable Council, and informing myself as I was able by books and discourses of experienced persons, I say after all this, I considered it a very vain thing to make any (the most probable, certain, or necessary) proposal about trade, &c. Not that it might not be infinitely improved, if princes and people did unanimously, and with a true public spirit, and as our natural advantages prompt us, apply themselves honestly and industriously about it; but for that, as things now are, and have hitherto been



managed since the renowned Queen Elizabeth (for that *encomium* I must give her), the whole advantage this nation receives thereby is evidently carried on more by ancient methods and the sedulity of private men, than by any public encouragement ; and as to the present, it certainly languishes under insupportable difficulties.

And thus, Sir, I choose to convey you my second more digested thoughts, of a point which in your excellent design and work cannot escape the ample handling as one of the most considerable, when you come to speak of the importance of our shipping and trade, or pretence of dominion, &c. And I do it, you see, with all self-denial imaginable, (and not without some reproach) after what I have published to the contrary ; by which you may conclude how suspicious wise men should be of other histories and historians too, however confident, and specious soever, unless it were almost demonstration, and that the authors had no interest of their own to serve, and were not influenced by their superiors or the public cry. Let this ingenious confession commute for my faults in that Treatise, and be put amongst the retractions of, Sir, yours, &c.

*The Rev. Thomas Creech to John Evelyn.*

*Oxford, 6th May, 1683*

HONOURED SIR,—What you have been pleased to read, to like, and to commend, I now humbly beg you to accept, a small return, I must confess, for that kindness you have shown, and for that reputation for which as long as life, I must stand indebted. It comes more confidently to wait on you than at first, having something that may commend it since it presents you with your own, and with the most hearty thanks that gratitude after so great obligations can possibly return. I must beg young Mr. Evelyn to accept one ; and if utmost endeavours can attain it, I hope more fully to manifest the just respects of, Sir, your much obliged and humble servant,

THOMAS CREECH

*Robert Berkeley to John Evelyn*

*Spetchley, 14th April, 1684*

The greatness of your civilities occasions you this trouble, and I don't know whether I am to make my apology for it, or to beg your pardon. Your kind entertainment at your renowned villa (where you possess all that can be wished for here) challenges my thanks, and the further favour of your letter adds a double obligation. Let this, dear sir, offer what poor return I can make you ; and entreat of you to receive to yourself and most excellent Lady, my humble service. I have not yet tried any experiments out of your papers, but I hope this summer to give you some account of them. It would be soon essayed with Mr. Boyle's pump, whether or no it may give such a vacuum as to preserve fruit and flowers in their natural ; it would be a thing of good use if it may be effected in quantity. I fear I shall lose by the late frost most of my Cypress, Ilex, and Alaternus ; the Laurels will lose their leaves only, and the Bay trees, I presume, will spring at root ; the Holly, Juniper, Arborvitæ, Pine, and Yew have escaped ; but I do not hear of any Rosemary alive in these parts. I have not lost any of my Greens in my Conservatory ; the Orange and Lemon trees are as fresh as ever I saw them, being secured by keeping them underground, which I find the best way to preserve them in our climate during a severe winter. I shall be glad to know how your greens have escaped, especially those in the wilderness, where they are so agreeable with the pleasing variety of your forest trees ; I could dwell on this subject were it not to divert your thoughts from a fairer idea of it. Be pleased to admit me into the number of those that love and honour you for your virtues. I remain, Sir, your most affectionate and humble servant,

R. BERKELEY

*Sir Robert Southwell to John Evelyn*

*King's Weston, near Bristol, 3rd Nov., 1684*

HONOURED SIR,—Since my retirement hither I have been so much in the mortar as to multiply walks and walls, and have begun to be a planter. Your fine Holly-hedges tempted me to an essay for the like in a length of above 300 feet,



but the last winter and summer gave me a severe rebuke, killing, as I fear, half the roots ; the rest are alive, and many of them with leaves ; I will persist to cultivate with care and patience till all be restored and in a way of growth.

My next desire is to abound in hedges of Yew ; I would plant it against the walls of two large courts, and in other places, so as now and hereafter to extend it five or six hundred yards and more. My seat is somewhat bleak, and therefore I choose this green as that which no cold will hurt, and I am told it will grow as much in three years as Holly in five. Now seeing I need so much, it would have been good husbandry to have begun with seeds, and to have raised my roots, but this I omitted, and you note in your book that they peep not till the second year, wherefore, calling on a gardener who has a nursery of them, he demands at the rate of twelvepence for every root of a foot high. Pray cannot you put me into better hands, and where to be supplied on such reasonable terms as I may find it easy to pursue this desire of having stores of Yew. Next I desire to know how far asunder I may plant these roots, so as in time to touch and close into a hedge ; and whether I may not plant Philareas between them, which are cheaper and grow fast, and may be cut away as the others grow up, and capable of spreading to fill their room. This I chiefly propose in the two courts, where I would have the walls lined with the future tapestry of Yew : but here I meet in opposition the opinion of the country of its noxious quality to cattle, who will be browsing the greens they can come at ; and if this be experimentally true, then I must be at the charge of railing in where it is possible the cattle may come at it. I have a nursery of firs from seed of two and three years' growth : I am thinking in April to transplant them, and desire to know if the distance of ten feet be not sufficient for this naked tree. In the next place, I desire to know if these trees will, by their dropping, endanger the Holly hedge, which I have set, and which is to grow up close to them.

Pardon, I pray, the impertinences of a young planter, who having the honour of your book, and that in gift, is encouraged to bring his doubts and scruples to you. My son gives you his most humble duty, and I am ever, Sir, your most affectionate servant,

ROBERT SOUTHWELL

*Robert Berkeley to John Evelyn*

*Spetchley, 21st March, 1684-5*

SIR,—So much kindness, and so undeserved, would not have suffered me thus long to have been silent, had not our late catastrophe so confined my thoughts, as not immediately to recollect my obligations to my friends ; but as I was sending this to kiss your hands, I had an account of the sad news of your daughter's death, which has given too great an addition to my trouble not to be much concerned for you, knowing your loss to be irreparable. Sir, if the entreaties of a friend can enforce the resolves of so great a philosopher as Mr. Evelyn, suffer me amongst the number of yours to use what arguments I may to mitigate the extremity of your sorrows, and I shall only with due submission offer these :—If any person deservedly may be allowed to be perfectly happy in himself, whether or no he is abstracted from such notions as are common to sense ; in the exterior, likewise, if that party possesses more continued blessings than possibly any other does enjoy, may he complain without ingratitude ? If not, then dear Mr. Evelyn is really happy still, and makes many others so, whilst your health is not denied you : which I pray God preserve. My wife is likewise extremely troubled for your good lady : she joins in our most humble services. I am, Sir, your most obedient and devoted servant,

R. BERKELEY

*From the same to the same*

*Spetchley, 12th September, 1685*

HONOURED AND MOST DEAR SIR,—I cannot acknowledge my debt to your last obliging entertainment, and to your former letter, which was extremely kind : be pleased here to receive my most hearty wishes for your health, which I should be very joyful to hear of : we have been passionately concerned for your misfortunes.



So great is my apprehension, as if Providence would not suffer such perfect happiness on earth, to be possessed without alloy proportionate to render all your enjoyments in the next world, answerable to those which you have received in this. How great must they then be, and what are we to expect who come so far short of your deserts, dear Mr. Evelyn? None of us are here exempt from the greatest sorrows and the highest disappointments, which I shall hereafter more steadfastly look upon as a mark of the Almighty's favour, since so great examples of virtue as you have been in our age, are so excessively afflicted. I pray God give so entire a resignation to His will, that you may have yet greater contentment than you have hitherto found. It is my great unhappiness that I cannot pay my duty to you as I would, in condoling with you at Sayes-Court; and the more I think of Mr. Evelyn, the more I am perplexed in a fatal necessity in depriving me of one of my greatest satisfactions, which a nearer distance would make me happy in. I still hold my resolution for travel as soon as I can get at liberty from my engagements here. I am in all sincerity, dear Sir, your most obedient and most devoted servant,

R. BERKELEY

*John Evelyn to Samuel Pepys*

*Sayes-Court, 23rd Sept. 1685*

SIR,—I were very unworthy of your late and former favours should I not render you some assurances, that I am often meditating on them; and that I shall ever (according to my small force and capacity) obey your commands. Without more ceremony, then, I am in the first place to give you an account of Colours. But you will be better pleased to receive it from the learned Gisbertus Cuperus's *Apotheosis, vel consecratio Homerica*, in his curious conjectures upon an antique sculpture: where, speaking of the rhapsodists that were used to sing the ballads of Ulysses' Errors and Maritime Voyages, they were wont to be clad in blue; when his Iliads and fighting Poems, in red; and were so superstitious, as always to cover those books or rolls in parchment of those two colours. He pretends that one Oenomaus first invented distinctions of colours in the *Ludi Circenses* where green was the ensign of combatants by land, and blue at sea: so as when those who were clad in green gained the prize, they looked on it as presage of a fruitful harvest; if the blue coats prevailed, successful expeditions and exploits at sea: the first, it seems, concerned the husbandman, the other the mariner. He farther observes, that when there was any commotion or rebellion in the ports of Italy or Gaul, the general of Horse carried a blue cornet, for as much as that generous creature was produced by Neptune's trident, and first managed by that sea god; and that whoever signalised his courage on that element, was honoured with a flag of the same colour; which Suetonius gives a remarkable instance of, in the life of Octavius Augustus: *M. Agrippam in Sicilia, post navalem victoriam, cæruleo vexillo donavit*, after the naval victory obtained against young Pompey. It were ostentation to cite more authors, Statius, Diodorus Siculus Plutarch in Vit. Themist., &c. Enough to give you an impatient desire of that excellent entertainment Cuperus will afford you, not on this subject only, but in a world of other choice and curious erudition.

Sir, I do not remember you charged me with any other particular of this sort; but as I am both disposed and esteem myself very happy in serving you, though but as a pioneer to dig materials for a more skilful hand to square and polish and set in work, so, if in my desultory course of reading, and among the rubbish, I light on anything which is worthy your notice, and may contribute to it, reckon that you have in me a ready and faithful servant, acquired by many obligations, but, I assure you, by none more than that singular love of virtue, and things worthy an excellent person, which I discover and highly honour in you.

In the notes of Isaac Vossius upon Catullus, *sive utrumque Jupiter simul secundus incidisset in pedem*, &c., he has many learned observations about Navigation, particularly that of sailing to several parts opposite to one another by the same wind, *ijsdem ventis in contrarium navigatur prolati pedibus*, as Pliny expresses it; and it was (you may remember) on this hint that I informed you Vossius had by him a treatise *Περὶ Ταχυπλοία*. I inquired of him (when last I

<sup>a</sup> Printed at Amsterdam in 1683, 4to.



was at Windsor) whether he would publish it ; to which he gave me but an uncertain answer. In the meantime you will not be displeased at what he tells us of a certain harmony produced by the snapping of carters' whips, used of old at the feasts of Bacchus and Cybele ; and that the Tartars have to this day no other trumpets, and are so adroit as at once to make the whip give three distinct claps, and that so loud as to be heard very far off ; and then speaks of a coachman at Maestricht, who plays several tunes with his lash. To a lover of music and harmony I could not omit this scrap, though I know you will laugh at me for it, and pay me with the tongs and gridiron. But ere I leave Dr. Vossius, I dare say you have perused what he writes in his late *Opusculum*, touching the reformation of Latitudes and Eclipses ; and his asserting the Mediterranean and other places to be much larger than our Geographers report. He has something also of the North passage to the Indies, of the construction of gallies, the Pico Teneriffe, &c. ; of all which you best are able to judge, and doubtless have formed the remarks thereon. Whilst I was running on, comes Mr. Dummer to give me a visit ; and I am so charmed with his ingenuity, that I look upon it as a new obligation to you ; and if you find I cultivate it for my own sake a little, you will let him understand (by all that I am to speak to you of him upon this short taste) how much I wish him the improvements of your favours, who am for so many myself, Sir, your, &c.

*Samuel Pepys to John Evelyn*

*Thursday night, 2nd Oct. 1685*

SIR,—Very sorry I am that I was not in the way to enjoy you to-day, being gone (the only time I have been able to do it this summer) to make a visit to good Mrs. Hewer at Clapham. But I have two reasons to desire you will give me your company to-morrow noon, first because we will be alone, and next I have something to show you<sup>a</sup> that I may not have another time. Your most obedient servant,

S. PEPYS

<sup>a</sup> To this letter Evelyn subjoins the following note : ' That which was showed me were *two papers* attested by his present Majesty's hand to be a true copy of the originals, which some day before he had showed Mr. Pepys privately :—That his late brother, Charles the Second, was of long time since a Roman Catholic. The papers contained several *points* of religion, labouring to cast heresy, schism, &c., on the Church of England, but in my judgment without any force or reason, and a thousand times confuted'. To which may be appended an extract from Dr. Stanier Clarke's *Memoirs of James the Second* :

' Some few days after the late King's death, his Majesty, looking into the papers he had left behind him, found two relating to Controversy, one in the strong box, the other in the closet, both writ in his own hand : they were short but solid, and shewed that though his conversion was not perfected till a few hours before his death, his conviction was of a longer date. The King thought fit to show them one day to the Archbishop of Canterbury in his closet, nobody being by, who seemed much surprised at the sight of them, and paused almost half a quarter of an hour before he said anything ; at last told the King, he did not think his late Majesty had understood controversy so well, but that he thought they might be answered : ' If so', said the King, ' I pray let it be done gentlemanlike and solidly, and then it may have the effect you so much desire, of bringing me back to your Church'; to which the Archbishop replied, ' It would perhaps be counted a disrespect in him to contradict the late King'; but his Majesty reassured him in that point, by telling him the change it might produce in himself (if answered effectually) was of that consequence as to out-balance any other consideration ; and therefore desired he might see a reply, either from him or any other of his persuasion : but though he, my Lord Dartmouth, and others, were several times reminded of this matter, and earnestly pressed to it, never any formal reply was produced during his Majesty's reign in England. It is true there was something of an answer published by an unknown hand, but the drift of it was rather to prove that the papers were not the late King's (which was a libel in reality upon the present) than any reply to the arguments of it, and it is probable the Archbishop despaired of answering it so effectually, as to bring back his Majesty to their Communion, whereas the publishing a reply would have owned and published the papers too : and he had reason to apprehend, that the authority and arguments of their dying Prince would influence more persons to that religion, than his answer would persuade to relinquish it'. Vol. ii. p. 8. See also the *Diary*, pp. 440-442.



*From Robert Berkeley to John Evelyn**Spetchley, 4th January, 1685-6*

SIR,—Amongst the number of your friends there's none more heartily congratulates the late honour you have received in His Majesty's service, which must be to the great satisfaction of all that are so happy as to be known to Mr. Evelyn, and renew our hopes of the prosperity of the court you live in; nothing more conducting thereunto than the conduct and integrity of good and able ministers. But I wish that your necessary attendance may not hinder or divert you from finishing your grand design, which you were pleased to show me, in which you will leave future ages indebted to you, as well as oblige the present and raise up a monument to your perpetual memory. This may seem like compliment from one that bears so well a respect towards you; yet when I consider how useful (though elaborate) this work will be, and that it is not in the power of anyone to perfect it, pardon me, sir, in thus pressing the most ingenious Mr. Evelyn, though for a public good: you have already highly endeared your country by several tracts from your own hand, which I must own are all of great use and advantage. My wife with me give our most humble service to your most excellent lady, the most accomplished of her sex. I remain, Sir, your most obliged and faithful servant,

R. BERKELEY

*From Henry Earl of Clarendon<sup>a</sup> to John Evelyn**Dublin Castle, 7th Aug. 1686*

SIR,—The last packet brought me yours of the 20th past, for which I return you many thanks, and hope you do believe I am always most happy to hear from you. I thank you for speaking to Mr. London to go to Swallowfield<sup>b</sup>; it would be pity that quiet retreat should any way suffer for want of his directions: you know what the place affords, and if it be convenient to you and any of your friends to divert yourselves there, you will be very welcome, and may command the fish-ponds and all else there; everything will be better for your looking upon it. If you enquire after this kingdom, I doubt you will wonder what we are doing. The truth is, here is a great man who storms, foams, swaggers, swears and rants at any rate and at all sorts of people, he thinks to overturn governments and nations by his look and his wind, which he finds not quite so easy as he expected<sup>c</sup>; but, however, he frights the honest industrious English husbandmen and farmers, the improvers of this and of all other improvable countries. Many of these men are gone and many more are packing up to follow, some for England and some for the plantations, where they think they can thrive most and be most secure in what they rent or buy. It would really grieve a man of public spirit, which I hope I do not want, to see such a noble flourishing country as this, by God and nature destined to prosper, like to be stopped in its career of growing rich itself, and of filling the King's coffers to as great a degree as he pleaseth to permit. Certainly there is not so great an instance to be given of the improvement of any country under the sun, in so short a time, as has been of this in the compass of eighteen years; for in that period the whole land of the kingdom is intrinsically risen to treble the value it was then; the King's revenue in that time much more than doubled. To tell you of the trade to and from all parts of the world, is so wonderful that I doubt I should scarce be believed; to give you one instance, let me tell you that the exports from hence into England alone, of the native product of Ireland, has amounted to yearly above the sum of one hundred and seventy-two thousand pounds upon a very moderate value: this and some other particulars of trade I can make out by undeniable proofs, if you will promise me they shall be seriously considered. Is it not pity a check should be given to this growing prosperity of a country? Such is the temper of the English here (generally speaking) who carry on and manage five parts of six of this trade, that they will

<sup>a</sup> Viceroy of Ireland.<sup>b</sup> A seat belonging to Lord Clarendon, about six miles south-east of Reading, in Berkshire, which he possessed in right of his second wife, Flower, widow of Sir William Backhouse, Bart.<sup>c</sup> The allusion is to Lord Tyrconnel, of whom see Macaulay's *History*, vol. ii. pp. 48-51.



sacrifice all to show their loyalty to the King ; indeed I must always say I never came among people who gave greater demonstrations of duty and obedience to their Prince than his subjects here ; they desire to serve him, and to mind nothing but their labour that they may thrive under his government and increase his revenue. I could fill a volume upon this subject, and I doubt I have sent some sheets where they are not considered ; but that is a word only to yourself ; I believe you may guess to whom I mean. I have tired you enough for the present : I heartily wish all happiness to you and your excellent lady, and am, with great esteem, Sir, your most affectionate and most humble servant,

CLARENDON, C.P.S.

*From Robert Berkeley to John Evelyn*

*The Hague, 16th Aug. 1686*

I presume before this, Captain Warburton has given you some account of our voyages. After we had the honour of their company in his yacht, we tided down to Gravesend, where we lay at anchor that night, and stayed there till the evening after, when we hoisted sail, and the next day about five of the clock in the afternoon got into Margate, when the wind turning to N.E., kept us there for four days ; but after we had a very fine gale, and in fourteen hours we landed on the island Walcheren ; the next day, by the favour of Captain Warburton, we passed through most part of Zealand to Dort, the first town on that side of Holland, being seventy-two miles ; from thence we went the next day to Rotterdam, where the curiosity of the place detained us three days, and afterwards we passed through Delph to this place, where we safely arrived the 2nd inst., and are now settled here for most part of this next winter ; finding the place extremely pleasant ; provisions cheap, and our lodgings reasonable enough, considering they are good, and near the Court. I should have given you a further account of our travels, but I know that you are from several hands better informed. I have not yet had time to give so particular account of their method of gardening as you may expect. I was the other day at the Princess's Villa, given her lately by the Princess of Friesland, which is capable of being made very agreeable both for shade and water, the ground within the enclosure being about twenty acres, and the garden already walled of large extent, which the Princess is now improving with the house, whose middle room is much taken notice of for its good paintings and proportions. Since, I have been at Mr. Bentinck's, where there is a great variety of gardening, and the plantations very large ; but I find little to be admired after the conservatory, which is indeed grand, built semi-circular, with a fair room well painted in the middle, where the Court is often entertained in prospect of the most beautiful greens that I have seen : the garden has three descents to an oval fountain : in the house where the greens stand in the winter two rows on each side, with a fine walk of twelve feet between them : these two wings are about sixty yards distant from each other when you enter the garden : in the house were two large stoves on each side and vents atop, to keep them in what temperature of heat the season may require ; there is, moreover, an engine to remove the cases, of what weight soever, into their places with little trouble. Besides these I do not remember anything worth communicating to you, except their double espaliers, which I presume may be of good use, bearing fruit on each side, the posts being large for that purpose, and to allow such ample room between that the fruit ripens exceedingly well. The plantation abounds with Hornbeam, which, spreads on frames of wood makes their arbours : the aviary is about forty yards in length, answering a pleasant pond, where there is a variety of the lesser water-fowl. The water-works will be pleasant when finished, yet I have seen much finer in England. And now, dearest sir, after all I have said on this subject, I must tell you in justice to my own reason, and more from the sincerity of a friend, that your gardens and wilderness are much more pleasing and agreeable, being far better designed having the advantage likewise of good gravel and finer turf, (here only sand and grass walks) with greater variety of forest trees. If I find anything hereafter worthy your notice, you are sure of the trouble of an account of it, I am ever, Sir, your most devoted and obedient servant,

R. BERKELEY



*John Evelyn to the Countess of Sunderland (Lady Anne Spencer)*

Sayes-Court, 13 Decemb. 1667

MADAM,—I am not unmindful of the late command you laid upon me, to give you a catalogue of such books as I believed might be fit to entertain your more devout and serious hours ; and I look upon it as a peculiar grace and favour of God to your Ladyship, that, amidst so many temptations, and grandeur of courts, the attendants, visits, diversions (and other circumstances of the palace, and the way you are engaged in), you are resolved that nothing of all this shall interrupt your duty to God, and the religion you profess, whenever it comes in competition with the things of this world, how splendid soever they may appear for a little and (God knows) uncertain time. Madam, 'tis the best and most grateful return you can make to Heaven for all the blessings you enjoy, amongst which there is none you are more happy in, than in the virtue, early and solid piety of my Lady Anne, and progress of your little son. Madam, the foundation you have laid in those two blessings will not only build, but establish your illustrious family, beyond all the provisions you can make of gallant and great in estimation of the world ; and you will find the comfort of it, when all this noise and hurry shall vanish as a dream, and leave nothing to support us in time of need. I am persuaded you often make these reflections, from your own great judgment and experiences of the vicissitudes of things present, and prospect of future, which is only worth our solicitude. I am, &c.

*John Evelyn to the Viceroy of Ireland (Lord Clarendon)*

Sayes-Court, Sept. 1686

MY LORD,—I had ere this given your Excellency my most humble thanks for yours of the 7th past, but that I was expecting the event of some<sup>a</sup> extraordinary things, then in suspense ; and when I have said this, I need not tell your Lordship what I am assured you have received from better hands, nor make any further reflections on it, than to acquaint your Excellency that I know of no new commissions which your Lordship desires to understand the meaning of, and that make (it seems) no less noise with you than they do here. The character your Excellency gives of the huffing great man<sup>b</sup> is just. How the noise he makes will operate I know little of ; what it does with you (and would everywhere do else) is sufficiently evident ; but God is above all, and your Lordship's prudence, courage, and steady loyalty, will, if it not surmount all malevolence, purchase you the estimation of all good subjects, and, I doubt not, but of his Majesty also. I am plainly amazed at what your Excellency tells me of Ireland, which country we have seen given twice conquered into his Majesty's father's and brother's (our late Sovereign's) hands, at no small expense of blood and treasure ; and therefore question not but his present Majesty does both see, and well consider, the infinite importance of cherishing its improvements and tranquillity.

My Lord Teviot, I think, has quite abandoned us ; 'tis near four months since we have received any assistance from him at the Seal ; so as I have not been able to make any excursion as yet this summer, and when I shall now make my flight to Swallowfield, I am uncertain. I have again been to enquire out my Lord Cornbury ; but his Lordship is still so employed 'twixt the Court and his military charge, that I cannot expect the happiness I promised myself of accompanying him thither, and to go without him would be a melancholy thing. The ladies are still at Tunbridge, tempted by the continuance of this Paradisian season ; whilst we are here mightily in the dark, and curious (if lawful) to understand, whether a certain new Countess came lately over hither with his Majesty's knowledge and permission. I tell the inquisitive I know nothing of it, but that I am sure your Excellency does nothing save what becomes you, and with good advice. Now that Buda is taken, all our eyes are on Hamburg and Denmark. I pray God give peace to Christendom, and continue it in little England, with all prosperity and blessing on your Excellency and illustrious family : these are the assiduous prayers of, my Lord, your Excellency's, &c.

<sup>a</sup> The Commission of Ecclesiastical Affairs, which suspended the Bishop of London, &c., and gave great offence to all the nation.—J. E.

<sup>b</sup> See *ante*, p. 671.



*Robert Ball to John Evelyn*

*Leghorn, 30th January, 1687-8*

SIR,—You may wonder that you have not heard from me sooner, but I have not been at all unmindful of you, for I have now sent you a pretty big box of acorns of the cork tree, and in it you will find two or three sorts of seeds of evergreens that grow about Leghorn, which I think are them you desired. I could not get the olives for this occasion, we shall see to send them you by next; but olives here are propagated by slips, and grafted. The box is included in a bill of lading amongst other things. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

ROBERT BALL

*From Sir Henry (afterwards Lord) Capell to John Evelyn*

*Kew, 19th October, 1688*

SIR,—Besides the favour of the acorns, which I received in their season, I have lately received other seeds with the mention of other roots from your garden, for all which roots I give you many thanks. I have ordered my gardener to lay aside such things as my garden could afford, and they are put up and left at my Lord Clarendon's, according to your directions. I heartily wish they may any-ways be answerable to your garden, for I assure you I am your faithful friend,

HENRY CAPELL

*John Evelyn to his Son*

*Anno Mirabil. London, 18th Dec., 1688*

SON,—I just now received the narrative of the Prince's march, and the political remarks you have made upon the occurrences where you have been. My Lord Clarendon would gladly have conferred with you on several points seasonable at that juncture; but all have now (it seems) submitted, and the bells and the bon-fires proclaim as much joy and satisfaction as those are capable of, who have beheld so many changes and revolutions, without being able to divine how all this will conclude at last, and remembering that precept of the wisest of kings, (Proverbs ch. xxiv. v. 21) which I need not repeat to you. It will be no news (I perceive) to you, to acquaint you with his Majesty's late recess, nor of his being stopped at Feversham, &c. But of his coming back to Whitehall, and what has since intervened, you may not yet have heard. On Friday last there went thither my Lord Middleton, Earl of Aylesbury, Lord Feversham, Sir Stephen Fox, and Mr. Grahame, where the rabble had detained the King (the vessel wherein he was embarked with Sir Edward Hales, and Ralph Sheldon, which were all his attendants, coming in for want of ballast), till the news of it being brought to the Lords of the Council, those Lords and gentlemen I named were sent to persuade his Majesty to return, or if not prevailing, to conduct and wait upon him with two troops of horse, to what other port or place he should please to go. The King, at last induced to come back to London, arrived at Whitehall on Sunday evening, went to mass at his chapel on Monday, three priests officiating; the usual number of Roman Catholics, and a world more, filling the bedchamber and all the rooms with extraordinary acclamation. In this manner his Majesty went thence to dinner (a Jesuit saying grace), and all things seemed to pass in such order, as the eclipse the Court suffered, by his Majesty's four days' absence, was hardly discernible; all the clouds (as we thought) were vanishing, and a bright day again appearing. So soon as he was retired, he sent my Lord Feversham with a letter under his own hand to invite the Prince of Orange to St. James's: the message was accepted, but the messenger arrested and made prisoner at Windsor; upon which politicians made reflections. But 'tis pretended that a general of an enemy ought not by the law of arms to come into the quarters of his antagonist without a trumpet and a passport: others say, that his Highness was much displeased at the Earl's disbanding his Majesty's forces under his command, without disarming them, and unpaid, as thereby leaving them in danger of seeking some desperate resolution, of disturbing the measures he had taken; and there are who believe upon some other account, which time will discover. Tuesday morning came the Marquis of Halifax (who with the Lord Godolphin had been sent commissioner to the Prince) from Windsor, to let his Majesty know the Prince



would be the next day at St. James's; but withal (foreseeing it might be dangerous to have his army quartered about the town, so necessary to his safety, whilst the King's guards were so near), he desires his Majesty that he would make choice of Hampton Court, or some other place about the distance, to repair to, for the avoiding jealousies and inconveniences which might happen between the guards of different interests. You will easily believe this was not very kindly taken, after so generous an invitation: and that it was the more surprising for its coming to him at one o'clock in the morning, when he was weary and fast asleep. The King upon this rises, and goes immediately to council, where several things being proposed (but what I undertake not to say) are altogether rejected: and whilst by this time Whitehall and all its environs were crowded with Dutch soldiers, his Majesty put himself into his barge, accompanied with my Lord Aylesbury (now in waiting), the Lords Dumbarton, Arran, and one or two more, followed with three other barges and small boats, filled with a Dutch guard, and a troop of horse by land, steering their course towards Rochester again, from whence he so lately had returned. Thus have you the second recess, or something more *dismally boding*; which, whilst I myself, with Sir Charles Cotterell and Sir Stephen Fox, beheld from one of the windows of the new buildings, *vix tempero à lachrymis*. I should have told you that the Prince being yesterday at Sion, sent Sir Robert Howard and Henry Powle with a letter to the city, acquainting them with his approach, with other compliments of course. This was read before the Lord Mayor and Common Council, and was answered with all submission and respect, and with an invitation that his Highness would honour their city by vouchsafing to lodge in it, rather than at St. James's. On this there stood up an alderman, and moved that an address might first be made to congratulate his Majesty's gracious return to Whitehall. But the proposal was not approved of, one of them saying, *they had given a good pail of milk, and that this were to kick it over again*.

Thus, Son, I have given you as minute an account of the *Proteus* here as I am able for the present. The hero is now at St. James's, where I have seen him, and several of my old acquaintances. I dined at the Earl of Clarendon's, whom I did not find altogether so well satisfied as I expected, considering that his son my Lord Cornbury took so considerable a stroke in his turn. I wish he do not *πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν*. By what I collect, the ambitious and the covetous will be canvassed for places of honour, and rich employment; and that my Lord will withstand the market, and neglect if not slight his applications, upon confidence of his near relation, and the merits of my Lord his son, if not upon other principles. If none of this happen, and that success do not quite alter the principles of men in power, we are to suspect *Astrea* upon earth again. But as I have often told you, I look for no mighty improvement of mankind in this declining age and catalysis. A Parliament (legally called) of brave and worthy patriots, not influenced by faction, nor terrified by power, or corrupted by self-interest, would produce a kind of new creation amongst us. But it will grow old, and dissolve to chaos again, unless the same stupendous Providence which has put this opportunity into men's hands to make us happy, dispose them to do just and righteous things, and to use their empire with moderation, justice, piety, and for the public good. Upon the whole matter, those who seek employment, before the grandees are served, may suspend their solicitation, the Queen having ('tis said) carried away the Great Seal: most of the writs being burnt by his Majesty, it will cost time, and excogitation of expedients, how legally to supply them, if his Majesty should design to travel again, or the door (which I fear most likely) be shut after him. These and sundry other difficulties will render things both uneasy and uncertain. Only I think Popery to be universally declining, and you know I am one of those who despise not prophesying; nor, whilst I behold what is daily wrought in the world, believe miracles to be ceased.

Sir Edward Hales and Obadiah (his old tutor) are both in gaol at Maidstone. Chief Justice Herbert, Robert Brent, and Peters above all, are not yet heard of. Poor Roger (for want of better observation) is carried to Newgate, and every hour is pregnant of wonders.



*John Evelyn to the Countess of Sunderland*

Sayes-Court, 22nd December, 1688

MADAM,—The busy and wondrous age I have lived in, the not altogether confinement of myself to morose conversations in the world, the tincture I early received from generous and worthy parents, and the education they gave me, disposing (at least inciting) me to the love of letters, and a great regard to Religion, as the end and scope of all accomplishments, wisely and prudently considered (not that I have pursued this glorious and only happy course, to my sorrow and reproach be it confessed, but what I ought to have done), does now and has long since taken up my thoughts about that sovereign good which all the thinking part of mankind has in all ages and times been searching after, to acquiesce and rest in ; and in pursuance of this great concern, I have preferred the recess of near thirty years, during which, by mean compliances, and in a vicious age, one might probably have arrived to something which they call (though not very properly) a *figure* (but I, an empty *cipher*) in the world, to all other advantages whatsoever ; and upon the foot and sum of all (for I do often cast it up), I have found nothing solid, nothing stable, and worth all this hurry, disquiet, and expense of time, but the pursuit of moderate things for this life, with due and modest regard to quality, and the decent circumstances of that maintained and procurable by worthy, open, and honourable wages, in a virtuous, but to be neglected and despised as base and ignoble, in a false and vicious age. For, besides acquisitions so obtained are ever procured by low and servile arts, they are of no durance longer than the favourite shall prostitute his conscience ; and sacrifice all sentiments of genuine and real greatness, which will recur some time or other upon generous minds seduced, if once they ever come to recollect themselves. It were a most happy thing if young persons (and next to a miracle 'tis they should not) did believe the experience that almost 7000 years' forefathers, who once were young, have told their children, and the wisest books recorded, and the perpetual events of things declared it ; that piety, sincerity, justice, temperance, and all that series and chain of moral virtue, recommended to us, as well by the wiser heathen as by God Himself, and the very dictates of nature, are the only means of obtaining that tranquil and happy state a prudent man would choose, even in this life only, a religious and truly wise in that to come ; and he was both great and wise, and well experienced, who pronounced it : I have seen an end of all perfection, but thy commandments are exceeding broad ; ample in all dimensions ; in a word, immortal.

Madam, this topic is as large as the world. This book, I say, of all the philosophers, the precepts of all the divines, the histories and records of all ages. The experience of all mankind, every day's vicissitude proclaims it aloud ; and never was it more articulate and conspicuous than in this conjuncture, present, and approaching revolution. And it is an eternal truth, and can never be otherwise, that true honour and happiness, and the things which we seek (would consummate our felicity and bound our further pursuits), is not to be found in the things which pass away like a dream when we awake ; but in a brave and generous soul, that having those advantages by birth or laudable acquisition, can cultivate them to the production of things beneficial to mankind, the government, and eminent station in which God has placed him. This is great indeed, and truly noble. The fruit of it is a present good, the memory and contemplation of it a lasting pleasure, and a glorious recompense. But what's all this to your Ladyship, who knows all I can say in this, or any other subject ? It is then nothing to inform and teach your Ladyship, but an account of my most retired thoughts ; and an idea of the passion I have, that you may, from the yet remaining hopes of your illustrious family (in whom there already appear such fair impressions and noble characters of virtue), find always something to alleviate your past sufferings and unexpected traverses in your present circumstances. Do not therefore with much anxiety afflict yourself at what is past, farther than to improve your experience and exercise your virtue by its documents. But look forward at present and always upwards for the time to come, and to things possible and permanent, which will bring peace at the last ; and those will God keep in perfect peace whose minds are stayed in Him. Suffer nothing then to abate of your courage and Christian fortitude ; you know who



is a present help in trouble, and you will do nothing without consulting Him, and you will need no other in this world to bring you safe out of them all. Remember that One (who yet suffered much greater) found by experience (as so will your Ladyship I am persuaded with joy) how good it was that he had been afflicted. And verily, this is the best use we should make of all God's methods and dispensations of this sort; and it is, by the suffrage and observation of all holy persons, a greater indication of God's paternal care and favour, than a continual current and succession of temporal prosperity. This your Ladyship will find to be the tenor of those divine oracles you so assiduously read and meditate on, and which will fill your heart with more real joy and inward consolation than you could ever have derived from all other helps and friends, princes and great men, in this wretched, perishing world.

The tiresome mortifications I have gone through for above fifteen years past, being entangled in a trust; besides that of the late Viscountess Mordaunt (of which I am but newly delivered), my own tedious suit in Chancery; with the burden of no few years upon me, and domestic cares (requiring some indulgence), considered; your Ladyship is pleased to accept of my son, who is disposed to serve you, if you command it, and that my Lord Godolphin be one in the trust: because, though his Lordship should not be so active in the industrious part, he will be of great advantage to the safe and prudential: which is, I assure your Ladyship, of great moment in confidences of this nature. I am, Madam, yours, &c.

*John Evelyn to Lord Spencer*

MY LORD,—Having now tempted and sufficiently provoked your Lordship in Plautus, Cicero, Pliny, Seneca, Lipsius, &c. (for your Lordship is master of all styles) I give it over. On my word, your Lordship has tamed the shrew, and it is more than time for me to leave off the pedant, and write henceforth in my mother tongue.

And now I think on it, I cannot a little wonder that whilst there are extant so many volumes of letters, and familiar epistles in the politer modern languages, Italian, Spanish, and French, we should have so few tolerable ones of our own country now extant, who have adorned the part of elegancy, so proper and so becoming persons of the nobility, quality, and men of business, and education too, as well as lovers and courtiers of the fair sex. Sir Francis Bacon, Dr. Donne, and I hardly remember any else who have published any thing of considerable, and they but gleanings; or cabal men, who have put many things in a heap, without much choice or fruits, especially as to the culture of the style or language, the genius of the nation being almost another thing than it was at that time. James Howell published his *Ho-Eliaenæ*, for which he indeed was laughed at (not for his letters, which acquainted us with a number of passages worthy to be known, and had never else been preserved), but which, were the language enlightened with that sort of exercise and conversation, I should not question its being equal to any of the most celebrated abroad. When, therefore, your Lordship shall think fit to descend so low as to believe it not unworthy your reflections (you who are so perfect a master in the learned tongues), how would you embellish your native language, set an emulous example to others, revive the dire and mournful age, and put it out of debt by the product of a native flock of our own, and, as I said, the most useful. I am, &c.

*John Evelyn to Samuel Pepys*

*Sayer-Court, 12th August, 1689*

SIR,—I was on Wednesday last (afternoon) to kiss your hands; but finding you abroad, and myself obliged to return that evening, that I might receive the Countess of Sunderland, who sent me word she would call at my house the next morning early before her embarkment for Holland, I do now write, what I should have said to you, if time had permitted; and that is to let you know, that upon your late communicating to me your desire of adorning your choice library with the pictures of men illustrious for their parts and erudition. I did not in the least suspect your intention of placing my shallow head amongst



those heroes, who, knowing my unworthiness of that honour, will, in spite of your good opinion of Mr. Kneller for his skill of drawing to the life, either condemn his colouring, that he made me not blush, or me for impudence that I did not. But this is not all : for men will question your judgment, or suspect you of flattery, if you take it not down ; for in good earnest, when I seriously consider how unfit I am to appear in the class of those learned gentlemen, I am perfectly ashamed, and should say with much more reason than Marullus (after a recension of the famous poets)

Nos, si quis inter ceteros locat Vates,  
Onerat, quam honorat verius.

'Tis pity and a diminution, so elegant a place and precious collection should have anything in it of vulgar, but such as Paulus Jovius has celebrated, and such as you told me you were procuring ; the Boyles, the Gales, and the Newtons of our nation : what, in God's name, should a planter of colewort do amongst such worthies ? Setting him aside, I confess to you I was not displeased with the fancy of the late Lord Chancellor Hyde, when to adorn his stately palace (since demolished) he collected the pictures of as many of our famous countrymen as he could purchase or procure, instead of the heads and busts of foreigners, whose names, through the unpardonable mistake or (shall I call it) pride of painters they scorn to put to their pieces ; imagining it would dishonour their art, should they transmit anything valuable to posterity besides faces, which signify nothing to the possessor (unless their relations were to live for ever, and always in being), so as one cannot tell whether they were drawn from any of their friends or ancestors, or the picture of some porter or squalid chimney-sweeper, whose prolix beard and wrinkled forehead might pass him for a philosopher. I am in perfect indignation at this folly, as oft as I consider what extravagant sums are given for a dry scalp of some (forsooth) Italian painting, be it of Raphael or Titian himself ; which would be infinitely more estimable, were we assured it was the picture of the learned Count of Mirandola, Politian, Guicciardini, Machiavel, Petrarch, Ariosto, or Tasso ; or some famous pope, prince, poet, or other hero of those times. Give me Carolus Magnus, a Tamerlane, a Scanderbeg, Solymán the Magnificent, Matt. Corvinus, Lorenzo, Cosimo, Medici, Andrea Doria, Ferdinando Cortez, Columbus, Americus Vespucius, Castracani Castruccio, and a Sforza ; the effigies of Cardan, and both the Scaligers, Tycho Brahe, Copernicus, and Galileo. I say, give me the portraits of an Isabella of Aragon or Castile, and her four daughters ; Lucretia D'Este (to whom our Queen is related), Victoria Colonna, Hippolita Strozzi, Petrarch's Laura, Anna Maria Schurman, and above all, Helen Cornaro, daughter of a procurator of St. Marco (one of the most illustrious families of Venice), who received the degree of Doctress at Padua for her universal knowledge and erudition, upon the importunity of that famous University prevailing on her modesty. She had been often sought in honourable marriage by many great persons, but preferring the Muses before all other considerations, she preserved herself a virgin, and being not long since deceased, had her obsequies celebrated at Rome by a solemn procession, and elogy of all the witness of that renowned city. Nor may I forget the illustrious of our own nation of both sexes : the Westons, Moores, Seymours, Sir J. Cheke, Ann Countess of Oxon (whose monument is in Westminster Abbey), the late Mrs. Philips, and Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter to the unfortunate Queen of Bohemia, to whom the great Des Cartes dedicates his books, with a world of more renowned characters, famous for arms and arts : rather than the most beautiful courtesan or prostitute of them all, who has nothing to commend her but her impudence, and that she was a painted strumpet. Did it ever prejudice the glory of the inimitable Holbein for putting the names of our great Duke of Norfolk, Henry the Eighth when less corpulent, Edward the Sixth and Treasurer Cromwell, Jane Seymour, Anne Bulleyn, Charles Brandon, Althea Talbot Countess of Arundel, Cardinal Wolsey, Sir Thomas More and his learned daughters, Sir Brian Tuke, Dr. Noel, Erasmus, Melancthon, and even honest Frobenius, among innumerable other illustrious of that age for learning and other virtues ? I ask if this were the least diminution to the fame of one who really painted to the life beyond any man this day living ? But, in truth, they seem from the beginning jealous of their own honour, and afraid of being forgotten : hence we find ΓΛΑΥΚΩΝ



ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΙ ΕΠΟΙΕΙ insculpt on the Farnesian Hercules, and *Michael Angelo fecit, P. P. Reubens pinxit, Marc. Antonio cælavit, &c.* There is not that wretched print but wears the name of no-artist, whilst our painters take no care to transmit to posterity the names of the persons whom they represent; through which negligence so many excellent pieces come after a while to be dispersed amongst brokers and upholsterers, who expose them to the streets in every dirty and infamous corner. 'Tis amongst their dusky lumber we frequently meet with Queen Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, the Countess of Pembroke, Earls of Leicester and Essex, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Philip Sidney, Cecil, Buckhurst, Walsingham, Sir Francis Bacon, King James and his favourite Buckingham, and others (who made the great figure in this nation), of John Huss, Zisca, Luther, Calvin, Beza, Socinus, William and Maurice Princes of Orange, Charles the Fifth, Philip the Second, Francis the First; the Dukes of Alba, Parma, Don John of Austria, and Count Egmont; authors of sects, great captains and politicians (famous in our history in other countries), flung many times behind the hangings, covered with dust and cobwebs. Upon this account it is, men curious of books and antiquities have ever had medals in such estimation, and rendered them a most necessary furniture to their libraries; because by them we are not only informed whose real image and superscription they bear, but have discovered to us, in their reverses, what heroical exploits they performed; their famous temples, basilicæ, thermæ, amphitheatres, aqueducts, circuses, naumachias, bridges, triumphal arches, columns, historical and other pompous structures and erections by them: and which have been greatly assistant to the recovery of the ancient and magnificent architecture, whose real monuments had been so barbarously defaced by the Goths and other truculent invaders, that without this light (and some few ruins yet extant justify those types) that so useful order and ornament of columns and their concomitant members were hardly to be known by the text of Vitruvius, and all his learned commentators; and till Daniel Barbaro, Leon Alberto, Raphael, M. Angelo, and others raised it out of the dust, and restored that noble art, by their own and other learned men consulting and comparing the reverses of medals and medallions: besides what they further contribute to the elucidation of many passages in history, chronology, and geography. So as I do not see how Mr. Pepys's library can be long without this necessary adjunct. It is amongst the medals we meet the ancient legislators, Lycurgus, Solon, Numa, &c. There we find Orpheus, Linus, and the old bards; and there is mention of *nummus Homericus* by Strabo, and (if I well remember) by Aristotle himself too; as there is still extant those of the brave Hector and Achilles: so as among them we may see what kind of persons were Aristides, Themistocles, Epaminondas, Miltiades, Alexander, and Cyrus, Darius, &c. The grave philosophers Socrates, Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, Zeno, and Demosthenes, show their faces to this day revered in our medals. Those of the Hebrew represent to us the rod of Aaron and pot of manna, and show how Judah was led captive. We come by medals to understand the ancient weights and measures, and the value of moneys; you will see there when it was that princes assumed the radiant crowns, and what the diadem was. I might proceed to the Punic Hannibal, Juba, &c., to the consular and imperial of the Romans from Romulus, the Scipios, Catos, down to this age of ours, if after Pertinax, and decline of that empire, sculpture and all good arts had not fallen with it. You will therefore be curious of having the first Cæsars, the great Julius (after his Pharsalian victory) being the first honoured with having his effigies, old, lean, and bald as he was, in medal, or rather in money, which are rare to procure, in gold or small copper. There are of these and the other emperors with Greek inscriptions also. Who is not delighted to behold the true effigies of the famous Augustus, cruel Nero, and his master Seneca? Vespasian, Titus, Nerva, Trajan, Antoninus, Severus, the great Constantine and his devout mother Helena? For we have in medals the beautiful Cleopatra and her paramour; Drusilla, Livia, Julia, Agrippina, Antonia, Valeria, Messalina, Octavia, Poppæa Sabina, all of them Augustas; and sundry more of the fair sex who ruled the world. I have seen a series of the popes from St. Peter; and amongst the reputed heresiarchs, that medallion of John Huss and Jerome of Prague's martyrdom, with the memorable inscription *Post centum annos vos Cito*, which fell out at the appearing of Martin Luther exactly at that period. But, Sir, I am sensible I have quite tired you by



this time with medals ; and therefore I will say nothing concerning those observations in the filing, sharpness, and due extant varnish and other marks, necessary to be critically skilled in, to prevent the being cheated and imposed upon by copies and counterfeits for antique and original, (though yet all copies if well dissembled, stamped, or cast, are not to be rejected) ; because you will, both for this and all the rest, consult Fulvius Ursinus, Goltzius, Monsieur St. Amant, Otto, Dr. Spon, Vaillant, Dr. Patin, and (*instar omnium*) the most learned Spanhemius in that treatise *De præstantiâ et usu Numismatum Antiquorum*. You will likewise make use of your friends Dr. Gale, Mr. Henshaw, Hill, and Mr. Justell, upon whose skill and judgment you may rely, though even the most skilful may now and then be mistaken : but you shall be sure not to be paid with trash, such as I do not (as I said) call the Antiquo Moderno if well imitated. These persons, your friends whom I mentioned, will I am sure be ready to assist you in this laudable curiosity. And if they can be purchased together, as accidentally they sometimes may, it will save you a great deal of pains, and enrich you at once. But otherwise, they are likeliest met withal amongst the goldsmiths, and casually, as one walks the streets on foot, and passes by the stalls. Mr. Ashmole, our common friend, had collected all the ancient and modern coins of this kingdom, which were very rare, together with several medals of our British, Saxon, and other kings, upon occasion of births, coronations, marriages and other solemnities. I know not whether they escaped the burning of his study at the Middle Temple. But for the most accurate ordering and disposing of medals, so as one may more commodiously take them out of their repositories, Mr. Charlton<sup>a</sup>, of that society has a peculiar method, as he is the most elegant, and rarely furnished in all his other collections. In the mean time the curious of this sort of erudition (I mean of medals) were formerly, and I believe at present, very few in England. For besides Sir Robert Cotton, Mr. Selden, Sir Simon D'Ewes, Sir Thomas Hanmer of Hanmer, Sir William Paston, and the late Mr. Hervey, I find hardly any. That great lover of antiquity, Thomas Earl of Arundel, had a very rich collection as well of medals, as other intaglios, belonging to the cabinet he purchased of Daniel Nice at the cost of ten thousand pounds, which, with innumerable other rarities, have been scattered and squandered away by his Countess when she got that treasure to Amsterdam, whilst my Lord was in Italy, where he died. Abundance of them she bestowed also on the late unhappy Viscount Stafford, her beloved son ; and such as remained, Lely, Wright, and the rest of the painters, panders and misses, have cheated the late Duke of Norfolk of. The same fate befel a noble collection of medals belonging to the then curious Sir Simon Fanshaw, of Ware Park ; they were after his decease, thrown about the house (as that worthy gentleman his son, Sir Richard, Lord Ambassador in Spain, from whom I had the relation, has told me) for children to play at counter with : as were those elegant types of Sir Henry Savill's, at Eton, which that learned knight procured with great cost for his edition of St. Chrysostom ; and as it commonly fares with such curiosities where the next heir is not a virtuoso. So vain a thing it is to set one's heart upon anything of this nature with that passion and mania, that insatiable earl whom I mentioned did, to the detriment of his estate and family ; *mediocria firma*. The medals in our university libraries are not yet at all considerable, though Obadiah Walker were an industrious promoter of it, and not unskilful in them. Mr. Ralph Sheldon, of Weston, in Warwickshire, left a very handsome collection both of gold, silver, and copper, ancient and modern, part of which were bequeathed to a sister of my Lady Tukes, who not long since offered to have sold them. I brought M. Justell to see them, but they were much overvalued, and whether she have since disposed of them I never enquired. At present, I know of none who can show a better chosen set of medals than the Earl of Clarendon, to whose late father (after all this tedious parenthesis) I return, and have a mind to entertain you a while longer with what I had begun, where I spake of his purpose to furnish all the rooms of state and other apartments with the pictures of the most illustrious of our nation, especially of his Lordship's time and acquaintance, and of divers before it. There were at full length, and as I doubt not but you well remember to have seen, the great Duke of Buckingham, the brave Sir Horace and Francis Vere, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Philip Sidney, the great Earl of Leicester, Treasurer Buckhurst, Burleigh, Walsingham, Cecil, Lord Chancellor Bacon,

<sup>a</sup> See *Diary*, p. 456.



Ellesmere, and I think all the late Chancellors and grave Judges in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth, and her successors James and Charles the First. For there was Treasurer Weston, Cottington Duke Hamilton, the magnificent Earl of Carlisle, Earls of Carnarvon, Bristol, Holland, Lindsey, Northumberland, Kingston, and Southampton; Lords Falkland and Digby (I name them promiscuously as they come into my memory); and of Charles the Second, besides the Royal Family, the Dukes of Albemarle and Newcastle, Earls of Derby, Shrewsbury, St. Alban's, the brave Montrose, Sandwich, Manchester, &c.; and of the coif, Sir Edward Coke, Judge Berkely, Bramston, Sir Orlando Bridgman, Geoffrey Palmer, Selden, Vaughan, Sir Robert Cotton, Dugdale, Mr. Camden, Mr. Hales of Eton. The Archbishops Abbot and Laud, Bishops Juxon, Sheldon, Morley, and Duppa: Dr. Sanderson, Brownrigg, Dr. Donne, Chillingworth, and several of the clergy, and others of the former and present age. For there were the pictures of Fisher, Fox, Sir Thomas More, Thomas Lord Cromwell, Dr. Nowel, &c. And what was most agreeable to his Lordship's general humour, old Chaucer, Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, who were both in one piece, Spenser, Mr. Waller, Cowley, Hudibras, which last he placed in the room where he used to eat and dine in public, most of which, if not all, are at the present at Cornbury in Oxfordshire; together with the library, which the present Earl has considerably improved, besides what books he has at Swallowfield not contemptible; and the manuscript copies of what concerns the Parliamentary Records, Journals and Transactions which I have heard both himself and the late unfortunate Earl of Essex, (who had also the same curiosity) affirm cost them 500*l.* transcribing and binding, and indeed furnish a pretty large room. To complete and encourage this noble and singular collection, I sent his Lordship a list of the names following: Cardinals Pole and Wolsey; Gardner Bishop of Winchester, Cranmer, Ridley, old Latimer, Bishop Usher, Mr. Hooker, Occham, Ripley, John Duns, Roger Bacon, Suisset, Tunstal Bishop of Durham (correspondent with Erasmus), Tompson, Venerable Bede, if at least to be met with in some ancient office or mass-book, where I have seen some of those old famous persons accurately painted either from the life or from copies: Sir John Cheke, Sir Tho. Bodley, Smith, Jo. Berkeley, Mr. Ascham, Sir Fulke Greville, Buchanan, Dr. Harvey, Gilbert, Mr. Oughtred, Sir Henry Wotton (I still recite them promiscuously and not like a herald), Sir Francis Drake, Sir Richard Hawkins, Mr. Cavendish, Martin Frobisher, &c.: some of which his Lordship procured, but was, you know, interrupted, and after all this apparatus and grandeur, died an exile, and in the displeasure of his Majesty and others who envied his rise and fortune, *tam breves Populi Romani amores!* But I shall say no more of his ministry, and what was the pretence of his fall, than that we have lived to see great revolutions. The buffoons, parasites, pimps, and concubines, who supplanted him at Court, came to nothing not long after, and were as little pitied. 'Tis something yet too early to publish the names of his delators, for fear of one's teeth. But time will speak truth, and sure I am the event has made it good. Things were infinitely worse managed since his disgrace, and both their late Majesties fell into as pernicious counsels as ever Princes did: whilst, whatever my Lord Chancellor's skill, whether in law or politics, the offices of State and Justice were filled with men of old English honour and probity: less open bribery and ostentation; there was at least something of more gravity and form kept up (things, however railed at, necessary in Courts); magnificence and ancient hospitality in his Majesty's houses, more agreeable to the genius of this nation than the open and avowed luxury and profaneness which succeeded, *à la mode de France*, to which this favourite was a declared enemy upon my certain knowledge. There were indeed heinous matters laid to his charge, which I could never see proved; and you and I can tell of many that have fallen and yet suffer under that calamity.

But what's all this, you'll say, to our subject? Yes, he was a great lover at least of books, and furnished a very ample library, writ himself an elegant style, favoured and promoted the design of the Royal Society; and it was for this, and in particular, for his being very kind to me both abroad and at home, that I sent *Naudæus* to him in a dedicatory address, of which I am not so much ashamed as of the translation. There be some, who, not displeased with the style of that epistle, are angry at the application. But they do not consider that great persons, and such as are in place to do great and notable things, whatever their other



defects may be, are to be panegyrised into the culture of those virtues, without which 'tis to be supposed they had never arrived to a power of being able to encourage them. *Qui monet ut facias*, you remember the sequel. And 'tis a justifiable figure ; nor is it properly adulation, but a civility due to their characters. As for the translation, it has been so insufferably abused at the press, that the shame any uncorrected copy should come abroad has made me suppress as many as I could light on, not without purpose of publishing a new edition, and which now perhaps might be more seasonable, since the humour of exposing books, *sub hastâ* is become so epidemical, that it may possibly afford some direction to gentlemen who are making collections out of them. Besides, the first impression is, I hear, pretty well worn out, and I should be very unfortunate if it should miscarry twice, or meet with such another accident as happened, it seems, to the blotted manuscript at Oxford : the circumstances whereof I will not now trouble you withal.

And so I have done with my Lord Chancellor. But not so soon with my worthy friend Mr. Pepys, to whose learned and laudable curiosity of still improving his choice collection I should not advise a solicitous expense of having the pictures of so many great persons painted in oil, which were a vast and unnecessary charge ; though not so extraordinary a one to my Lord Chancellor as one may imagine, because, when his design was once made known, everybody who either had them of their own or could purchase them at any price, strove to make their court by these presents ; by which means he got many excellent pieces of Vandyke, and other originals of Lely, and the best of our modern masters' hands. But if, instead of these, you think fit to add to your title-pages, in a distinct volume, the heads and effigies of such as I have enumerated, and of as many others as either in this or any other age have been famous for arms or arts, in *taille douce*, and with very tolerable expense to be procured amongst the printsellers, I should not reprove it ; I am sure you would be infinitely delighted with the assembly, and some are so very well done to the life, that they may stand in competition with the best paintings. This were a cheap and so much a more useful curiosity, as they seldom are without their names, ages, and elegies of the persons whose portraits they represent : I say you will be exceedingly pleased to contemplate the effigies of those who have made such a noise and bustle in the world, either by their madness and folly, or a more conspicuous figure by their wit and learning. Nor would I yet confine you to stop here, but to be continually gathering as you happen to meet with other instructive types. For under this class may come in, battles, sieges, triumphs, jousts, and tournaments, coronations, cavalcades, and entries of ambassadors, processions, funeral and other pomps, tombs, trials, and executions ; stately edifices, machines, antique vases, spoils, basso-relievos, intaglios, and cameos taken from achates, onyxes, cornelians, and other precious stones ; ruins, landscapes, if from real subjects, not fancies which are innumerable and not necessary, but such as relate to history, and for reasons specified more at large in my *Treatise on Chalcography*. Your library being by this accession made suitable to your generous mind and steady virtue, I know none living master of more happiness, since besides the possession of so many curiosities, you understand to use and improve them likewise, and have declared that you will endeavour to secure<sup>a</sup> what with so much cost and industry you have collected, from the sad dispersions many noble libraries and cabinets have suffered in these late times : one auction, I may call it diminution, of a day or two, having scattered what has been gathering many years. Hence it is that we are in England so defective of good libraries among the gentlemen, and in our greatest towns : Paris alone, I am persuaded, being able to show more than all the three nations of Great Britain ; those of Mem'ius, Puteanus, Thuanus, Cordesius, Seguire, Colbert, Condé, and others innumerable of bishops, abbots, advocates, antiquaries, and a world of learned persons of the long robe ; besides the public libraries at St. Victoire, the Sorbonne, and, above all, that of Mazarin (now, with Richelieu's and sundry others, swallowed up in the present King's), far

<sup>a</sup> This Pepys subsequently did, by bequeathing his books and collection of prints to Magdalen College, Cambridge, where they now are, under the name of the Pepysian Library, still in the original book-cases and presses, placed in a room which they exactly fit.



exceeding anything we can show at home, though we have as much (if not greater) plenty and variety of the best books as any country in the learned world. But, as I said, they are in private cabinets, and seldom well chosen, unless in the Universities, where, if one may judge by the few productions of so many learned men as are there at leisure, they signify very little to the learned world. This great and august city of London, abounding with so many wits and lettered persons, has scarce one library furnished and endowed for the public. Sir John Cotton's, collected by his noble uncle, is without dispute the most valuable in MSS., especially of British and Saxon antiquities; but he refuses to impart to us the catalogue of this treasure, for fear, he tells me, of being disturbed. That of Westminster is not much considerable: still less that of Sion College. But there is hope his Majesty's at St. James's may emerge and be in some measure restored again, now that it comes under the inspection of the learned Mons. Justell, who you know was owner of a very considerable one at Paris. There are in it a great many noble manuscripts yet remaining, besides the Tecla; and more would be, did some royal or generous hand cause those to be brought back to it, which still are lying in mercenary hands for want of two or three hundred pounds to pay for their binding; many of which being of the Oriental tongues, will soon else find Jews and chapmen that will purchase and transport them, from whence we shall never retrieve them again. For thus has a cabinet of ten thousand medals, not inferior to most abroad, and far superior to any at home, which were collected by that hopeful cherisher of great and noble things, Prince Henry, been embezzled and carried away during our late barbarous rebellion, by whom and whither none can or is like to discover. What that collection was, not only of books and medals, but of statues and other elegant furniture, let the learned library keeper, Patritius Junius, tell you in his notes ad Epist. S<sup>c</sup>i Clementis ad Corinthos: 'Quem locum', (speaking of St. James's) 'si vicinam pinacothecam bibliothecæ celeberrimæ conjunctam, si numismata antiqua Græca ac Romana, si statuas et signa ex ære et marmore consideres, non im'érito thesaurum antiquitatis et τραπεζιον instructissimum nominare potes,' &c.

Were not this loss enough to break a lover's heart? The Royal Society at Gresham College has a mixture, though little apposite to the institution and design of that worthy assembly, yet of many excellent books and some few MSS., given them at my instance by the late Duke of Norfolk, which is but a part of that rare collection of good authors which, by the industry and direction of Francis Junius, the learned son of the learned Patrick, Mr. Selden, and the purchase of what was brought at once out of Germany, was left neglected at Arundel House before it was demolished and converted into tenements. I now mention Mr. Selden. There is a fragment of that great antiquary's library at the Middle Temple; but his manuscripts and best collections were bequeathed to the Bodleian at Oxford, to which both himself and especially Archbishop Laud were the most munificent benefactors; though with all these, so poor in manuscripts that they were ashamed to publish their catalogue with that of the *impressorum*, but which might have been equally enriched with any perhaps in Europe, had they purchased what was lately offered them by the executors of Isaac Vossius, though indeed at a great price, who have since carried them back into Holland, where they expect a quicker market. I wish with all my heart some brave and noble Mæcenas would have made a present of them to Trinity College in Cambridge, where that sumptuous structure (designed for a library) would have been the fittest repository for such a treasure. Where are our Suissets, Bodleys, Lauds, Sheldons, bishops, and opulent chancellors? Will the *Nepotismo* never be satisfied—*Sed præstat motus componere*. The next to that of the Bodleian are the libraries of Magdalen Coll., Christ Church, University, and Baliol, which last is furnished with divers considerable MSS., and lately (through the bounty of Sir Thomas Wendie) with a number of other curious books. But to return again nearer this city. That at Lambeth, replenished at present with excellent books, ebbs and flows, like the Thames running by it, at every prelate's succession or translation: there is at present a good assembly of manuscripts in a room by themselves. The Bishop of Ely had a very well-stored library; but the very best is what Dr. Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's, has at Twickenham, ten miles out of town. Only that good and learned man (Dr. Tenison) of St. Martin's near you, has begun a charity, for so I reckon it, as well as that of his two schools, &c., worthy his public and



generous spirit, and the esteem of all who know him. Our famous lawyer Sir Edward Coke purchased a very choice library of Greek and other MSS., which were sold him by Dr. Meric Casaubon, son of the learned Isaac; and these, together with his delicious villa, Durdens, came to the possession of the present Earl of Berkeley from his uncle Sir Robert Cook. He has sometimes told me he would build a convenient repository for them, which should be public, for the use of the clergy of Surrey; but what he has done or thinks to do herein, I know not. Why is not such provision made by a public law and contribution in every county of England? But this genius does not always preside in our representatives. I have heard that Sir Henry Savill was master of many precious MSS., and he is frequently celebrated for it by the learned Valesius, almost in every page of that learned man's annotations on Eusebius and the ecclesiastical historians published by him. The late Mr. Hales, of Eton, whom I mentioned, had likewise a very good library; and so had Dr. Cosin (late Bishop of Durham), a considerable part of which I had agreed with him for myself during his exile abroad, as I can show under his own hand<sup>a</sup>; but his late daughter, since my Lady Garret, thought I had not offered enough, and made difficulty in delivering them to me 'till near the time of his Majesty's restoration, and after that, the Dean, her father, becoming Bishop of that opulent see, bestowed them on the library there. But the Lord Primate Usher was inferior to none I have named among the clergy for rare MSS., a great part of which being brought out of Ireland, and left his son-in-law, Sir Timothy Tirrill, was disposed of to give bread to that incomparable prelate during the late fanatic war; such as remained yet at Dublin were preserved, and by a public purse restored and placed in the college library of that city. I have already mentioned what Isaac Vossius brought over, that had been his learned father's, and many other manuscripts which Isaac had himself brought from Queen Christina out of Sweden in recompense of his honorary, whilst he was invited thither with Salmasius, Des Cartes, Blundel, and others, by the heroic and royal errant. But those birds, as I said, have taken their flight, and are gone. I forbear to name the late Earl of Bristol's, and his kinsman, Sir Kenelm Digby's, libraries; of more pomp than intrinsic value, as chiefly consisting of modern poets, romances, chemical and astrological books; for I had the Catalogue in my possession before they were disposed of, put into my hands by my Lord Danby, then treasurer, who desired me to give my opinion of them, which I faithfully did. As for those of Sir Kenelm's, the Catalogue was printed, and most

<sup>a</sup> The following letter from Dr. Cosin to Evelyn is probably here alluded to: SIR,—I have here set the prices (which I paid) to the books which you have added. But there be four or five of them (marked with - +) which I desire to keep, because I have written some notes in them of my own. The remainder of the whole sum (as you will see at the foot of the enclosed paper) will be 105*l*. And truly, sir, I thought I had prevented any further motion of abatement, by the large offer that I made to you, of putting your wife's confident [friend] (for it concerns her only) to lose the third part of what her friend paid: specially considering that she is now forced to pay very near 200*l*. for the library, besides what it cost at first. I do not conceive that it will be any great charge to you to have them brought to London, where they will be subject to less hazard than in other places, and to no more there than all other worldly things are in all other places besides. If you consider their number, I desire you would be pleased to consider likewise, that they are a choice number, and a company of the best selected books among them all. When these and others of the like sort are gone, I have good hope, that those who come to buy the remainder and the worst of them all, will not desire to have above a third part of the price abated them; and therefore the better sort (such as you have chosen) might in reason go at a better rate; and indeed I have advised her, not to abate above a fourth part for the most of them, and for some to hold them at the same or a greater price than they cost; as for example, there is in your note—*Pliny's Natural History*, in English, priced at 36*s*. which is worth 3*l*.; *Camden's Errors* priced at 5*s*. 6*d*. for which I have seen 20*s*. given; *Paulus Jovius* at 20*s*., which sells now in Paris at 4 pistoles, and *Pol. Vergil* at 10*s*., which sells here for 10*l*.; *William Malmesbury* at 15*s*., for which they demand here 30*l*.; and *Asser. Menev.*, &c., at 14*s*., which they will not part with here nor elsewhere abroad for 20*l*. In regard whereof I made account, that you would rather have said the abatement had been too large than too little, which was made and offered so freely by your humble servant,

This 18th of July, 1651.

T. C.



of them sold in Paris, as many better have lately been in London. The Duke of Lauderdale's is yet entire, choicely bound, and to be sold by a friend of mine, to whom they are pawned ; but it comes far short of his relation's, the Lord Maitland's, which was certainly the noblest, most substantial, and accomplished library, that ever passed under the spear, and it heartily grieved me to behold its limbs, like those of the chaste Hippolytus, separated and torn from that so well chosen and compacted body. The Earl of Anglesey's, and several others since, by I know not what invidious fate, passed the same fortune, to whatever influence and constellation now reigning malevolent to books and libraries, which can portend no good to the future age.

And now I have in good earnest done with libraries ; but yet not quite with Mr. Pepys. For I mention none of all these as if I thought it necessary every private gentleman's study should be made common, but wish we had some more communicative and better furnished with good books, in one of the greatest cities of the universe (London) ; and for that end that a stately portico were so contrived at the west end of St. Paul's, as might support a palatine, capable of such a design ; and that every company and corporation of the city, every apprentice at his freedom, (assisted at first by a general collection throughout the nation, a copy of every book printed within the City and Universities,) did cast in their symbols for a present stock and a future ample fund. But this we are to expect when kings are philosophers, or philosophers kings, which I think may happen not in this but in Plato's revolution. All that I shall add concerning gentlemen being furnished with competent libraries, and for most part residing in town, is, how obliging a thing it were, and of infinite effect to the promoting a noble and useful conversation of learned gentlemen, if, as there is a Society for the Improvement of Natural Knowledge, and which was fit should be first, since things were before words, so there was an academy for that of art and improvement of speaking and writing well : of which sort there are (you know) some in Paris, and almost in every conceivable city of Italy, which go under the devices of *La Crusca*, *Humoristi*, *Insensati*, &c. ; as that of the *Beaux Esprits* in France, set up by the late great Cardinal de Richelieu for the polishing and enriching of the language, publishing those many accurate pieces which it has from time to time produced. It is in these assemblies, where a select number of learned men, persons of the first quality, not only come to hear, but esteem it an honour to have their ingenious exercises pass the test and censure of so many civil and polished wits. And all the apparatus for this is only the use of one competent room in the gentleman's house, where there are chairs and a table, where the person who declaims, being seated with a little more eminency, like the Roman rostrum, and choosing his subject in prose or verse, recites or reads his composures before the company. This, for being but one half day or afternoon in the week, and retiring in due hour, is of very little inconveniency to the master of the house. Here it is, I say, gentlemen and scholars bring their essays, poems, translations, and other oratorious productions upon a thousand curious subjects. Here they give law to words and phrases, and the *Norma loquendi*. These pass censure and bring authors to the touch, reject or entertain, and endenizen exotics, &c. I need not enlarge to Mr. Pepys the benefit and nobleness of such assemblies, who has himself seen what illustrious persons used to honour Mr. Justell ; how many great dukes and blue ribbons, ambassadors, as well as bishops, abbots, presidents, and other learned men and travellers, this brought together into conversation the most humane and obliging in the world ; and how exceedingly to be wished some noble and worthy gentleman would give a diversion so becoming and usefully entertaining as it would be. We should not then have so many crude and fulsome rhapsodies imposed upon the English world for genuine wit, language, and the stage, as well as the auditors and spectators, would be purged from things intolerable. It would inflame, inspire, and kindle another genius and tone of writing, with nervous, natural strength, and beauty, genuine and of our own growth, without always borrowing and filching from our neighbours. And indeed such was once designed since the restoration of Charles the Second (1665), and in order to it three or four meetings were begun at Gray's Inn, by Mr. Cowley, Dr. Sprat, Mr. Waller, the Duke of Buckingham, Matt. Clifford, Mr. Dryden, and some other promoters of it. But by the death of the incomparable Mr. Cowley, distance and inconvenience of the place, the contagion, and other circumstances



intervening, it crumbled away and came to nothing. What straw I had gathered towards the bricks for that intended pyramid (having the honour to be admitted an inferior labourer), you may command and dispose of, if you can suffer my importunences ; and that which I have not showed you, the plan I drew and was laying before them for that design ; which was, I said, the polishing of the English tongue, and to be one of the first intentions and chiefest subjects of the Academicians.

And now for shame have done ! Methinks I hear you cry out, ' What a ramble has Mr. Evelyn made ! what a deal of ground for so little game ! ' Well, you see what the setting up an empty noddle has produced, what a deal of ink is run to waste. And indeed I had been criminally unanswerable of detriment to the public as well as to your own repose, should I have dared to debauch you with so tedious and intemperate a scribble, whilst you were not (*tuo jure*) your own man. But if for all that, this prove an affliction also, as I have cause to apprehend it may, the only expedient to rid yourself of such impertinents will be to assume your late busy and honourable charge again ; when no man can be so impudently uncivil as to expect you should read his long letters, when he considers how many you will then be obliged to write.

*Samuel Pepys to John Evelyn<sup>a</sup>*

30th Aug., 1689

HONOURED SIR,—I shall never be anxious about pardon for not doing what I ought, where what I ought, is what I can't. And such is the giving a due answer to the inestimable honour and favour of your letter of this day : and so much the less estimable, by that alone for which you would censure it, its length : as containing, in less than five pages, what would cost me five volumes reading, from any other hand but Mr. Evelyn's. And yet some answer you shall (in time) have to it, and the best I can give you ; namely, by my endeavouring to leave no one syllable unpractised of what you have had the goodness to teach me in it, and lies within the reach of my pate and purse to execute.

Let this, I beg you, suffice to be said upon it at the first view. For though I could hardly find time to take breath till I had gone through it, yet I won't promise to have done reading it this month. One word only I would now say to you upon your first words, about the place I have been told in dooming your picture to, namely, that besides forty other reasons I had (founded upon gratitude, affection, and esteem), to covet that in effigy which I most truly value in the original, I had this one more, that I take it for the only head living I can hope to invite most by after it, of those few whose memories (when dead) I find myself wishing I could do aught to perpetuate. Among which fills a principal place, the most excellent Mr. Boyle, concerning whom I lately bespoke your favour, and dare now be the bolder in doing it again, from my having heard that he has newly been prevailed with by Dr. King, to have his head taken by one of much less name than Mr. Kneller, and a stranger, one Casuabon. I am ever, your most obedient servant and honourer,

S. PEPYS

*John Evelyn to Samuel Pepys<sup>b</sup>*

Deptford, October 4th, 1689

SIR,—I had newly been reading Aristotle's book *περί τῆς μαντικῆς*, &c., or Divination by Dreams (which follows his other Treatises *De Animâ*, *Memoriâ*, and *Reminiscentiâ*), when the very night after, methought Mr. Pepys and I were, among other things, discoursing in his library about the ceremonious part of conversation, and visits of form between well-bred persons : and I distinctly remember, that I told him (what is true and no dream) that the late Earl of St. Alban's (I mean uncle to H. Jermyn, the present Earl of Dover) took extraordinary care at Paris, that his young nephew should learn by heart all the forms of encounter, and Court-addresses ; such as the Latins would express by *verba honestatis* ; and the French if I mistake not, who are masters in these civilities to excess, *l'entregent* ; as upon occasion of giving or taking the wall,

<sup>a</sup> This letter is printed from a MS. copy preserved in the Bodleian Library.

<sup>b</sup> This letter is in prosecution of a former one of 26th August, 1689.



sitting down, entering in or going out of the door, taking leave at parting ; *l'entretien de la ruelle*, and other encounters ; *à la cavaliere* among the ladies, &c. In all which never was person more adroit than my late neighbour the Marquis de Ruvigny. And indeed the Italians and Spaniards exceed us infinitely in this point of good breeding. Nay, I observe generally that our women of quality often put us to 'O Lord, Madam !' when we have nothing to fill up and reply ; but *quorsum hæc ?* (little patience). I was never in my life subject to night visions till of late, that I seldom pass without some reverie, which verifies that of St. Peter (cited from the prophet), 'That your old men shall dream dreams' ; and so you will shortly give me over for a dotard, should I continue to interrupt you thus with my impertinencies. I will only tell you, that my wife, who is of a much sedater temper, and yet often dreaming, has now and then diverted me with stories that hung as orderly together as if they had been studied narratives, some of which I had formerly made her write down for the prettiness of them, very seldom broken, or inconsistent (such as commonly are mine), but such as the Peripatetic means, where he says *Quieto sanguine fiunt pura somnia* ; comparing those other extravagant and confused dreams to the resemblances which the circles of disturbed and agitated waters reflect, that blend and confound the species, and present us with centaurs and terrible spectres, whilst the calmer fountain gives the *entire* image (as it did with Narcissus's in the fable), and entertain us with our waking thoughts. What could be more explicit of the cause of this variety of dreams which he, as well as Hippocrates, and others from them, attribute to the crasis and constitution of the body and complexions domineering, with other perturbations affecting the fancy. But leaving these to the Oneirocritics, I shall make use of it no further, than to let you see how often you are in my best and serenest thoughts. *Amici de amicis certa sæpè somniant*, ἐρωτικὸς ἐν Ἐρωτι. And if the subject of my wild phantasm (which was a dialogue with you about forms of speaking upon ceremonious occasions), naturally leading me to something which I lately mentioned, where I spoke of academies and the refining of our language, have not already quite worn out your patience, I would entertain you here with a copy of what I sent our Chairman<sup>a</sup> some years since, as an Appendix to my former letter, and as you enjoined me.

So much for this, and I fear too much, now I see how I have blurred : but 'tis not worth the writing fairer.

Sir, I stayed at Lambeth with his Grace till past four, being to return with the Bishops, and go home, as I was engaged that evening : I called at your house, but you were gone forth, they told me, in your coach, which made me conclude it was not to Lambeth, when I should have been sorry not to have waited on you.

I have now gotten me a pair of new horses ; but they are very young, and hardly broken to the coach as yet : so soon as I may trust them, and that the weather be a little settled, I shall not fail of waiting on you to Mr. Charleton's, and those other virtuosos.

*John Evelyn to the Countess of Sunderland*

*Sayes-Court, 25th July, 1690*

MADAM,—I had prepared a letter, to congratulate my young Lord and the ladies, and all the illustrious family's happy arrival and return to Althorp, when just as I was writing came the sad tidings of the death of that excellent lady, your daughter, the Countess of Arran, which struck such a damp in me that I was forced to break off from a grateful subject, to condole with your Ladyship, and those whom I thought it my obligation to endeavour the comforting : and this was the more afflicting, that after such assurances of her

<sup>a</sup> The observations referred to by Evelyn, will be found already printed in this volume, pp. 611, 612, having been written twenty-four years earlier than the present letter. They are inserted in a copy of the communication to which he here alludes, addressed to Sir Peter Wyche, Chairman of a Committee appointed by the Royal Society to consider of the Improvement of the English Tongue.



Ladyship's perfect recovery, upon which I was meditating to write to you, this fatal news should dash our hopes again without any reserve. But so is the will of God, and this the constitution of all things here: no true satisfaction, no permanent felicity to be found on this side heaven: whatever other circumstances of happiness, as far as we can reckon any such thing in the power of this world to give us, may seem to promise of more lastingness and stability, 'tis all but a seeming, a mere show and false appearance; for either the things which we hope to enjoy are taken from us and perish in the fruition, or we are taken from them when we think ourselves most secure. Surely if in this life anything were desirable, the having and the leaving virtuous and gracious children behind us (such as might be examples of virtue, adorn and improve the age), were to be esteemed the most valuable of blessings. But as such blessings are rare, so when God bestows them they are soonest taken from us again. They can no more live in so corrupt an age, than a healthful body in a vitiated air. What then are we to do when we lose them? Not consider them as lost, but happily absent. Madam, you know how easy 'twere to say abundance of fine things on this subject, no topic more fruitful; but what's all this? The wound is deep and in a sensible part, and though time and reason mitigate the present smart, I cannot say it has healed what I oftentimes suffer when the loss of some dear children and friends come into my thoughts. One only consideration remains, that as I said they are so far from being lost or dead, that they live and are now immortal, and would not for all the world be with us again. Why then grieve we for them? Why, plainly for ourselves, whom we love more than God, whose will it is we should part with them and whatever He pleases to take from us here, and depend on Him alone, who alone will never fail, never forsake us, but give us that which shall never be taken from us. Live we then, Madam, in this religious indifference and resignation. But still God has not left your Ladyship without those blessings. He has but in part eclipsed, and rather borrowed for a while than taken them away. Besides my Lord your husband, whom you have seen restored, and which to see so, you esteemed so great a mercy; you have a daughter and a son, who are and ought to be all that you can wish or desire in children. And him will Almighty God preserve; in both you will see the fruits of the pious care and reward of your submission to the will of God, and receive all the discipline you have past through as a greater mark of His favour and love, than if you had never suffered the least check or diminution of your former prosperity. This I am so well persuaded of you feel already, however now by this lugubrious accident as by others sometimes interrupted, that you would not exchange your inward consolation, for the return of all those external fugitives you once enjoyed, to be deprived of this. Madam, this is a secret known only to those who feel it, which, since I am sure you do, I leave you to that God who gives it, who is your stay, your refuge, and may He be all that you can want and desire to supply this loss, and more than you can wish.

*John Evelyn to the Countess of Sunderland*

*Deptford, 4th August, 1690*

As for the 'Kalendar' your Ladyship mentions, whatever assistance it may be to some novice gardener, sure I am his Lordship will find nothing in it worth his notice but an old inclination to an innocent diversion, and the acceptance it found with my dear (and while he lived) worthy friend, Mr. Cowley, upon whose reputation only it has survived seven impressions, and is now entering on the eighth with some considerable improvements, more agreeable to the present curiosity. 'Tis now, Madam, almost forty years since first I writ it, when horticulture was not much advanced in England, and near thirty since first it was published, which consideration will, I hope, excuse its many defects. If in the meantime it deserve the name of no un-useful trifle, 'tis all it is capable of.

When many years ago I came from rambling abroad, observed a little there, and a great deal more since I came home than gave me much satisfaction, and (as events have proved) scarce worth one's pursuit, I cast about how I should employ the time which hangs on most young men's hands, to the best advantage; and when books and severer studies grew tedious, and other impertinence would



be pressing, by what innocent diversions I might sometime relieve myself without compliance to recreations I took no felicity in, because they did not contribute to any improvement of the mind. This set me upon planting of trees, and brought forth my *Sylva*, which book, infinitely beyond my expectation, is now also calling for a fourth impression, and has been the occasion of propagating many millions of useful timber-trees throughout this nation, as I may justify (without immodesty) from the many letters of acknowledgment received from gentlemen of the first quality, and others altogether strangers to me. His late Majesty Charles the Second, was sometimes graciously pleased to take notice of it to me, and that I had by that book alone incited a world of planters to repair their broken estates and woods, which the greedy rebels had wasted and made such havoc of. Upon this encouragement I was once speaking to a mighty man, then in despotic power, to mention the great inclination I had to serve his Majesty in a little office then newly vacant (the salary I think hardly £300) whose province was to inspect the timber-trees in his Majesty's forests, &c., and take care of their culture and improvement; but this was conferred upon another, who, I believe, had seldom been out of the smoke of London, where, though there was a great deal of timber, there were not many trees. I confess I had an inclination to the employment upon a public account, as well as its being suitable to my rural genius, born as I was at Wotton, among the woods.

Soon after this, happened the direful conflagration of this city; when, taking notice of our want of books of architecture in the English tongue, I published those most useful directions of Ten of the best authors on that subject, whose works were very rarely to be had, all of them written in French, Latin, or Italian, and so not intelligible to our mechanics. What the fruit of that labour and cost has been (for the sculptures, which are elegant, were very chargeable), the great improvement of our workmen, and several impressions of the copy since, will best testify.

In this method I thought properly to begin with planting trees, because they would require time for growth, and would be advancing to delight and shade at least, and were therefore by no means to be neglected and deferred, while building might be raised and finished in a summer or two if the owner pleased.

Thus, Madam, I endeavoured to do my countrymen some little service, in as natural an order as I could for the improving and adorning their estates and dwellings, and if possible, make them in love with these useful and innocent pleasures, in exchange of a wasteful and ignoble sloth which, I had observed, had so universally corrupted an ingenuous education.

To these I likewise added my little *History of Chalcography*, a treatise of the perfection of Painting, and of erecting Libraries, . . . Medals, with some other intermisses which might divert within doors, as well as altogether without.

*Henry Bemde to John Evelyn*

25th October, 1690

SIR,—The last night arrived Colonel Fitzpatrick, with the express from Kinsale: the new fort was surrendered upon honourable terms, marching out three regiments with bag and baggage, drums beating, colours flying, with an article for the governor, Sir Edward Scott, to have a passport to be transported beyond sea within any time during three months; they left great store and 109 pieces of cannon. The Duke of Berwick, with 1500 horse, was upon the march with a design to relieve it, but Lieut.-General Ginkel having notice, had like to have been in the rear of them with 3000 horse and 1000 dragoons, but of this they had notice, and did return to Limerick, burning many villages, and the Lord Orrery's house, which cost but lately 40,000*l*. The building was the noblest palace in Ireland. The Duke of Berwick sent twice to Maxwell not to fire it, but could not prevail. The Duke of Grafton is certainly dead; has made his will, by which the Lords Godolphin and Lichfield are executors. The King continues his pension to the young duke. To-morrow an ambassador from Portugal has audience of the King, which is an acknowledgment, and brings him into the Confederacy, and it is thought all the Italian princes will follow his example. The Turks now



growing so powerful in Hungary, have taken Belgrade, and it is feared Tekely has defeated Prince Louis of Baden ; the not having made a peace when time served is wholly imputed to the treachery of the Jesuits. The Breda, a third-rate ship, lying in Kinsale road, having twenty-five prisoners of war and many other passengers, designing for England the next day, was by an unhappy accident, blown up, all perishing but the captain, who cannot live, he is so bruised. The King goes next month for Holland. I am, sir, your affectionate servant,

H. BEMDE

*Robert Berkeley to John Evelyn*

*Spetchley, 1st January, 1690-1*

When I consider the honour Mr. Evelyn has done me in his hortulan Kalendar, I must blush at my own unworthiness, and be more than ever sensible of my defects in that which he is so great a master of. I confess I was always a lover of gardening, by reason I find in it a constant expectation of something new, without the remorse which most if not all the pleasures of this life are mixed with. And in this diversion I have here, at my poor villa, for some time entertained myself, buried, as 'twere, in oblivion of my friends, till I found myself living in your works, which are celebrated not only in your own country, but in those parts where I have observed the most curious in their plantations and gardens. The daily experience of this age testifies the universal benefit you have done mankind, in discovering to us several secrets in the mystery of that art, which before we were altogether ignorant of. Give me leave, my dear sir, to admire you in your garden, whilst you are raising those cedars which will eternise your memory ; so that we shall see a most pleasant verdure in the midst of winter, and the most curious plants preserved in their natural vigour, and all the variety of nature, in a perpetual spring. If there is a paradise here on earth, doubtless you enjoy it with your Flora, who excels not only in those qualities which render a rural life most agreeable, but in most other virtues and ornaments of her sex. You have made me your debtor to future ages ; and the best return I can pay you in this, will be to own on all occasions that I am, with the greatest deference and respect, sir, your most obliged and obedient servant,

R. BERKELEY

*From John Evelyn to Anthony à Wood*

*Sayes-Court, 29th May, 1691*

SIR,—Having lately received an account from Mr. Aubrey (as formerly by the Specimen and Proposals you have published) of the progress of the intended History (*Athenæ Oxonienses*), and that you desire to be informed who one Mr. Wells (some time since of Deptford) was : the best light I can give you will be from the inscription upon his wife's monument in that parish-church. Of what county, or family of that name, he originally was, I cannot say ; but it might haply be conjectured by the arms, had not the clerk (whom I ordered to send me the inclosed note) forgotten that circumstance. Thus much only I can add, that Mr. Wells the husband married into a very ancient and worthy family of the Walleengers and Gonstones, of which the last (namely Benjamin) had been treasurer of the Navy Royal during the reigns of Henry VIII, King Edward VI, Queens Mary and Elizabeth, a place of greatest trust and honour. And to these two families my wife has a near relation. But to return to Mr. Wells. He was the author of a book of Shadows or Dialing, an excellent mathematician, well acquainted with Mr. Gunter, Gelibrand, Doctor Gilbert, Mr. Oughtred, and other famous mathematicians of his time : I have several horoscopes and other schemes of his, among my papers. He had two sons (whom I well knew), whereof the eldest succeeded in his father's office of Storekeeper in the Naval Arsenal, a place of good credit, and requiring extraordinary application. His second son, Ben. Wells, Physician, formerly fellow of All Souls in Oxon, a very good scholar, lately deceased at Greenwich, leaving only two daughters.

This, sir, being all I can at present learn of Mr. Wells, I take opportunity to superadd something which more immediately concerns myself. 'Tis some time since that Dr. Plot, communicating to me your noble design, required me (as from yourself) to give him some account of my own family, &c. : what then I writ I do

not now so well approve of: and divers circumstances since that intervening both as to my fortune (which may possibly transfer my hitherto abode here at Sayes-Court in Kent to the seat of my ancestors in Surrey), and honourable charge which his late Majesty conferred on me, of one of the Commissioners of the Privy Seal, seems to require some other account from me than that which Dr. Plot exacted of me, which I desired he would entreat you to manage, not as written by me in my own person (which were a vanity insupportable), but that you would use the sponge, as you thought fit, and as becomes the modesty of one who has no other ambition in this, than that (if needs you will take notice of an inconsiderable man), though I can contribute little to your worthy labour, I may yet endeavour that the honour you intend me, and the glorious university who is pleased to own me, may not suffer through your too great civility, or reproach me of presumption, or ingratitude. I am, Sir, yours, &c.

SIR,—If I may be so bold, I should esteem it a great favour, if at least you have prepared anything concerning me, that you would transmit me a copy thereof before you print it.

*From Sir Richard Bulkeley to John Evelyn*

*London, 13th April, 1692*

SIR,—It is from your great sense of religion, and love to learning, that I have been moved to give you the trouble of this; and it is from that also that I hope for my pardon for this, which otherwise were a great presumption. Although you have lived so long in the world as to know the vanity of learning in itself, and that almost all its satisfactions are calculated only for the meridian of this short life, yet you cannot but know that in some particulars it may be instrumental in promoting the glory of God; and that you may contribute in some measure to make it so, is the intent and end of this. The bearer hereof is the son of a poor widow in London, who, by the charitable care of Dr. Gale, has attained to so great a degree of learning, that upon the public examination at Paul's School he was chosen (with a small exhibition of 10*l.* a-year which the Mercers' Company do allow) to go off to Cambridge. But his learning (of which you will presently be the judge) is much short of his parts and his industry in his studies, and those are yet abundantly of his piety. I have known him a considerable time, and have found in him so deep a sense of religion, and such a pure, meek, humble, and resigned soul, of which in discourse I could give you evident testimonies, that I am fully persuaded he might become a very useful labourer in the Lord's vineyard; but here he sticks, and without the assistance of some Mecænas he cannot subsist at Cambridge. I hope you will pardon the great freedom I have taken in giving him this opportunity of applying himself to you for a charity of, I think, the best and the most useful sort. I rest, sir, Your most humble servant,

RICHARD BULKELEY

*From the Bishop of Lincoln (Dr Tenison) to John Evelyn*

*Buckden, October 3rd, 1692*

SIR,—Though I have had here a great deal of good company, yet I must own that I still wanted your conversation, especially upon the happening of the earthquake. None in Buckden (that I can hear of) were sensible of it, but it was discerned in divers neighbouring towns, and many have complained to me of a giddiness in their heads which it caused for a while. In the fens, nigh Ely, some turf-diggers were much surprised by it, whilst they perceived the ground to tremble in an unusual manner, and the water to come of a sudden a foot deep into dry pits, and by and by to sink down again.

Since this earthquake, I mused a little upon the nature of earthquakes in general, whilst I was upon the road to Cambridge, and I here send you my conjectures, to no other end than that I may draw from you some better thoughts upon the subject. My conceit is this. I imagine that the cause of thunder in the clouds is much the same with that of quaking in the earth, the discharge of a nitro-sulphurous matter. I know nothing in nature which goes off with such force, and moving with such speed, as that does; and in this earthquake it must have



been something of mighty force to make it so general, and of wonderful celerity to cause it in so many very distant places about the same hour.

If I be not much mistaken in the last earthquake which destroyed Smyrna, a sulphurous flame broke out of the earth and did dreadful execution above-ground; and in this it was here said, that by many persons in London a sulphurous stench was smelt, and by some in Northamptonshire whilst they were hunting; and (if I well remember) the places most subject to earthquakes, as those nigh to Constantinople, abound with sulphur both in the air and in the earth. This nitro-sulphurous matter may be sometimes kindled in the earth by lightning striking into some deep cavity impregnated with that body, and, I think, in the late earthquake in Jamaica, there happened just before it a mighty tempest in the air. Whilst I mention Jamaica, give me leave to transcribe a few words out of Palmer's Almanack, in his observations on September last. 'We wish well', says he, 'to the island of Jamaica, for if  $\Omega$  be their horoscope, it cannot be of pleasant consequence to that people'. Here, though he is too late by some months, and speaks not particularly of an earthquake, yet his singling out of that island this year has something of oddness in it, though nothing of prophecy. But to return to the matter from which I digressed. Sometimes the lightning may kindle the sulphur in the earth and cause an explosion, and by that an earthquake; sometimes some other causes in the bowels of the earth may set it on fire, and then, if it happens in a place where there is little communication by subterraneous caverns, the earthquake may be of less extent and the sulphurous flame may break out as in Vesuvius. But if it happens where there is a great store of nitro-sulphurous matter, and a great communication by long and various channels perhaps it may be the first matter and by it which it immediately kindles, and so in succession make a very forcible and speedy and general concussion. I doubt not but that there are quantities of nitre and sulphur everywhere in the air and earth, but more especially towards the central parts of the earth, as also that there are innumerable very deep caverns in the earth by which the parts of it have communication. That which made this earthquake, whatsoever it was, moved in passages under the sea, being felt by us and by those beyond the seas that encompass us.

This is the sum of the fancies that came into my head whilst I was passing from Buckden to Cambridge. It may be, if I had slept all the way in my coach, I might have dreamt as philosophically as I now write: however, it will turn to my benefit if the effect of it be a letter of more judicious reflections from so knowing and worthy a friend as yourself to, Sir, your very obliged faithful servant,

THOMAS LINCOLN

*From John Evelyn to the Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. Tenison)*

*Sayes-Court, 15th October, 1692*

MY LORD,—Whatsoever my opinion had been concerning the cause of earthquakes, I am sure it had become me to have submitted to your Lordship's better judgment. But, indeed, I have long had no other sentiments of it than what I find confirmed by your Lordship with so great reason, by so many experiments, and pregnant instances of the irresistible effects of nitre, which no chains can bind. An experiment which was long since made at Gresham College, was enough to convince one. They prepared a ball of solid iron, about the thickness of a pretty cannon bullet, which was hammered both hot and cold, to render it as hard and tough as possible. In this they drilled a small hole to the centre, and after having dropped in a few grains of gunpowder, and stopping them up by forcing in a screw, exceedingly well riveted at the top, they set it on a pan of charcoal, in a large quadrangle of the College, which no sooner thereby heated, but with a terrible explosion it broke the ball into a thousand pieces. Now though this was common gunpowder, yet, 'tis not the sulphur, but the nitre, which operates with this pernicity, and breaks all bands whatsoever. The sulphur and coal which enter into the composition and blacken the corns, are only (your Lordship knows) in order to its speedy kindling, adding little else to its force. The consideration whereof frees me from all questionings of the being and power of spirits (I mean intellectual ones), and of creatures and beings invisible. The dire effects of compressed and incarcerated air, when the turnkey fire (sulphur) unlocks the prison-



doors, are not to be expressed but with astonishment ; nor pass I by a windmill without wonder, to see a stone of that magnitude, and so ponderous, and of so many tons weight, whirled about by that swiftness by something which we do not see, and sometimes hardly feel, for a very little breath will set it going. Indeed it was to this pent-up vapour, that the ancient meteorologists attributed those cholics and convulsions of the earth ; but they did not dream of nitre, which, though no more than air contracted, has so much the more violent operation when expanded, as inclines me to think it has raised all the famous fires we meet with, and not only the volcanos at present burning (such as Hecla, Vesuvius, Ætna, Stromboli, &c.) but perhaps most of the mountains of the world, which I fancy might have been thrust up by the force of subterranean fires. Powdered alabaster, chalk and sand being put into a vessel, and set on the fire will, (when hot) boil and bubble up to some pretty and odd resemblances of such protuberances. Nor is it unlikely that where the hills are highest, the caves are as profound underneath them ; and that there are vast ones under those Alps and Sierras from whence our rivers derive their plentiful streams, and have their supplies from some such capacious cisterns and *hydro phylatia* as Kircher mentions. Besides these, may there not also be many dry and empty *cryptas*, sometimes above, and sometimes beneath these water receptacles, where Vulcan and the Cyclops are perpetually at work ? And that in process of time, the fire arriving at a bed of nitre and sulphur, blowing up all incumbrances, not only causes these concussions, but frequently spew out great quantities of water ? 'Tis evident that the very glebe and soil all about Naples is natural fuel, where I have in many places taken up *sulphur vivum*, both under and above the surface. All the ground both under that noble city and country about it, sounds hollow like a tub. The hot baths, natural stoves, and other extraordinary things of this kind through all that territory, are the effects of subterranean fire, which, feeding on the bituminous and other unctuous and inflammable matter (which it copiously finds), when it comes once to meet with a stratum of nitre it forces up all above and about it, and makes that prodigious havoc, however thick, deep, and heavy, be the incumbent weight or matter. Thus did Vesuvius, A.D. 1630, and now since (more terrible) at Catanea, ejecting stones and huge rocks of monstrous bulk ; belching out flames and scattering ashes some hundred leagues distance from the eruption. Now when this nitre has done its execution, and one thinks it quite at rest, (for so it seemed to be for about a thousand years, nay I think ever since the elder Pliny perished there<sup>a</sup>) emitting only a little smoke, it was all this while, it seems, lurking till it came to another stratum, and then up went all again ; and thus 'tis evident have been made those deep and dreadful *calderras* both of Vesuvius and Etna. Whether at first these fires were kindled by lightnings from without (as your Lordship well conjectures), or from coruscations from within, or by the collision of pyrites and other stones of the arched caverns, the prepared matter soon conceives a kindling, which breaking into a flame, rarifies the stagnant air that bursts those rocky bars, which, till it breaks out, puts oftentimes a country in those paroxysms and ague fits which we call earthquakes. The noise, explosion, and inconceivable swiftness of its motion, affecting so distant places in the same moment almost of time, shows through what recesses, long extended channels and hollow passages (as in so many mines), this sulphurous nitre lies in train, ready for the *linstock*. These furnaces are doubtless the laboratories where minerals are concocted into metals, *fluors* sublimated, salts and juices condensed into precious stones, the several ferments imparting various qualities to earths and waters, and promoting vegetation. Nay, who knows (and I pray God we may never know) whether local Hell be not the central fire ; or whether this vast terraqueous globe may not one day break like a grenado about our ears, and cast itself into another figure than the deluge did according to the ingenious Doctor's<sup>b</sup> theory ?

But, my Lord, from philosophising and conjecture I am rambling I know not whither, when all that I would signify is my full assent to your Lordship's reasoning ; verily believing the cause of earthquakes to proceed from the in-

<sup>a</sup> ' For in this confidence they built cities and palaces, and planted vineyards and places of pleasure. J. E '.

<sup>b</sup> Dr. Burnet of the Charter-House.



gradient mentioned, mutually enkindled, and then, in searching vent, tears all up, where it finds the obstacle and shaking all about it. 'Tis observable that Egypt and the lower regions seldom feel these concussions, whilst the mountainous countries are most obnoxious, as most cavernous; especially in hot climates. Sad instances of this are the yet ruins of Old Antioch, Smyrna, &c., and in our days Ragusa, Benevento, Smyrna again, and that terrible one of Jamaica, which had its operation, and was felt as far as England but a few days since. All the mountainous countries of Sicily and Greece and along Dalmatia's side are hollow, perhaps for thousands of miles, even under the very sea itself; as I believe from Vesuvius to Etna, and thence to other further remote mountains and volcanoes, perhaps as far as Iceland, China, and the Andes of Peru, which are full of *picos*, whereof Potosi (that inexhaustible magazine of silver and other metals) seems to be no other. Those furious ravages may also probably have made so many rugged rocks, cliffs, hiatuses and peloponesuses, and have separated those many islands, and scattered, nay, as it were, sowed about the ocean, and divided from the continent; and what if raised in the very sea itself, as the Terceras were, and Teneriffe in the Grand Canaries, not to insist on the new mountain near the Baix: So that, my Lord, I am in no distress at all to solve this phenomenon, at least to my own satisfaction. But when all is said, though all proceed from natural causes, yet doubt I not their being inflicted and directed by the Supreme Cause of causes, as judgments upon a sinful world; and for signs of great calamities, if they work no reformation: if they do, of chastisements. Upon these accounts I look on them as portentous and of evil presage, and to show us that there is no stability under heaven, where we can be safe and happy, but in Him alone who laid the foundations of the earth, the Rock of Ages that shall never be removed, when heaven and earth shall pass away.

As to our late earthquake here, I do not find it has left any considerable marks; but at Mons 'tis said it has made some demolitions. I happened to be at my brother's, at Wotton, in Surrey, when the shaking was, and at dinner with much company; yet none of us at table sensible of any motion. But the maid who was then making my bed, and another servant in a garret above her, felt it plainly, and so did my wife's laundry-maid here at Deptford: and, generally, wherever they were above in the upper floors, they felt the trembling most sensibly, for a reason I need not explain to your Lordship. In London, and particularly in Dover Street (where my son's house is), they were greatly affrighted. But the stories that go about in this neighbourhood, by many who art lately returned from Jamaica, are many, and very tragical. I doubt not at the next meeting of Gresham College (which will now shortly be after their usual recess during summer), we shall have ample and authentic histories and discourses on this subject from several places of their correspondents. I cannot, in the meantime, omit acquainting of your Lordship with one very remarkable, which we have received here from credible hands: that during this astonishing and terrible paroxysm, multitudes of people, running distractedly out of their tottering houses, and seeing so many swallowed up and perishing, divers of them espying the minister of the town at some distance ran and compassed him all about, desiring him to pray for them, as immediately he did, all falling on their knees, when, all the ground about them suddenly sinking, the spot only upon which they were at prayer remained a firm and steady island, all the rest of the contiguous ground turning into a lake, other places into gulphs, which drowned and buried all that stood upon them, and which were very many. And now, my Lord, 'tis time to implore your pardon for this tedious paper, together with your blessing.

*From John Evelyn to his Brother*

*Dover Street, 5th Jan.<sup>a</sup>*

DEAR BROTHER,—The occasion of my writing at present, is from a visit made me this evening from Sir Richard Onslow. After the common civilities were passed between us, he informed me that his coming to me at this time, was to

<sup>a</sup> The date of this letter is uncertain; but it seems most likely to belong to 1692, when Evelyn was residing in Dover Street.



desire I would acquaint you with the late Chief Baron Montague's intention of disposing of Baynard's, and his offering it to him as lying so conveniently to his estate in that part of Surrey. But that he should be very tender in dealing for it, if it should in any sort be to the prejudice of one, for whom he had so great a respect, and which he would endeavour to preserve to our family. I told him, that I was sure you would own this expression as a signal instance of his great civility, as became you. As for Baynard's, I presumed he could not but know the injury had been done you by my sisters, in taking that estate so unhandsomely from you, without any colour of justice or cause given. Sir Richard, however, pressed me to write to you about it, and that you please to let him know your convenience, and whether with your good liking, he might be encouraged to proceed with Mr. Montague; for that he had promised to return him a positive answer within ten days. I assured him I would write to you by the very first opportunity, and that I did not question but you would speedily command me to wait on him with your answer, and, in all events, acknowledge this great mark of his friendship and neighbourly respect. What safe title Mr. Montague could make to what he came so surreptitiously by, I would not undertake to determine; but I believe you would not wish so good and worthy a friend as Sir Richard Onslow to deal for an estate which, being detained fraudulently, might possibly create him any trouble or misunderstanding between so good and ancient neighbours: and whatever reply you think fit to make, let it, I pray, be so written, that I may show Sir Richard the whole letter; or rather (which I suppose he will receive as a greater respect) write to himself, and I will wait on him with it. I wrote to you the last week in answer to a former of yours at large. I pray God give you ease of your infirmity, and believe me to be, my dear brother, &c., &c.

*From Sir Dudley Cullum to John Evelyn*

*Hampstead, 5th Jan. 1692-3*

SIR,—I cannot but think myself obliged, in gratitude, to give you an account how well your late invented stoves for a green-house succeeds (by the experience I have had of it), which has certainly more perfection than ever yet art was before master of. I have perused your directions in laying my pipes (made of crucible earth), not too near the fire-grate, which is nigh upon or better than sixteen inches above, and by making a trench the whole length of my house under the paving (for the air to issue out and blow the fire), of a convenient breadth and depth (that is eighteen inches both ways, covered with an arch of brick), leaving a hole open under the fire-grate almost as wide, and at the other end of the trench having a square iron plate answerable to that of my paving, to take off and put on, with a round hole at each corner of about three inches diameter, with a lid to slide open and shut upon every one of them (as you may have seen upon some porridge-pot covers), so that by opening any one of these holes, or all of them more or less, or by taking off the whole plates, I can release such a quantity of air out of the house to blow the fire, so as to increase or diminish the blast; and as you were pleased by letter to inform me concerning distributing the air at its admission more equally through the house, I have inserted my pipes into a channel all along the wall at the end of the house; with these several overtures you mentioned, all which, sir, I assure you prove most admirably well, and by this free and generous communication of yours, you must have highly obliged all the lovers of the recreation, as well as, Sir, your most faithful servant,

D. CULLUM

*From Robert Berkeley to John Evelyn*

*Spetchley, 20th April, 1693*

I had before this made my acknowledgments to Mr. Evelyn for the favour of his acceptable present, but I was willing to read some part of the book, which you have done the honour to translate, and let be published under your name, for which you are so far from needing an apology, that both Monsieur Quintinye himself, and the rest of our gardeners of this age, must take their original from

<sup>a</sup> *Treatise on Orange Trees.*



you, and all the ingenious that study universal gardening will confess it. Monsieur Quintinye is very curious in his tract of fruit-trees, which le Sieur Le Gendre, curé d'Hernonville, has been before in his *Manière de cultiver les Arbres Fruitiers*, and Monsieur Morin, in his *Traité pour la Taille des Arbres*. I find likewise much of his observation in Monsieur Laurent's *Abrégé pour les Arbres nains*, dedicated to Monsieur Quintinye; and in the *Jardinier Royal*, with the *Nouvelle Instruction pour connoître les bons Fruits selon le mois de l'année*, by Monsieur Claude St. Etienne. Monsieur Quintinye is very curious likewise in his *Légumes*, and in his distinction of fruits, and seems to exceed the former in his particular direction in the ordering of them. But he is most to be admired in his method of pruning, or rather, his anatomy of fruit-trees, which is one of the most difficult parts of gardening, and has not before attained to that perfection. I give you many thanks for the vines, which were very well put up, and came safe hither. I am highly indebted to these and your former favours, particularly the great honour you have done me in your *Kalendarium Hortense*. Your disposition to oblige all the world, must occasion a continuance of your favours to one who is most unworthy of them. I can only beg of you freely to dispose of me, having a just right of prescription in whatever I may render you any service; being with due regard to our patron, and with sincere affection, Sir, your most humble servant,

R. BERKELEY

P.S. These herein-mentioned, with the *Remarques nécessaires pour la Culture des Fleurs*, by Monsieur P. Morin, and the *Théâtre de Jardinage*, with the *Jardine Potager*, by Aristote, I have bound together in six tomes, with the *French Gardener*, which might be yet of some use in their version, by reason there are remarks in gardening not yet in English. Is the *Jardinier du Pays-Bas* translated into English? These, with submission, I refer to you, who have so much obliged the public with your former translations, and much more with your own works, many of them already extant, and the rest we must hope for from your manuscripts not yet known but to your retirements.

From John Evelyn to Mrs. M. Tuke

DEAR COUSIN,—Knowing how much you are in the confidence of my daughters, and have opportunities of seeing a gentleman who sometimes made his court at Somerset-house, for whom I really have great respect, and would not he should think it has at any time been lessened by some misunderstanding I hear of: that, therefore, I may take off all mistakes and prejudices, by a free *éclaircissement* of particulars, I will first begin with Sir Lawrence Staughton. Long after Mr. B. had, as I believed, given over all intentions of making any further application here, my brother Glanvill proposed Sir L. S. to us, and when I came (at the beginning of summer last) to Wotton, my brother Evelyn then spoke very earnestly to me about it. In the meantime, Mr. B. desired to know, whether if by the end of the Michaelmas Term (then ensuing) he had a hearing and determination of his suit in Chancery to his advantage, he might be admitted to proceed again, which my wife returned an answer to. That term expiring, and nothing done by which he could well settle any present jointure (without much hazard), I could not imagine that the admitting one visit only (for it was no more) of a gentleman who made no address until the end of November, was to be rejected, Mr. B. being himself uncertain of bringing his concerns to any conclusion, as I was informed from his own lawyer. In this circumstance could I do less than propose Sir L. S. to my daughter, or more for Mr. B. than (when I found her uneasy) to desire him not to make any addresses, in as fair and decent a manner as I could. That I acquainted my brother Evelyn how unhappy I was, beset so with difficulties, is but what I thought myself obliged to do to those who proposed him to us, when Mr. B. had desisted. I must in the meantime own, that Sir Lawrence was a person whom I could not but see to be every way suitable to my circumstances, so near the place where I am likely (with God's blessing) to continue our family, and to whom we formerly had a near relation, and which would have renewed a considerable interest in the country, with such other inducements as might have made a less indulgent father to have used authority in these encounters, where there was no exception. But



I have been so far from doing it, that I have, since all this, again utterly rejected a proposal of another person of great estate, and every way qualified beyond any reasonable exception, to gratify inclinations of what I all along, and as far as I am able, have set apart for my daughter's portion to be accepted of, as it would have been by those I mentioned, who yet did offer a very ample jointure and indisputable settlement. As, therefore, to the addition of 500*l.* more, which I understand by you is insisted on, it is what I could never promise positively, because it may never be in my power: but as it is not twice that sum which I could stick to give to make my daughter happy, so I must not oblige myself by covenant, and make that a debt on my estate which I do in kindness only, if God shall me able. The present estate hanging over me, being so many ways encumbered; and what I now possess, so settled as I cannot reasonably charge it; nor is there reason I should, since by the method of even a Smithfield bargain, there ought to be a proportionable addition of 50*l.* per annum to the jointure of 200*l.* a-year, which is worth a thousand pounds. Many other things I could say upon this article, but I will not tire a fair lady, whose friendship and prudence I rely on for my justification, and if need be, for reconciliation, to make use of this paper as you think convenient. If the pretended lover outweigh the five hundred pounds, there will need, I think, few words to the bargain. I am, Dearest Cousin, &c.

*From John Evelyn to Dr. Plot*

*Sayer-Court, 27th August, 1693*

WORTHY DOCTOR,—Our common and excellent friend, Mr. Pepys, acquaints me, that you would be glad to know upon what I am at present engaged relating to *Coins*, there being (it seems) a design of publishing something about that subject as they concern the money of this nation. It is true indeed (and as I remember to have told you) that I had blotted some sheets upon an argument of that nature, but without the least reference to current money, ancient or modern, but on such *Medals* as relate purely to something historical, which does not at all interfere with other coins, unless it be such as our *Spur-royal*, as they call it, being a single stamp of gold, and, as you know, suggesting something of our story here in England, besides its intrinsic value, upon which account I may have occasion to mention it. For the rest, I meddle not with them. But this prompts me to send my request to you for the assistance you promised, by imparting to me what you had of this kind, which might contribute to what I am now preparing, and by which you will very much oblige, Sir, yours, &c.

*From John Evelyn to Lord Spencer*

*Deptford, 4th September, 1693*

MY LORD,—Though I have not the opportunity of waiting on your lordship so often as I ought and should do, was I perfectly at my own disposal (which by reason of many impediments in my circumstances of late I neither have been, nor as yet am), yet my worthiest thoughts and inclinations are never absent from you; and I often revive myself with the meditation of your virtues, and some very few noble young persons more, when that of the sad decadence of the age we live and converse in interposes its melancholy prospect.

I was with great appetite coming to take a repast in the noble library which I hear you have lately purchased (and by the catalogue I have seen, must needs be a very chosen collection), when at the same time I understand you are taking a journey with resolution of making a tour about England, thereby joining to books and paper-descriptions, experience; and to speculation, the seeing of the things themselves. It has certainly been a great mistake and very preposterous in our education, the usually sending our young gentlemen to travel abroad, and see foreign countries, before they have seen or known anything of their own. Your lordship remembers who says it, *Ne sis peregrinus domi*; and therefore worthily done, and memorable in my Lord Treasurer Burleigh, to hinder the Council, who in those days it seems used to give passes to travel, from granting them to any who had not first seen and could give a good account of their own country. Your lordship, therefore, has taken the best and most



natural method ; and I know not what can now be added to the rest of your accomplishments, but the continuance of your health, which I shall pray may attend all your motions, who am, My lord, your, &c.

*From Dr. Plot to John Evelyn*

*Threadneedle Street, London, 2nd October, 1693*

HONOURED SIR,—According to your desire, I have looked out all the historical medals I have in my possession, which I have laid aside for your use, whenever you please to call for them. In the meantime I must beg a favour of you in behalf of the University of Oxford, who are now publishing a tract of Plutarch's concerning education, and would gladly add another of St. Chrysostom, published in France by Combefis, in Greek, could they meet with the book. Paul's Churchyard and Little Britain have been searched for it without success, nor is there now any hopes left but in you, who it seems have translated it into English wherefore they presume you must have the Greek copy, which they promise themselves (upon my importunity) you will be pleased to accommodate them with. Wherein you are also desired to be very speedy, because they design to have both tracts out before Christmas. Our common and most excellent friend, Mr. Pepys, told me this day he hoped to see you this week, with whom, should I be out of town (as I guess I may on Wednesday and Thursday, in quest of some Roman antiquities now under my consideration), I desire you would leave the book ; wherein you will very much oblige the whole University, and amongst them more particularly, your most humble and obliged servant, ROB. PLOT

*From Robert Berkeley to John Evelyn*

*Worcester, Oct. 26th, 1693*

SIR,—In my last I think I did not justice to Monsieur Quintinye, having not then been so well acquainted with his book, which is the best of any of that kind (I presume) in the extent of it ; but in the general, doubtless your works are much more preferable as comprehending the universal art of gardening ; and were they printed, as they are wished by all who have any knowledge of them, would be the most celebrated in the world, and remain as a rule to govern us in future ages ; which I hope you will consider of, both in duty to yourself and your country, that what you have not time to digest into the requisite order, whilst you live, you will leave them in such hands as shall see them published. I should highly recommend Mr. Bentley to you, if you were a stranger to him or to his merit. I believe there is nothing in your power you can deny him, being a lover and patron of all virtue and learning. I entreat of you and your excellent lady to accept my most humble services. I am, with real affection, your most faithful friend, R. BERKELEY

*From James Quine to John Evelyn*

*28th March, 1694*

MOST HONOURED SIR,—These are from him who lately made you the late visit, and was troublesomely curious concerning Milton, the greatest man that ever rose in civil poetry, nor know I any greater in prose : let Shakspeare live, and let Mr. Cowley not die, wherein he is chaste, but not compared. But still may we not say that poetry has been for the most part divorced from its proper use and end, and obliged to contract strange marriages with vanity and vice, and spend itself in flattery and lying, in confounding the good and the bad, in emptiness and debauch, in saying all that it can say, without any regard to truth or virtue or honour, and that her fall is equal to that of the son of the morning. It is long, excellent sir, that I have honoured and very much loved your name, your character, your genius, and your writings, and the solid and the obstinate friendship you seem to me to have held with virtue and religion in the midst of a crooked and a foolish generation ; though never till last summer, at my Lord of Canterbury's (my old and most honoured friend and acquaintance), had the honour and the happiness to be acquainted with you, if yet I enjoy it, or if yet you permit it. However, I shall presume to write myself, Sir, your meanest servant, JAMES QUINE

*From the Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. Tenison) to John Evelyn*

5th April, 1694

GOOD SIR,—I received yours, and with it the MSS. I am glad you go on with your work. I forgot to show you a gold medal coined at the coronation of James I.

This morning the Earl of Pembroke sent a letter to me, which sets forth that a fiery exhalation coming from the sea into Montgomeryshire, hath travelled far by land and burnt such hay, stubble, and straw as hath stood in its way. It has fired the straw of some houses, and by that the houses themselves, but of itself it is languid and burns not wood or any compact body. It hath spread itself many furlongs in both breadth and length. The hand he had it from, he assured me, was good; perhaps to you this is not an original, to me it is. God bless yourself and family. I am, Sir, your assured servant,

THOMAS LINCOLN

*From Sir Dudley Cullum to John Evelyn*

Hampstead, 14th May, 1694

I ought long since to have given you thanks for the favour of your letter. had I not a desire to see my plants removed from their winter quarters ere I satisfied your request of hearing how it agreed with them. As for my stove, at one time this winter it had fire day and night for a fortnight together, and found the heat managed with a great deal of ease, and, notwithstanding the closeness of the place, yet, by the admission of that air you advised, gave such a freedom of breathing as one would have thought himself abroad in the open air in April, when in January all things then without doors were freezing very hard. As for my orange-trees, they looked as well as I could wish; and other plants carried a complexion as in summer, such as myrtles, Spanish and Indian jessamines, oleanders, with some of less worth, which endured their winter quarters extremely well. My green-house is about fifty-eight feet in length, fourteen in breadth, and ten high; my orange-trees were full of blossom-buds all the winter, and have had some blown in April, as in the most usual and natural season. Pray, Sir, pardon this tedious relation from your humble servant,

D. CULLUM

*From John Evelyn to the Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. Tenison)*

Wotton, 29th May, 1694

MY LORD,—It is none of the least mortifications, that besides other circumstances obliging me to be at this distance from my old abode, I cannot have the opportunity of waiting on your Lordship and receiving those advantages and improvements which I always returned with whenever I came from my Lord of Lincoln. We are here in no unpleasant solitude. Some good books which I find here, with a cart load which I brought along with me, serve to alleviate the tediousness of sitting still; but we know nothing of new, but what our friends from your side impart to us. Mr. Pepys sent me last week the *Journal of Sir John Narbrough and Captain Wood*<sup>a</sup>; together with Mr. Wharton's Preface to his intended *History of the Life of Archbishop Laud*<sup>b</sup>. I do not know whether I might do the learned editor (for it seems he only publishes a MS. written by that great prelate of his own life) any service, by acquainting him with a passage relating to that person, namely, the jubilee which the sacrifice of the Bishop caused among some at Rome; it being my hap to be in that city, and in company of divers of the English fathers (as they call them), when the news of his suffering, and the sermon he made upon the scaffold, arrived there; which I well remember they read, and commented on, with no small satisfaction, and (as I thought) contempt, as of one taken off who was an enemy to them, and stood in their way: whilst one of the blackest crimes imputed to him was (we

<sup>a</sup> Entitled, *An Account of several late Voyages and Discoveries to the South and North, towards the Straits of Magellan, the South Seas, &c.* 8vo. 1694.

<sup>b</sup> Printed in two folio volumes in 1695–1700.



may well call to mind) his being Popishly affected. I know not, I say, whether the Memoirs may be of any import to Mr. Wharton, with whom I have no acquaintance : I therefore acquaint your Lordship with it, and in the forms almost that I have mentioned and subjoined to my Discourse of Medals under that of this Archbishop's figure, which, together with my copy, I have now sent Benjamin Tooke to print (as he desires) if it be worth his while. I add nothing more but that of my wife's humble service to you and my Lady, and that there is still a part of our small family at Sayes-Court, where my daughter Draper and husband are the young economists, and all of us concerned to beg your Lordship's blessing and prayer especially. Your, &c.

I should rejoice to hear how Mr. Bentley proceeds with the library at Whitehall. I hope your Lordship will mind him of the Sermons he owes us and the public ; I hear nothing of the Bishop of Chichester, who is likewise in our debt.

*From John Evelyn to Edmund Gibson<sup>a</sup> (afterwards Bishop of London)*

*Wotton, 31st May, 1694*

SIR,—To the notes and papers you desired of me, I have since endeavoured to inform myself in those particulars you mentioned, and which I presume are come to you ; and now, by this letter from a friend of mine, well acquainted with the trustees of Dog Smith (as he is called), I send you the particulars of that extraordinary benefactor to this county. You may please to take notice, that besides what I writ to you of George Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, and his brother Robert, Bishop of Salisbury, he had at the same time Moris, another brother, who was Lord Mayor of London ; all sons of the same clothier, and natives of Guildford. Also that Hammond, whom I mentioned, was not only a benefactor to the school there, but founder of a fellowship at Baliol College, Oxon. John de la Haye died about three hundred years since, about whom and other particulars expect in my next, for I would not retard the printer longer than is necessary, who remain, your, &c.

*From John Evelyn to Mr. Benjamin Tooke (Printer)*

*Wotton, 2nd June, 1694*

MR. TOOKE,—*Tarde, sed tandem.* At last I send you the copy you have so long expected ; never the worse, I hope, for coming no sooner. I wish it may answer the pains I have taken in compiling : for it would amount to the value of many Medals. I was indeed unwilling it should escape from me without something more than an ordinary treatise. It will therefore require a more than ordinary supervisor. You tell me, such a one you have ; if not, pray make use of the poor man I directed to you, who is also acquainted with my hand, and will be ready to assist you. There being abundance of writers on this subject in all other polite European languages, and but one very short and partial one in ours, will I hope render this the more acceptable, and give ferment to the curious. I expect attacks from some peevish quarter, in this angry age ; but so it make for your interest, and satisfy equitable judges, I shall not be much concerned.

The Medals which are here sent you, pray take care of, and deliver but one by one to your graver, nor supply him with any other till he returns you that he is graving with the plate. You will find I have marked the paper, wherein you must keep the plates, and apply to the pages as directed by which you will avoid mistakes, easily fallen into without some such method. Such as you are to have from the Earl of Clarendon, Dr. Plot, &c., I will take care to procure you by the time these are despatched. As for the graving, so the contours and outlines be well designed, I am not solicitous for the hatching (as they call it), since we have laudable examples of the other in Grutor, Spanheim, and other excellent authors. Mr. White, if he have leisure, will be your best man ; and for the volume, I should think a thin moderate folio, with a fair letter, most desirable. As for the title, epistle and preface, I shall provide you in good time, and as I

<sup>a</sup> 'The learned person who published the Saxon Chronicle, and was now setting forth a new edition of Camden's Britannia, with additions. J. E.'

see cause ; only I pray take special care of the insertions and paragraphs which I have marked [. When all this is finished, I purpose a very accurate index. This being all at present, I wish you good success, and am, your, &c.

*From the Bishop of Lincoln (Dr. Tenison) to John Evelyn*

*Bukden, 19th June, 1694*

GOOD SIR,—Your letter dated May 30th, came not to me till June 17th at night. It was the comfortablest letter I received that post ; all the rest were filled with ill news from Brest and out of Flanders, the latter of which I have reason to think is false. That passage of yours relating to Bishop Laud is very remarkable, and touches the main point. I am glad your *Book of Medals* is coming out, and that that passage is inserted : for Mr. Wharton has done all he intends by writing that preface which he sent to me. The book is all Bishop Laud's own, so that he neither adds nor alters, unless in the margin, and I believe the book is by this time all printed off : however, I will write to him into Kent next post. I'm sure my letter will be very agreeable to him upon the account of the insertion. I have had lately sent to me six little pieces of coin (all of a sort) found in an urn by a ploughman, nigh Mildnall, in Norfolk. At a court held by the Dean and Chapter of Ely, it was presented as treasure trove, they being the Lords. One of the Prebends sent them. The inscription is not very legible especially by my eyes, but they seem to be coin stamped by W. Rufus, or about that time. Please to give my wife's and my own hearty services to Mrs. Evelyn. I am your affectionate friend

T. LINCOLN

There is a book in 12mo, called *Religion and Reason* lately printed for Rogers in Fleet Street, which may perhaps give you an hour's good diversion.

*From James Quine to John Evelyn*

*9th January, 1694-5*

HONOURED SIR,—Though I have been obliged to you, and that for the charming manner of the obligation (so natural to yourself and easy) more than the matter, yet I hope I have not lost the friend in you when I most want it. If I know myself and the value I had for you, I think I would cheerfully have served you, had it lain in my power, in a hundred times the sum, and have been abundantly recompensed in the pleasure of serving you. Farewell, excellent man, and forgive this trouble from him who has cultivated poverty, and found it a greater treasure than riches, and which, if Suetonius may be credited, was, with a happy retirement, the biggest ambition of Augustus, and a fortune he preferred to that of the Roman Empire. But it has its agonies and its pressures which he never knew, in which he himself would have had recourse to a friend, when an honourable industry had failed of its reward ; which is my case, witness much translation of the best things, and much original of the nature of the enclosed, where the verse is purposely written low, and incorrect, that the many who are so, may edify thereby. I am with great sincerity, worthy Sir, your obliged, humble servant,

JAMES QUINE

*From Archbishop Tenison to John Evelyn*

*St. Martin's Church Yard, 20th April, 1695*

SIR,—I had yours, and have spoken to my Lord King about a meeting in order to the better carrying on the design of the Hospital at Greenwich. The parliament will now soon be up, and then I presume we shall meet, and not before. When I have the happiness of seeing you, we may discourse the business about the Chapel you speak of : I will do all I can in the case. I have with this sent you my sermon at the Queen's funeral : though I ordered one long ago, yet I fear it was not sent ; you will excuse the plainness of it. There is come forth an answer to it, said to be written by Bishop Kenn ; but I am not sure he is the author : I think he has more wit and less malice. I saw this day a medal in which the Queen's face is better hit than I ever saw in picture or on medal. I wish you all the blessings convenient for you, and shall ever be your faithful friend.

THOMAS CANTUAR



*From Archbishop Tenison to John Evelyn*

*Lambeth, 19th July, 1695*

GOOD SIR,—I am very sorry I could not meet with you on Friday last, or see you this day : my business is such that I cannot help leaving part of it undone. I will consider of the proposition about a maritime college ; I like it extremely well, everything of this kind moves so slowly that it discourages, but I will not faint for my part. I shall heartily pray for the better health of your excellent lady, and for the happiness of your family. I am your assured friend,

THOMAS CANTUAR

*From John Evelyn to William Wotton<sup>a</sup>*

*Wotton, 30th March, 1696*

SIR,—I most heartily beg your pardon for detaining your books so unreasonably long after I had read them, which I did with great satisfaction, especially the *Life of Descartes*. The truth is I had some hopes of seeing you here again, for methought (or at least I flattered myself with it) you said at parting you would do us that favour before my going to London, whither I am, God willing, setting out to-morrow or next day for some time ; not without regret, unless I receive your commands, if I may be any ways serviceable to you, in order to that noble undertaking you lately mentioned to me, I mean your generous offer and inclination to write the Life of our illustrious philosopher, Mr. Boyle, and to honour the memory of a gentleman of that singular worth and virtue. I am sure if you persist in that design England shall never envy France, or need a Gassendus or Baillet to perpetuate and transmit the memory of one not only equalling, but in many things transcending either of those excellent and indeed extraordinary persons, whom their pens have rendered immortal. I wish myself was furnished to afford you any considerable supplies (as you desired) after my so long acquaintance with Mr. Boyle, who had honoured me with his particular esteem, now very near forty years, as I might have done by more duly cultivating frequent opportunities he was pleased to allow me. But so it is, that his life and virtues have been so conspicuous, as you will need no other light to direct you, or subject-matter to work on, than what is so universally known, and by what he has done and published in his books. You may perhaps need some particulars as to his birth, family, education, and other less necessary circumstances for introduction : and such other passages of his life as are not so distinctly known but by his own relations. In this if I can serve you, I shall do it with great readiness, and I hope success ; having some pretence by my wife, in whose grandfather's house (which is now mine at Deptford) the father of this gentleman was so conversant, that, contracting an affinity there, he left his (then) eldest son with him whilst himself went into Ireland, who, in his absence dying, lies buried in our parish church, under a remarkable monument<sup>b</sup>. I mention this because, my wife's relation to that family giving me access to divers of his nearest kindred, the Countess Dowager of Clancarty (living now in a house of my son's in Dover-street) and the Countess of Thanet, both his nieces, will, I question not, be able to inform what they cannot but know of those and other circumstances of their uncle, which may not be unworthy of your notice ; especially my Lady Thanet who is a great virtuosa, and uses to speak much of her uncle. You know she lives in one of my Lord of Nottingham's houses at St. James's, and therefore will need no introducer there. I will wait upon my Lord Burlington if there be occasion, provided in the meantime (and after all this officiousness of mine) it be not the proffer of a very useless service ; since my Lord Bishop of Salisbury, who made us expect what he is now devolving on you, cannot but be fully instructed in all particulars.

It is now, as I said, almost forty years since first I had the honour of being acquainted with Mr. Boyle ; both of us newly returned from abroad, though, I know not how, never meeting there. Whether he travelled more in France

<sup>a</sup> This was the Dr. Wotton remarkable for his learning as a boy, and for no extraordinary wisdom as a man. See *Diary*, p. 369, note ; and note at p. 514.

<sup>b</sup> A Tent and Map of Ireland in *relievo*,



than Italy, I cannot say, but he had so universal an esteem in foreign parts, that not any stranger of note or quality, learned or curious, coming into England, but used to visit him with the greatest respect and satisfaction imaginable.

Now, as he had an early inclination to learning (so especially to that part of philosophy he so happily succeeded in), he often honoured Oxford, and those gentlemen there, with his company, who more peculiarly applied themselves to the examination of the so long domineering method and jargon of the schools. You have the names of this learned junto, most of them since deservedly dignified in that elegant history of the Royal Society, which must ever own its rise from that assembly, as does the preservation of that famous University from the fanatic rage and avarice of those melancholy times. These, with some others (whereof Mr. Boyle, the Lord Viscount Brouncker, Sir Robert Murray, were the most active), spirited with the same zeal, and under a more propitious influence, were the persons to whom the world stands obliged for the promoting of that generous and real knowledge, which gave the ferment that has ever since obtained, and surmounted all those many discouragements which it at first encountered. But by no man more have the territories of the most useful philosophy been enlarged, than by our *hero*, to whom there are many trophies due. And accordingly his fame was quickly spread, not only among us here in England, but through all the learned world besides. It must be confessed that he had a marvellous sagacity in finding out many useful and noble experiments. Never did stubborn matter come under his inquisition but he extorted a confession of all that lay in her most intimate recesses; and what he discovered he as faithfully registered, and frankly communicated; in this exceeding my Lord Verulam, who (though never to be mentioned without honour and admiration) was used to tell all that came to hand without much examination. His was probability; Mr. Boyle's suspicion of success. Sir, you will here find ample field, and infinitely gratify the curious with a glorious and fresh survey of the progress he has made in these discoveries. Freed from those incumbrances which now and then render the way a little tedious, 'tis abundantly recompensing the pursuit; especially those noble achievements of his, made in the spring and weight of the two most necessary elements of life, air and water, and their effects. The origin of forms, qualities, and principles of matter: histories of cold, light, colours, gems, effluvias, and other his works so firmly established on experiments, polychrests, and of universal use to real philosophy: besides other beneficial inventions peculiarly his; such as the dulcifying seawater with that ease and plenty, together with many medicinal remedies, cautions, directions, curiosities and arcana, which owe their birth or illustration to his indefatigable researches. He brought the phosphorus and antelUCA to the clearest light that ever any did, after innumerable attempts. It were needless to insist on particulars to one who knows them better than myself. You will not, however, omit those many other treatises relating to religion, which indeed runs through all his writings upon occasion, and show how unjustly that aspersión has been cast on philosophy, that it disposes men to atheism. Neither did his severer studies yet sour his conversation in the least. He was the furthest from it in the world, and I question whether ever any man has produced more experiments to establish his opinions without dogmatising. He was a *Corpuscularian* without Epicurus; a great and happy analyzer, addicted to no particular sect, but, as became a generous and free philosopher, preferring truth above all; in a word, a person of that singular candour and worth, that to draw a just character of him one must run through all the virtues, as well as through all the sciences<sup>a</sup>. And though he took the greatest care imaginable to conceal the most illustrious of them, his charities and the many good works he continually did, could not be hid. It is well known how large his bounty was upon all occasions. Witness the Irish, Indian, Lithuanian Bibles, to the translations, printing, and publishing of which he laid out considerable sums; and the Catechism and Principles of the Christian Faith, which I think he caused to be put into Turkish, and dispersed amongst those infidels. And here you will take notice of the lecture he has endowed and so seasonably provided for.

As to his relations (so far as I have heard), his father, Richard Boyle, was

<sup>a</sup> See the second edition of Bishop Sanderson's *De Juramenti promissorii obligatione*, dedicated to Boyle.



*faber fortunæ*; a person of wonderful sagacity in affairs, and no less probity, by which he compassed a vast estate and great honours to his posterity, which was very numerous, and so prosperous, as has given to the public both divines and philosophers, soldiers, politicians, and statesmen, and spread its branches among the most illustrious and opulent of our nobility. Mr. Robert Boyle, born I think in Ireland, was the youngest, to whom he left a fair estate; to which was added an honorary pay of a troop of horse, if I mistake not. And now, though amongst all his experiments he never made that of the married life, yet I have been told he courted a beautiful and ingenious daughter of Carew, Earl of Monmouth; to which is owing the birth of his *Seraphic Love*, and the first of his productions. DESCARTES<sup>a</sup> was not so innocent. In the meantime he was the most facetious and agreeable conversation in the world among the ladies, whenever he happened to be so engaged; and yet so very serious, composed, and contemplative at all other times; though far from moroseness, for indeed he was affable and civil rather to excess, yet without formality.

As to his opinion in religious matters and discipline, I could not but discover in him the same free thoughts which he had of philosophy; not in notion only, but strictly as to practice, an excellent Christian; and the great duties of that profession, without noise, dispute, or determining; owning no master but the Divine Author of it; no religion but primitive, no rule but Scripture, no law but right reason. For the rest, always conformable to the present settlement, without any sort of singularity. The mornings, after his private devotions, he usually spent in philosophic studies and in his laboratory, sometimes extending them to night: but he told me he had quite given over reading by candle-light, as injurious to his eyes. This was supplied by his amanuensis, who sometime read to him, and wrote out such passages as he noted, and that so often in loose papers, packed up without method, as made him sometimes to seek upon occasion, as himself confesses in divers of his works. Glasses, pots, chemical and mathematical instruments, books and bundles of papers, did so fill and crowd his bed-chamber, that there was but just room for a few chairs; so as his whole equipage was very philosophical without formality. There were yet other rooms, and a small library (and so you know had DESCARTES)<sup>b</sup>, as learning more from men, real experiments, and in his laboratory (which was ample and well furnished), than from books.

I have said nothing of his style, which those who are better judges think he was not so happy in, as in his experiments. I do call it affected, but doubtless not answerable to the rest of his great and shining parts; and yet, to do him right, it was much improved in his 'Theodora' and later writings.

In his diet (as in habit) he was extremely temperate and plain; nor could I ever discern in him the least passion, transport, or censoriousness, whatever discourse or the times suggested. All was tranquil, easy, serious, discreet and profitable; so as, besides Mr. Hobbes, whose hand was against everybody and admired nothing but his own, Francis Linus excepted (who yet with much civility wrote<sup>c</sup> against him), I do not remember he had the least antagonist.

In the afternoons he was seldom without company, which was sometimes so incommodious, that he now and then repaired to a private lodging in another quarter of the town, and at other times (as the season invited) diverted himself in the country among his noble relations.

He was rather tall and slender of stature, for most part valetudinary, pale and much emaciated; nor unlike his picture in Gresham College; which, with an almost impudent importunity, was, at the request of the Society, hardly extorted, or rather stolen, from this modest gentleman by Sir Edmund King, after he had refused it to his nearest relations.

In his first addresses, being to speak or answer, he did sometimes a little hesitate, rather than stammer, or repeat the same word; imputable to an infirmity, which, since my remembrance, he had exceedingly overcome. This, as it made him somewhat slow and deliberate, so, after the first effort, he proceeded without the least interruption, in his discourse. And I impute this impediment much to

<sup>a</sup> 'Who confesses he had a bastard daughter. See M. Baillet in *Vita Descartes*. J. E'.

<sup>b</sup> 'One at Egmond desiring to see his library, he brought him to a room where he was dissecting a calf. J. E'.

<sup>c</sup> 'Viz. *Tract. de Corporum Inseparabilitate*, &c. 8vo. Lond. 1661. J. E'.



the frequent attacks of palsies, contracted, I fear, not a little by his often attendance on chemical operations. It has plainly astonished me to have seen him so often recover, when he has not been able to move, or bring his hand to his mouth : and indeed the contexture of his body, during the best of his health, appeared to me so delicate, that I have frequently compared him to a chrystal, or Venice glass ; which, though wrought never so thin and fine, being carefully set up, would outlast the hardier metals of daily use : and he was withal as clear and candid ; not a blemish or spot to tarnish his reputation : and he lasted accordingly, though not to a great, yet to a competent age ; threescore years I think ; and to many more he might, I am persuaded, have arrived, had not his beloved sister, the Lady Viscountess Ranalagh, with whom he lived, a person of extraordinary talent and suitable to his religious and philosophical temper, died before him. But it was then that he began evidently to droop apace ; nor did he, I think, survive her above a fortnight. But of this last scene I can say little, being unfortunately absent, and not knowing of the danger till it was past recovery.

His funeral (at which I was present) was decent, and, though without the least pomp, yet accompanied with a great appearance of persons of the best and noblest quality, besides his own relations.

He lies interred (near his sister) in the chancel of St. Martin's church ; the Lord Bishop of Salisbury preaching the funeral sermon with that eloquence natural to him on such, and all other occasions. The sermon, you know, is printed with the panegyric so justly due to his memory. Whether there have been, since, any other monument erected on him, I do not know, nor is it material. His name (like that of Joseph Scaliger) were alone a glorious epitaph.

And now, sir, I am again to implore your pardon for giving you this interruption with things so confusedly huddled up this afternoon, as they crowded into my thoughts. The subject you see is fruitful, and almost inexhaustible. Argument fit for no man's pen but Mr. Wotton's. Oblige then all the world, and with it, Sir, your, &c.

*From William Wotton to John Evelyn<sup>a</sup>*

*7th April, 1696*

HONOURED SIR,—I was unfortunately out of the way when you did me the honour to send me that admirable and obliging letter concerning Mr. Boyle, and was so fatigued on my return, by my coming home upon a lame horse, that I could not wait upon you a Sunday at Wotton as I intended to do. I cannot sufficiently express my thanks to you for your excellent hints ; if my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury encourages me, and I can get those materials out of Mr. Warre's hands, which I was speaking of, I will set about it. I suppose you will receive by the penny-post, two Philosophical Transactions, no. 219, in which is my abridgment of Signor Scilla's book of Shells. I had brought more down for that purpose ; but not being able to compass my design of waiting upon you at Wooton, I have sent to the bookseller to convey them to you that way. One of them, with my humblest thanks, I would entreat you to present to Sir Cyril Wyche, when you see him. I wish I knew how to express the joy I feel in having my poor projects approved by so great a judge and patron of learning and its well-wishers. I am, honoured Sir, your most obliged servant, W. WOTTON

*The same to John Evelyn*

*Albury, 24th May, 1696*

HONOURED SIR,—Your last obliging letter has put me into greater fears than anything that ever befel me in my whole life. How I shall possibly answer Mr. Evelyn's expectation I cannot conceive, and without the highest vanity I can as little bring myself to think that I shall not fall extremely short of it. Your naming me at my Lord of Canterbury's upon such an occasion, was the highest honour could have been done a young writer. Next to that was the trustees approving your nomination. I say next to that, for they were ashamed to seem backward to comply with what Mr. Evelyn should think fit to propose.

<sup>a</sup> This letter is indorsed by Evelyn : ' Mr. Wotton, &c., of a present made me of a book '.



I am now, therefore, only to wait for the Bishop of Salisbury's fiat, which, if it is granted, it will be too late for me to recede, though I know very well I shall be *impar operi* in every respect. I will study, however, to preserve Mr. Evelyn's reputation as much as ever I can ; and I do hereby faithfully assure him, that care and industry shall not be wanting to carry on a work, in which he has generously been pleased to have so distinguishing a share.

As soon as I shall hear of your return to Wotton, where your friends in this country ardently expect you, I shall do myself the honour to tell you more at large, how very much I am, as well as ought to be, Honoured Sir, your most obliged and faithful humble servant,

W. WOTTON

*John Evelyn to Lord Godolphin (one of the Lords Justices, and first Commissioner of the Treasury)*

*Surrey Street, 16th June, 1696*

MY LORD,—There are now almost four years elapsed, since looking over some papers of mine, I found among other things divers notes which I had taken relating to Medals ; when, reflecting upon the usefulness of the historical part of that noble study, and considering that there had been little, or indeed rather nothing at all, written of it among us here in England (whilst other countries abounded in many excellent books and authors of great name on this subject), I began to divert my solitary thoughts by reducing and putting my scattered collection into such method as grew at last to a formal treatise. Among other particulars (after I had more at large dispatched what concerned the Greek and Roman, and those of the Lower Empire), I endeavoured the gathering up all such Medals as I could anywhere find had been struck before and since the Conquest (if any such there were), relating to any part of good history. Now though money and coins during the several reigns of almost all our kings, from the British to this present time (as may be seen in what Mr. Walker has added to the late edition of Camden), be foreign to my subject, and that I could meet with none which deserved the name of medal till the last two centuries, yet I could not well avoid speaking something of the Mint, where medals were coined as well as money. The copy being thus prepared for the press, I two years since delivered to a book-seller ; who, after he had wrought off almost eighty pages in folio (emulating what had been done and published by Jaques de Bie and Mons. Bizot, in their *Histoire Métallique of France and Holland*), would needs be at the charge of engraving a hundred stamps to adorn a chapter relating to our English Medals. This requiring time (and far better artists than any I perceive he is like to find), and retarding the publication of his book, I thought it might not be either unseasonable or unagreeable to your Lordship, if on this conjuncture of affairs (and when everybody is discoursing of these matters) I did present your Lordship with a part of that chapter concerning Money, which (though passing through the same mechanism) I distinguish from Medal at the beginning of my first chapter, proceeding in the seventh to that of the Mint. It is there that I show (after all the expedients offered and pretended, for the recovery and security of this nation from the great danger it is in by the wicked practices of those who of late have so impudently ruined the public credit and faith of all mankind among us by clipping, debasing, and all other unrighteous ways of perverting the species) what is it which can possibly put a stop to the evil and mischief, that it go no farther ; if, at least, it have not been so long neglected as to be irremediable.

But, my lord, this is not all. There are several other things of exceeding great importance, which had need be taken care of, and to be set on foot effectually, for the obviating the growing mischiefs, destructive to the flourishing state of this mercantile nation. Amongst the rest :

There is certainly wanting a Council of Trade, that should not be so called only, but really be in truth what it is called ; composed of a wise, public-spirited, active, and noble president, a select number of assessors, sober, industrious, and dexterous men, and of consummate experience *in rebus agendis* ; who should be armed with competent force at sea, to protect the greater commerce and general trade ; if not independent of the Admiralty, not without an almost co-ordinate authority, as far as concerns the protection of trade ; and to be maintained chiefly by those who, as they adventure most, receive the greatest benefit.



To these should likewise be committed the care of the manufactures of the kingdom, with stock for employment of the poor : by which might be moderated that unreasonable statute for their relief (as now in force) occasioning more idle persons, who charge the public without all remedy, than otherwise there would be ; insufferably burdening the parishes, by being made to earn their bread honestly, who now eat it in idleness and take it out of the mouths of the truly indigent, much inferior in number, and worthy objects of charity.

It is by such a council that the swarms of private traders, who, though not appearing in mighty torrents and streams, yet like a confluence of silent, almost indiscernible, but innumerable rivulets, do evidently drain and exhaust the greater *hydrophylacia* and magazines, nay, the very vital blood of trade, where there is no follower to supply those many issues, without which the constitution of the body politic, like the natural, needs must fail for want of nourishment and recruits—but whom this article affects I have spoken in the discourse of money.

'Tis likewise to this assembly, that all proposals of new inventions (pretended for the public benefit) should first be brought and examined, encouraged, or rejected without reproach as projectures, or turning the unsuccessful proposer to ridicule, by a barbarity without example, nowhere countenanced but in this nation.

Another no less exhauster and waster of the public treasure, is the progress and increase of buildings about this already monstrous city, wherein one year with another are erected about eight hundred houses, as I am credibly informed : which carries away such prodigious sums of our best and weightiest money, by the Norway trade for deal-timber only, but exports nothing hence of moment to balance it, besides sand and gravel to balance their empty ships ; whilst, doubtless, those other more necessary commodities (were it well encouraged) might in a short time be brought us in great measure, and much preferable as to their goodness, from our own plantations, which now we fetch from others, for our naval stores.

Truly, my lord, I cannot but wonder, and even stand amazed, that parliaments should have sat from time to time, so many hundred years, and value their constitution to that degree as the most sovereign remedy for the redress of public grievances, whilst the greatest still remain unreformed and untaken away. Witness the confused, debauched, and riotous manner of electing members qualified to become the representatives of a nation, with legislative power to dispose of the fate of kingdoms ; which should and would be composed of worthy persons, of known integrity and ability in their respective countries, who still would serve them generously, and as their ancestors have done, but are not able to fling away a son or daughter's portion to bribe the votes of a multitude, more resembling a pagan bacchanalia, than an assembly of Christians and sober men met upon the most solemn occasion that can concern a people, or stand in competition with some rich scrivener, brewer, banker, or one in some gainful office, whose face or name, perhaps, they never saw or knew before. How, my lord, must this sound abroad ! With what dishonour and shame at home !

To this, add the disproportion of the boroughs capable of electing members, by which the major part of the whole kingdom are frequently out-voted, be the cause never so unjust, if it concern a party interest.

Will ever those swarms of *locusts*, lawyers and attornies, who fill so many seats, vote for a public *Register*, by which men may be secured of their titles and possessions, and an infinity of suits and frauds prevented ?

Immoderate fees, tedious and ruinous delays, and tossings from court to court, before an easy cause, which might be determined by honest gentlemen and understanding neighbours, can come to any final issue, may be numbered amongst the most vexatious oppressions that call aloud for redress.

The want of bodies (slaves) for public and laborious works, to which many sorts of animals might be usefully condemned, and some reformed instead of sending them to the gallows, deserves to be considered.

These and the like are the great desiderata (as well as the reformation of the coin), which are plainly wanting to the consummate felicity of this nation ; and divers of them of absolute necessity to its recovery from the atrophy and consumption it labours under.



The king himself should, my lord, be acquainted with these particulars, and of the great importance of them, by such as from their wisdom and integrity, deserve the nearest access, and would purchase him the hearts of a free and emancipated people, and a blessing on the government ; were he pleased incessantly to recommend them to those, who, from time to time, are called together for these ends, and healing of the nation.

And now your Excellency will doubtless smile at this politic excursion, and perhaps of the *biscoctum* of the rest ; whilst the years to which I am, by God's great goodness, arrived, your lordship's commands in a former letter to me, some conversation with men and the world, as well as books, in so large a tract and variety of events and wonders as this period has brought forth, might justify one, among such crowds of pretenders to *ragioni di stato*, some of which I daily meet to come abroad with the shell still on their heads, who talk as confidently of these matters as if they were councillors of state and first ministers, with their sapient and expecting looks, and whom none must contradict ; and no doubt but (as Job said) ' they are the people, and wisdom is to die with them.' To such I have no more to say ; whilst I appeal to your lordship, whose real and consummate experience, great prudence and dexterity *in rebus agendis* without noise, were enough to silence a thousand such as I am. I therefore implore your pardon again, for what I may have written weakly or rashly. In such a tempest and overgrown a sea, everybody is concerned ; and whose head is not ready to turn ? I am sure I should myself almost despair of the vessel, if any save your lordship were at the helm. But whilst your hand is on the staff, and your eye upon the star, I compose myself and rest secure.

Dr. John Williams<sup>a</sup> to John Evelyn

Canterbury, 19th June, 1696

HONOURED SIR,—I esteem it as a particular mark of your friendship that you are pleased to acquaint me with the report, which I perceive by yours, is abroad, concerning my writing the *Life of the Honourable Mr. Boyle*, a report that there is no ground but what there is some occasion for, through the mistake of what I said concerning the publishing anew those of his works which had heretofore been printed : the short story of which is this. About a month since I received a letter from Dr. Charlet, Master of University College, Oxford, in which he told me that some of the works of Mr. Boyle having grown scarce, it had been advised that it would be of good use and be very acceptable to the learned, if there were a collection of all his works set forth together in folio, and that it was desired I would consider of it, and consult with the trustees or others how it might be best accomplished. Toward the promoting of this I waited on my Lord of Canterbury, and in the next place had so on you, but that I thought you were out of town. In the mean time I lighted on Sir H. Ashurst in the street, and afterward on waiting on him at his house I told him of it, and withal, that it would be convenient that some inquiry should be made of what might be found among his papers, fit for the press ; he promised me to advise with the Earl of Burlington about it. While I was there, came in Mr. Warr, and he very readily offered his services about the papers : this was the week before I came out of town, and farther we went not. So that all that could be said of a preface was presumption, and no more thought of it I believe than what in cause might be done by the Oxford gentlemen. As for my own part, I was so far from thinking of writing a *Life* (which I knew to be in the Bishop's hands) that I thought not so much as of a preface. The design is worthy of a better pen ; I have always thought it a way of writing not without great difficulties, for he that will write a *Life*, if possible, should have had an intimate acquaintance with the person, and should know that of his air, genius, and ways, that can no more be wrote than he himself can be drawn by description only, and must be, if not intimate enough, yet led into all the particulars which you speak of. Now I had not the honour of anything like this, never having been in the company of that great man but once that I know of, many years since, and which I afterwards blamed myself for having been encouraged by him to make

<sup>a</sup> Afterwards Bishop of Chichester.



an acquaintance then. I am well pleased that at last it is likely to be done, and to be undertaken by one so well qualified for it as Mr. Wotton, to whom, it being necessary to peruse his papers, he may at the same time promote the Oxford design by a farther collection. When I return to town, which will be, God willing, about fourteen days hence, I shall wait on you with my acknowledgments for your obliging letter to, Sir, your faithful and humble servant,

JOHN WILLIAMS<sup>a</sup>

*John Evelyn to Mr. Place<sup>b</sup>*

*Surrey Street, 17th Aug. 1696*

MR. PLACE,—I have seriously considered your letter concerning your resolution of sparing no cost whereby you may benefit the public, as well as recompense your own charge and industry, which truly is a generous inclination not so frequently met with amongst most booksellers, by inquiring how you might possibly supply what is wanting to our country (now beginning to be somewhat polished in their manner of building, and indeed in the accomplishment of the English language also) by the publication of whatever may be thought conducive to either. In order to this, you have sometime since acquainted me with your intention of reprinting the *Parallel*; desiring that I would revise it, and consider what improvements may decently be added in relation to the general design. As for the *Parallel*, I take it to be so very useful and perfect in its kind, and as far as it pretends to (namely, all that was material in those ten masters upon the orders), that I cannot think of anything it further needs to render it more intelligible. As for what I have annexed to it concerning statues, my good friend Mr. Gibbons would be consulted, and for the latter so much as I conceive is necessary I will take care to send you with your interfoliated copy. In the meantime, touching that universal work or cycle, which you would have comprehend and embrace the entire art of building, together with all its accessories for magnificence and use, without obliging you to the pains in gleaning when a whole harvest is before you, or the trouble of calling many to your assistance (which would be tedious), I cannot think of a better, more instructive, and judicious an expedient, than by your procuring a good and faithful translation of that excellent piece which has lately been published by Monsieur D'Aviler; were he made to speak English in the proper terms of that art, by some person conversant in the French, and if need be, adding to him some assistant, such as you would have recommended to me, if my leisure and present circumstances could have complied with my inclinations of promoting so beneficial a design.

I should here enumerate the particulars he runs through, in my opinion sufficiently copious, and in as polished and yet as easy and familiar a style as the subject is capable of: in nothing exceeding the capacity of our ordinary workmen, or unworthy the study and application of the noblest persons who employ them, and to whom a more than ordinary and superficial knowledge in architecture is no small accomplishment. I say I should add the contents of his chapters, and the excellent notes he has subjoined, to a better version of Vignole, Mic. Angelo, and the rest of our most celebrated modern architects and their works; together with all that is extant of antique, and yet in being, applied to use, and worthy knowing; if I thought you had not already heard of the book, since it has now been four or five years extant, and since reprinted in Holland, as all the best and most vendible books are, to the great prejudice of the authors, by their not only printing them without any errata, by which the reader might reform them, or, (as if they had none at all) correcting the faults themselves: which indeed that of the Paris edition (fair as it seems, and is in the elegance of the character) exceedingly will need, before it be translated, by whomsoever taken in hand.

But as the latter and its other beauties exceed the Dutch edition, so do likewise the plates, which are done with that accurateness and care, as may almost commute for the oversights of the press. I do not say the Holland sculps are ill performed; but, though they seem to be pretty well copied, they will yet

<sup>a</sup> This letter is addressed 'For Mr. Evelyn, at William Draper's, Esq., in Surrey Street, near Norfolk Buildings, in the Strand, London'.

<sup>b</sup> A bookseller.



require a strict examination, and then I think they might be made use of, and a competent number of plates (provided not overmuch worn) procured at a far easier rate out of Holland, than by having them perhaps not so well graven here : for 'tis not the talent of every artist, though skilled in heads and figures (of which we have very few), to trace the architect as he ought. But if they could be obtained from Paris, as haply with permission they might, it were much to be preferred. I forget to tell you, that there is a most accurate, learned, and critical dictionary by the same author, explaining (in a second part) not only the terms of architecture, but of all those other arts that wait upon, and are subservient to her, which is very curious.

And now, if what I have said in recommending this work for the full accomplishment of your laudable design (and which, in truth, I think were abundantly sufficient) induce you to proceed in it ; and that you would, with it, present the public with a much more elegant letter than I believe England has ever seen among all our printers ; perhaps it were worth your while to render it one of the first productions of that noble press which my worthy and most learned friend, Dr. Bentley, (his Majesty's library keeper at St. James's) is, with great charge and industry, erecting now at Cambridge.

There is another piece of mechanics, and some other very rare and useful arts agreeable to this of architecture, and incomparably curious, which, if translated and joined to the rest, would (without contradiction) render it a most desirable and perfect work. If, when you pass this way, you will visit a lame man (who is obliged to stay within at present), I shall endeavour to satisfy you in anything I may have omitted here, but the teasing you and myself with a tedious scribble (upon your late importunity before my leaving this town) which you may wish I had omitted.

*John Evelyn to William Wotton*

*Wotton, 28th October, 1696*

WORTHY SIR,—I should exceedingly mistake the person, and my own discernment, could I believe Mr. Wotton stood in the least need of my assistance ; but such an expression of yours to one who so well knows his own imperfections as I do mine, ought to be taken for a reproach : since I am sure it cannot proceed from your judgment. But forgiving this fault, I most heartily thank you for your animadversion on *Sylva* : which, though I frequently find it so written for ξυλεια and υλη, wood, timber, wild and forest trees, yet, indeed I think it more properly belongs to a promiscuous casting of several things together, and as I think my Lord Bacon has used it in his *Natural History*, without much regard to method. *Deleatur* therefore, wherever you meet it.

Concerning the gardening and husbandry of the ancients, which is the inquiry (especially of the first), that it had certainly nothing approaching the elegance of the present age, Rapius (whom I send you) will abundantly satisfy you. The discourse you will find at the end of *Hortorum*, lib. 4<sup>o</sup>. capp. 6, 7. What they call their gardens were only spacious plots of ground planted with plants and other shady trees in walks, and built about with porticos, xystia, and noble ranges of pillars, adorned with statues, fountains, piscariae, aviaries, &c. But for the flowery parterre, beds of tulip, carnations, auricula, tuberoses, jonquills, ranunculas, and other of our rare coronaries, we hear nothing of ; nor that they had such store and variety of exotics, orangeries, myrtle, and other curious greens ; nor do I believe they had their orchards in such perfection, nor by far our furniture for the kitchen. Pliny indeed enumerates a world of vulgar plants and olitories, but they fall infinitely short of our physic gardens, books, and herbals, every day augmented by our sedulous botanists, and brought to us from all the quarters of the world. And as for their husbandry and more rural skill, of which the same author has written so many books in his *Natural History*, especially lib. 17, 18, &c., you will soon be judge what it was. They took great care indeed of their vines and olives, stercoreations, ingraftings, and were diligent in observing seasons, the course of the stars, &c., and doubtless were very industrious ; but when you shall have read over Cato, Varro, Columella, Palladio, with the Greek Geoponics, I do not think you will have cause

<sup>a</sup> A Roman xystus was an open colonnade or portico, or a walk planted with trees.

to prefer them before the modern agriculture, so exceedingly of late improved, for which you may consult and compare our old Tusser, Markham, the *Maison Rustic*, Hartlib, Walter Blith, the *Philosophical Transactions*, and other books, which you know better than myself.

I have turned down the page, where poor Pulissya<sup>a</sup> begins his persisting search. If you can suffer his prolix style, you will now and then light on things not to be despised. With him I send you a short treatise concerning *Metals*, of Sir Hugh Platts, which perhaps you have not seen. I am sorry I have no more of those subjects here, having left the rest in my library at Deptford, and know not how to get them hither till I get thither.

Sir, I am in no haste for the return of these, if they may be serviceable to you; but in no little pain for the trouble your civility to mine puts one, who knows so much better how to employ his time, than to mind the impertinence of, Sir, your, &c.

<sup>a</sup> By 'Pulissy' Evelyn no doubt intended the famous old French potter Bernard Palissy, whose writings are now less known, both in his own and other countries, than they ought to be. They do not deserve the neglect into which they have fallen. Their ardent love of nature, their close and exact observation of it, the curious information they afford, not alone on subjects such as interested Evelyn, and others kindred with them, but also on the social and religious history of his own stirring time, and, above all, the delightful simplicity which invariably characterises them, make me wish that they were more accessible to all classes of readers. It will perhaps not be out of place here to introduce some notes which appear to have been made by Evelyn about this date, in connection with the subjects referred to in the above letter. They are printed from the MSS. at Wotton.

' Sayes-Court.

The hithermost Grove I planted, about . . . . .	1656
The other beyond it . . . . .	1660
The lower Grove . . . . .	1662
The holly hedge, even with the Mount hedge below . . . . .	1670

' I planted every hedge and tree not only in the garden, groves, &c., but about all the fields and house since 1653, except those large, old, and hollow elms in the stable court and next the sewer; for it was, before, all one pasture field to the very garden of the house which was but small; from which time also I repaired the ruined house, and built the whole of the kitchen, the chapel, buttery, my study, above and below cellars and all the outhouses and walls, still-house, orangerie, and made the gardens, &c., to my great cost; and better had I done to have pulled all down at first, but it was done at several times'.

' Mr. Evelyn was acquainted with the use and value of potatoes, which he calls Irish, tasting like an old bean or roasted chestnut, not very pleasant till use have accustomed, yet of good nourishment and excellent use for relief of poor, yea and of one's own household where there are many servants in a dear year'.

' Prince Rupert invented a Turfing-plough, but without any description of its use.

' Dredge is barley and oats mixed.

' Hops cost £20 an acre before any considerable profit:

	£	s.	d.
Digging . . . . .	2	10	0
5000 roots . . . . .	2	10	0
1st year, dressing . . . . .	2	10	0
2d year, ditto . . . . .	2	10	0
Poles . . . . .	10	0	0

' Forty loads of dung on an acre, the produce not above £6 an acre.

' An acre of Hemp may be worth £8, and after this the land will be proper for barley, wheat, and pease successively. Orchards improve land from 10s. an acre, which is commonly the value of the best sort of tillage, and even of best pasture not above £2 to £4. An acre planted with cherries has been set at £10, 100 miles from London. About Sandwich and Deal they hedge and fence their corn fields with flax and hemp, but flax chiefly, which they affirm keep out cattle, being bitter; they sow it about 20 feet deep into the field, sow whole fields of canary-seed, great grounds of hyssop and thyme in tufts, for seeds only, the soil light and sandy, but the hyssop in richer ground'.



*John Evelyn to Dr. Richard Bentley*

*Wotton, 20th January, 1696-7*

WORTHY DOCTOR,—You have under your hands something of Mr. Wotton, whilst he has been so kind as to offer me his help in looking over the typographical and other faults escaped in the last impression of the *Sylva*, which I am most earnestly called upon to reprint. The copy which I frankly gave about thirty years since to Allestry, is now in the hands of Chiswell and your namesake Mr. Bentley (booksellers), who have sold off three impressions, and are now impatient for the fourth: and it having been no unprofitable copy to them, I had promised some considerable improvements to it, upon condition of letting Ben Tooke (for whom I have a particular kindness) into a share. This, though with reluctancy, they at last consented to. I will endeavour to render it with advantage; and have ambition enough to wish, that since it is a folio, and of so popular and useful a subject as has procured it some reputation, it might have the honour to bear the character of Dr. Bentley's new Imprimerie, which, I presume, the proprietors will be as proud of as myself. To the reproach of Place, who made so many difficulties about my book of architecture as you well know, I have however made very considerable additions to that treatise, as far as concerns my part; and mean to dedicate it to Sir Christopher Wren, his Majesty's Surveyor and Intendant of his Buildings, as I did the other part to Sir J. Denham his predecessor, but infinitely inferior to his successor. I confess I am foolishly fond of these and other rustications, which had been my sweet diversions during the days of destruction and devastation both of woods and buildings, whilst the rebellion lasted so long in this nation; and the kind receptions my books have found makes me the more willing to give them my last hand: sorry in the meantime for all the other aberrations, in pretending to meddle with things beyond my talent *et extra oleo*: but enough of this.

*Abraham Hill, F.R.S., to John Evelyn*

*London, 26th January, 1696-7*

SIR,—I have heretofore been under many obligations to you, and am now to acknowledge the addition you have made by the present of your excellent book; in a particular manner I must regard that mark of your affection, in giving my name a place among those who so far transcend my merit. I can no better way make any pretence to that honour than by my application to the study of your book; and then my knowledge in medals, and my gratitude for your instructions, will advance together. I am with all respect, Sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

ABRAHAM HILL

*Abraham Hill, F.R.S., to John Evelyn*

*London, 26th February, 1696-7*

SIR,—I received as a particular obligation on myself, the favour of yours of the 7th current, and communicated the same to the friends therein named, who will not omit to make you their acknowledgments; Sir Robert Southwell, doing it by the enclosed which he recommends to my conveyance, gives me the opportunity of renewing my thanks to you; and I find myself more and more obliged thereto by every step I make in the perusal of your book, by the help whereof I doubt not but the study of medals will be as happily cultivated, as other parts of useful and elegant knowledge have been by your conduct and instructions. I am with all respect, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

ABRAHAM HILL

*Dr. J. Woodward to John Evelyn*

*London, 25th September, 1697*

SIR,—Upon the application of Mr. Glanvil and myself to you some time since, in behalf of Mr. Harris for the Boylean Lecture, you was pleased to tell me that you had deposited your note in the hands of my Lord of Canterbury, to be disposed of as he should think fit; but you commanded me to give your duty to his Grace, and tell him that you were so well satisfied of Mr. Harris's worth and

abilities, that you should be glad, if his Grace thought good, that your vote should be conferred on him. I was discoursing with his Grace this day upon the subject (as formerly I had done), and I find his Grace very well disposed to Mr. Harris ; but he says that indeed you did deposit your vote with him for the last turn, but he does not remember that you did so for this ; so that if you please to write to him, either directly, or enclose it to me at Gresham College, I will take care to deliver it to him, and shall take it as a great favour from you. Mr. Harris is a gentleman very extraordinarily qualified for the performance, has fit materials for the lecture in readiness, and I have great assurance will well answer the founder's intention, to his own credit and your satisfaction. I beg your pardon for the trouble I here give you, and am, Sir, your most humble servant,

J. WOODWARD

*Dr. J. Woodward to John Evelyn*

*Gresham College, 5th October, 1697*

WORTHY SIR,—I return you my very hearty thanks for your obliging letter and the enclosed to my Lord Archbishop. 'Tis a great favour both to myself and to Mr. Harris, whom I have made acquainted with it, and who will, I am sure, very thankfully acknowledge it, so soon as he comes to town, which will be now very suddenly. We have little new to entertain you with at Gresham College ; the society hath been adjourned for some time, and there are fewer members in town than I ever observed before. The peace that is so happily going forward, will, I hope, give a new life and spirit to things, and again revive philosophy, which has so long lain under neglect and discouragement. This summer I have received a very handsome addition to my former collection of fossils, both from several parts of England, and foreign countries ; particularly I have received some variety of shells, bones, and teeth of fishes, that were dug forth of the earth of the continent of America. I had had several relations from thence before, and some things too, but never so many or fair as in this cargo. These things, and the accounts I have received of them, show America was under water as well as Asia, Africa, and Europe, at the Deluge. Have you seen Mr. Locke's late reply to the Bishop of Worcester ? This gentleman manages controversy very genteely, and my Lord does so too. They must be allowed to be both great men, and 'tis not ordinary to see so very entertaining and handsome an engagement. It is said his Lordship is drawing up an answer to the reply. Mr. Congreve is, I hear, engaged in a poem on occasion of the peace, and all who are acquainted with the performance of this gentleman expect something very extraordinary. I am, Sir, your most obliged humble servant,

J. WOODWARD

*John Evelyn to Dr. Bentley*

*Wotton, 25th Dec. 1697*

WORTHY DOCTOR,—Though I made haste out of town, and had so little time to spend after we parted, I was yet resolved not to neglect the province which I undertook, as far as I had any interest in Sir Edward Seymour, whom I found at his house, and had full scope of discourse with. I told him I came not to petition the revival of an old title, or the unsettlement of an estate, so often of late interrupting our late parliaments, but to fix and settle a public benefit<sup>a</sup> that would be of great and universal good and glory to the whole nation. This (with your paper) he very kindly and obligingly received, and that he would contribute all the assistance that lay in his power, whenever it should come to the House. To send you notice of this, I thought might be much more acceptable to you than to acquaint you that we are full of company, and already entered into a most dissolute course of eating and indulging, according to the mode of ancient English hospitality ; by which means I shall now and then have opportunity of recommending the noble design you are intent upon, and therefore wish I had some more of the printed proposals to disperse. Sir Cyril Wyche, who accompanied me hither, is altogether transported with it, and thinks the project so discreetly contrived, that it cannot miscarry. Here is Dr. Fuller with his spouse. The Dr. gave us a sermon this morning, in an elegant and trim discourse on the thirty-

<sup>a</sup> Evelyn subjoins in a note : ' The new library to be built in St. James's Park '.



ninth Psalm, which I find had been prepared for the court, and fitter for that audience than our poor country churches. After this you will not expect much intelligence from hence, though I shall every day long to hear of the progress you make in this glorious enterprise, to which I augur a success and prosperity, and am, worthy Doctor, &c.

*William Wotton to John Evelyn*

*Milton, near Newport Pagnell,*

*Bucks, Jan. 2, 1697-8*

HONOURED SIR,—When I was in town last month I did myself the honour to call at your lodgings, but was not so happy as to find you at home. I intended to acquaint you what progress I had made in a design which owes its birth wholly to your encouragement. After a positive promise from the executors that I should have the use of Mr. Boyle's papers, my Lord Burlington at last insisted upon my giving a bond that I demanded no gratification. I had voluntarily given a note to the same purpose, which Dr. Bentley sufficiently blamed me for ; but I gave no bond, and so left the town (though I had come up on purpose about this business), doubtful what further I should do. But, since I came home, my Lord Burlington is come over so far that he has delivered up my note, and has ordered all the papers to be delivered to my order, with a promise to me of all manner of assistance and encouragement. So that now I intend to dedicate all my spare hours to this business ; and then, Sir, as you have hitherto prevented my desires, so again I fear I must be importunate in troubling you with new doubts and queries which, in the progress of the work, will infallibly arise. I am glad to find that we may so soon expect your long-desired work about medals, from which I propose no small entertainment to myself, as soon as it appears. I am, honoured Sir, your most obliged and most humble servant, W. WOTTON

Shall I not wish you and your excellent lady many happy new years ? Nobody, I am sure, does it more cordially.

*Dr. Thomas Gale<sup>a</sup> to John Evelyn*

*January 19th, 1697-8*

SIR,—Your bookseller lately brought me your *Numismata* ; I give you many thanks for it, and own myself very much enlightened by it, for I meet in it with a mighty stock of *arcana historia*, of which you, by our acquaintance with great persons, only was master. Be pleased, dear sir, to accept of this acknowledgment and my profession of all affection possible, and service to yourself and excellent lady. I am, Sir, your very much obliged friend, THOMAS GALE

The Czar desireth to see some good honest country English gentleman : I hope you will come to town<sup>b</sup>.

*William Wotton to John Evelyn*

*Milton, Bucks, Jan. 20, 1697-8*

HONOURED SIR,—Duty and gratitude requiring me to give you a second interruption in a short time, I think I ought to make no apology. Not long since I did myself the honour to acquaint you with the success of my affair about Mr. Boyle's life. I knew you would be pleased to hear that I had weathered that difficulty, since you had been my first . . . to that work. I had just got a box of papers, and was going to digest matters for the forge, when I was agreeably stopped by your admirable *Numismata*, which the last return of the carrier brought me. I needed no spur to read it ; the author, the subject, added wings to my diligence. Dr. Bentley had raised my thirst by the essay he had given me before in conversation. Yet these three incitements, and I know not three more powerful, all gave place to a fourth, which was the book itself. I was so truly charmed, so pleasingly taught through the whole work, that the grief of being so soon at an end, wrought as violently at last as the joy I felt as I went

<sup>a</sup> Dean of York.

<sup>b</sup> See *Diary*, p. 515.

along. The printer, indeed, raised my indignation ; I was angry with him, and troubled to see my pen so often disfigure so elegant a book. However, I took care to have no remotas for the future, when upon a second and a third reading (which yet will scarce suffice) I hope everything shall be riveted in my head, which a first reading in so vast a copia could not carry along with it. My head is so very full of what I have learned and am to learn by your instructions, that I had almost forgotten to thank you for your honourable mention of my poor performances in so standing a work. This was more than I ought to have promised myself. The field I chose was vast and uncultivated ; nobler and learneded . . . will hereafter arise who will till it to more advantage, and reap a richer harvest. I proposed but to outdo Glanvill, and to set Monsieur Perrault and Sir William Temple right, which now, Sir, I ought for your sake to believe I have performed. I am pleased likewise with your quoting of me, even when in all probability you knew nothing of the matter. My first essay at loading the world with my scribbles, was in the *Philos. Trans.* (a place since fatal to me for a reason you are not ignorant of), and it was *in re metallica*. My most honoured friend the late Sir Philip Skippon, who had a noble cabinet of medals, which he thoroughly understood, sent me an account of some Saxon coins found in Suffolk, which I printed with some remarks of my own in the *Transactions*, No. 187, with the initial letters of both our names. The new editors of Camden took no notice of these coins, though I gave them warning, and though there are some there which are not in their collection. You have been pleased to refer to them, for which, Sir, I am bound to express my thanks. But this is not all. I have been censured heavily for blaming Sir W. T.'s "Delphos", and substituting "Delphi" in its place. Your authority will now (if I am publicly a . . .) decide the controversy. I am opposed with an authority of a medal in F. Hardoüin's Num'i Urbium, with this inscription, ΔΕΛΦΟΥ, the genitive, say they, of Delphos, the nominative of the name of the city. I use to reply that it was the genitive of *Delphus*, Apollo's son, mentioned by several of the ancients ; which explication you confirm, p. 189, where you inform these cavillers that Εἰκὼν or Νομισμα is understood. 'Tis time to release you ; only pray, Sir, do me the favour at your leisure to inform me, whether there is ever another coin published with the Bipennis Tenedia upon it, besides that which John Graves printed in his Roman Denarius. I could say abundance more, but my paper tells me what I have farther to say, that I am, your most obliged servant,

W. WOTTON<sup>a</sup>

*John Evelyn to Dr. Godolphin (Provost of Eton)*

Wotton, 8th February, 1697-8

Had you been in town when my copies (on Medals) were distributed among my friends, the small present which I presumed to send you, had been brought by your most humble servant with an apology for my boldness in obtruding upon the Provost of Eton (who is himself so great a judge of that and all other learned subjects) my mean performance. It were quite to tire you out, should I relate on what occasion I came to be engaged on a topic on which I could advance so little of my own to extenuate my presumption : yet give me leave to take hold of this opportunity to discharge a debt owing to yourself, and those of your learned relations who condescend to read my book. 'Tis now near fifty years past since Gabr. Naudæus published directions concerning libraries and their furniture, which I had translated, minding to reprint it, as what I conceived might not be unseasonable whilst auctions were become so frequent among us, and gentlemen everywhere storing themselves with books at those learned marts ; and because it was so very thin a volume, I thought of annexing a sheet or two of Medals, as an appendant not improper. But being persuaded to say something of our modern Medals relating to our country (as France and Holland had of theirs), I found it swell to so incompetent a bulk, as would by no means suit with that treatise. Whilst I was about this (and indeed often and long before) I had been importuned to make a second edition of my *Chalcography* (now grown very scarce), and to bring it from 1662, where I left off, to this time, there having since

<sup>a</sup> This letter is superscribed, 'For the Honoured John Evelyn, Senr. Esq. at Wotton, near Dorking, in Surrey'.



that been so great an improvement of Sculpture. This being a task I had no inclination for (having of a long time given over collections of that sort), I thought yet of gratifying them in some manner with an ex-chapter in my *Discourse of Medals*, where I speak of the effigies of famous persons, and the use which may be derived of such a collection, and that which follows it. 'Tis now a good while ago since first I put it into the hands of a bookseller, with strict injunction not to work off a sheet till it had been revised by abler judgments than my own; and so remained whilst the Medals could be collected that were to be graven, which though hardly amounting to a hundred, were with difficulty enough procured in two years' time. This slow proceeding, together with my long and frequent excursions at this distance from town, made me absolutely resolved to abandon and think of it no further, but give it up to the bookseller to dispose of it for waste paper, when he would needs persuade me that he had such an accomplished supervisor of the press he employed, as would do me all the right I could expect from an able and learned man; and that now he had been at such charges from the sculptures, I should extremely injure him to withdraw my copy, and what I had to annex, as certainly I should [have done] but for that consideration only. So as I had now no remedy left me but by embarking the errata to my greater reproach; and it was very slender comfort to me the being told that even the most incomparably learned Spanheim, whose glorious work of Medals was not long since reprinted, escaped not the press without remarkable and cruel scars.

But now I mentioned the noble Spanheim (to whose judgment all defer) I may haply be censured for what I have said concerning *Etiminus*, after what he has objected against that medal (*De Præst. Numis. Rep.* 647); but if I was, and still am, unwilling to degrade our renowned city of her so metropolitan dignity, whilst I had any to stand by me, I cannot be so deeply concerned, and indeed ashamed, should any think me so ignorant as not long since to know that *obryzum* signifies gold of the most exalted purity and test, or, as the ancients expressed, *ad obrussum exactum*, which yet, I know not how, escaped me when I was gathering out the errata. [As for *CONOB*, though I ever read it *Constantinople*, the extreme rudeness of a reverse and metal I had showed me of that coin, so perfectly resembling that of *Cuno*, might favour my conjecture<sup>a</sup>.]

There is in margin, p. 207, a mistake of *Richborow* for *Regulbium*, which also escaped me.

But, Sir, there are so many more and greater faults as put me out of countenance, for which, and this tedious scribble, I heartily beg your pardon, who am, &c.

*John Evelyn to Mr. Henshaw*

*Wotton, 1st March, 1697-8*

The bearer hereof, Dr. Hoy, a very learned, curious, and ingenious person, and our neighbour in Surrey, acquainted (as who is not?) with the name and great worth of Mr. Henshaw, hearing that I had the honour to be known to you, desires me to introduce him; I need say no more how worthy he is to be let into your esteem, than to acquaint you how deservedly we value him here in this country, not only for his profession and success, but for those other excellent talents which were ever encouraged by your free and generous communications. And in this I serve myself also, by taking the occasion to present the most humble service of a now old acquaintance, begun long since abroad, and cultivated ever since by the continuance of your friendship through many revolutions. I frequently call to mind the many bright and happy moments we have passed together at Rome and other places, in viewing and contemplating the entertainments of travellers who go not abroad to count steeples, but to improve themselves. I wish I could say of myself so as you did; but whenever I think of the

<sup>a</sup> In the letter immediately subjoined to Mr. Henshaw, the latter part of which is almost a transcript of this letter to Dr. Godolphin, the sentence printed above within brackets is thus expressed: 'I found the period omitted, p. 22, which should have been read, mixed and obrize sort also, which has on it a horse rudely designed with the letters CON-OB. *Constantinopoli obrizatum*: which some will have to signify *Constantinople* only; others, some Prince of ours'.

agreeable toil we took among the ruins and antiquities, to admire the superb buildings, visit the cabinets and curiosities of the virtuosi, the sweet walks by the banks of the Tiber, the Via Flamina, the gardens and villas of that glorious city, I call back the time, and, methinks growing young again, the opera we saw at Venice comes into my fancy, and I am ready to sing, *Gioconda Gioiretri, memoria sola tû, con ramento mi'l fu, spesso spesso vien a rapir mi, e qual che si sia ancôr ringiovenir mi.* You remember, Sir, the rest, and we are both near the conclusion, *hai che non torni, non torni piu—mo—ri—bondo.*

Forgive me, Sir, this transport ; and, when this gentleman takes his leave of you, permit me to beg your pardon also for the presumption I am guilty of, in obtruding a Discourse of Medals on one who is so great a master and so knowing, and from whose examples I sometimes diverted to that study. 'Tis now near fifty years, &c.<sup>a</sup>

*Archbishop Tenison to John Evelyn*

November 17, 1698

GOOD SIR,—Mr. Fleetwood, after some deliberation, has thought fit to decline the preaching at Mr. Boyle's lecture, thinking that the fatigue of it may not well consist with his health. One of the next to him in the city, the esteemed of all, is Mr. Bradford, minister of Bow church. Him Sir Henry Ashurst knows, and will elect, if you and I will join with him. I have told him I will upon my certain knowledge of the person, who is an excellent scholar and a very upright, discreet man : I therefore desire your concurrence. I am of opinion that we should oppose Sir J. Rothem's taking anything for the diploma, it being a thing of no good report : the preacher can be furnished with a copy without his help : if he gives his clerk for writing it a crown or so, perhaps that may be dispensed with. Upon further consideration, I am confirmed in my opinion that we have strained Mr. Boyle's words by admitting any who are not city ministers, or such as are within the bills of mortality. I hope I may enjoy your good company sometime this month, either at Lambeth or at the Cockpit. I am your affectionate friend,

THOMAS CANTUAR

*Archbishop Tenison to John Evelyn*

November 28, 1698

GOOD SIR,—The time for choosing a preacher at Mr. Boyle's lecture is so nigh, that if we pass over a few days without determining about the person, the preacher will have no time to prepare for the first sermon. I did lately recommend to you Mr. Bradford of Bow, a very excellent man and one well known to Sir H. Ashurst. I have heard nothing in answer and fear the messenger may have made some mistake. Pray, Sir, let me this day either hear from you by letter, or see me at dinner at Lambeth. I am at the Cockpit and shall be so till one o'clock, and can carry you over in my barge. I am, Sir, your assured friend,

THOMAS CANTUAR

*John Evelyn to Archdeacon Nicolson (afterwards Bishop of Carlisle)*

10th November, 1699

After thanking him for the tenderness and civility with which he had mentioned his book on Medals, Evelyn proceeds :

You recommend the study of our own municipal laws and home antiquities, most becoming an Englishman, and lover of his country, which you have skilfully derived from the fountain, and tracked through all those windings and meanders which rendered the study deserted as dull and impolite, unless by those who, attracted by more sordid considerations, submitted to a fatigue which filled indeed their purses for the noise they made at Westminster Hall, whilst their heads were empty, even of that to which they seemed to devote themselves. Did our Inns of Court students come a little better grounded in ethics, and with some entrance into the civil law, such an history as you are meditating would lead them on with delight, and enable them to discover and penetrate into the grounds of natural

<sup>a</sup> The rest of this letter, which is nearly the same as the preceding letter to Dr. Godolphin, need not be given.



justice and human prudence, and furnish them with matter to adorn their pleadings, before they wholly gave themselves up to learn to wrangle, and the arts of illaqueation, and not make such haste to precedents, customs, and common-places. By reading good history, they would come to understand how governments have been settled by conquest, transplantations, colonies, or garrisons, through all vicissitudes and revolutions, from east to west, from the first monarchy to the last ; how laws have been established, and for what reason changed and altered ; whence our holding by knight's service ; and whether feudal laws have been derived from Saxon or Norman. 'Tis pity young gentlemen should meet with so little of this in the course of their academic studies, at least if it continue as in my time, when they were brought up to dispute on dry questions which nauseate generous spirits, and to discourse of things before they are furnished with mediums, and so return home rather with the learning of a Benedictine Monk (full of school cant) than of such useful knowledge as would enable them to a dexterity in solving cases, how intricate soever, by analytics, and so much of algebra as teaches to draw consequences and detect parallogisms and fallacies, which were the true use of logic, and which you give hopes our universities are now designing. To this I would add the improvement of the more ornate and graceful manner of speaking upon occasion. The fruit of such an education would not only grace and furnish the bar with excellent lawyers, but the nation with able persons fit for any honourable employment, to serve and speak in Parliaments and in councils ; give us good magistrates and justices for reference at home in the country ; able ambassadors and orators abroad ; in a word, qualified patriots and pillars of state, in which this age does not, I fear, abound. In the meantime what preference may be given to our constitutions I dare not determine ; but as I believe ethics and the civil law were the natural mother of all good laws, so I have been told that the best lawyers of England were heretofore wont to mix their studies together with them, but which are at present so rarely cultivated, that those who pass forsooth for great sages and oracles therein are not only shamefully defective, but even in the feudal and our own.

You are speaking, Sir, of records, but who are they among this multitude even of the coif, who either study or vouchsafe to defile their fingers with any dust, save what is yellow ? or know anything of records save what, upon occasion, they lap out of Sir Edward Coke's basin, and some few others ? The thirst of gain takes up their whole man : like our English painters, who, greedy of getting present money for their work, seldom arrive at any farther excellency in the art than face-painting, and have no skill in perspective, symmetry, the principles of design, or dare undertake to paint history.

Upon all these considerations, then, I cannot but presage the great advantage your excellent book, and such an history, may produce, when our young gentlemen shall ripen their studies by those excellent methods. At least there will not likely appear such swarms and legions of obstreperous lawyers as yearly emerge out of our London seminaries, *omnium doctorum indoctissimum genus* (for the most part) as Erasmus truly styles them.

Concerning the Paper Office, I wish those instruments and state arcana had been as faithfully and constantly transmitted to that useful magazine as they ought ; but though Sir Joseph Williamson took pains to reduce things into some order, so miserably had they been neglected and rifled during the Rebellion, that, at the Restoration of Charles II, such were the defects, that they were as far to seek for precedents, authentic and original treaties, negotiations, and other transactions formerly made with foreign states and princes, despatches and instructions to ambassadors, as if there had never before been any correspondence abroad. How that office stands at present I know not ; but this I do know, that the abundance of those despatches and papers you mention, and which ought to centre there, have been carried away both by the secretaries of state themselves (when either dismissed or dying, and by ambassadors and other ministers when recalled) into the country, and left to their heirs as honourable marks of their ancestors' employments. Of this sort I had formerly divers considerable bundles concerning transactions of state during the ministry of the great Earl of Leicester, all the reign of Queen Elizabeth, containing divers original letters from the Queen herself, from Mary Queen of Scots, Charles IX and Henry IV of France, Maximilian the second Emperor, Duke of Norfolk, James Stewart,



Regent of Scotland, Marquis of Montrose, Sir William Throckmorton, Randolfe, Sir Francis Walsingham, (whom you mention), Secretary Cecil, Mr. Barnaby, Sir J. Hawkins, Drake, Fenton, Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury, Edwin, Bishop of London, the Bishop of Winchester, Bishop Hooper, &c. From abroad—Tremelius and other Protestant Divines ; Parquiou, Spinola, Ubaldino, and other commanders, with divers Italian princes. And of ladies, the Lady Mary Grey, Cecilia, Princess of Sweden, Ann, Countess of Oldenburgh, the Duchess of Somerset, and a world more. But what most of all, and still afflicts me, those letters and papers of the Queen of Scots, originals and written with her own hand to Queen Elizabeth, and Earl of Leicester, before and during her imprisonment, which I furnished to Dr. Burnet (now Bishop of Salisbury), some of which being printed in his *History of the Reformation*, those, and others with them, are pretended to have been lost at the press, which has been a quarrel between me and his lordship, who lays the fault on Chiswell<sup>a</sup>, but so as between them I have lost the originals, which had now been safe records as you will find in that history. The rest I have named I lent to his countryman, the late Duke of Lauderdale, who honouring me with his presence in the country, and after dinner discoursing of a Maitland (ancestor of his) of whom I had several letters impaqueted with many others, desired I would trust him with them for a few days : it is now more than a few years past, that, being put off from time to time, till the death of his Grace, when his library was selling, my letters and papers could no where be found or recovered ; so as by this treachery my collection being broken, I bestowed the remainder on a worthy and curious friend<sup>b</sup> of mine, who is not likely to trust a S—— with anything he values.

But, Sir, I quite tire you with a rhapsody of impertinences, beg your pardon, and remain, &c.

Among the errata of the *Numismata*, but of which I immediately gave an account in the *Philosophical Transactions*, the following were thus to have been read : p. 22. l. n. 22—*mixed* as well as *obrized*<sup>c</sup> sort, in the margin ; for such a metal is mentioned by Aldus (of Valentinian) with CONOB : which he reads,—*Constantinopoli Obrizatum*, belonging, he says, to Count Landus : *vide* Aldus Manut. Notar : Exp'ta, p. 802, Venet, CI3.I3.XCI. and p. 51. l. q. r. *Etiminius* : Spanheim indeed is suspicious of this medal, but I was unwilling to degrade our metropolis of the honour. P. 202, in margin, r. *Regulbium* (with innumerable more).

SIR,—I know not whether Sir Jo. Hoskins, Sir R. Southwell, Mr. Waller, and Dr. Harwood (who is concerned in what I have said of *Taille Douce*), and the rest (on whom I have obtruded books), would have the patience of Mr. Hill, to read my letter, when you meet at the learned Coffee-Club, after they are gone from Gresham.

*The Reverend Joshua Walker to John Evelyn*

*Great Billing, near Northampton, 7th Feb. 1700-1*

HONOURED SIR,—I give you many thanks for your kind letter. Your acceptance of those few papers I sent you has encouraged me to send more. I desired a neighbour of mine who has had great experience in setting willows, to give me an account of his way of setting them, and also of his way of planting and fencing quickset-hedges. I have here sent you his papers ; here is also a table, a great part of which I heretofore collected for my own use ; if I had had more books of planting, I might have added more to it.

I think it would be a considerable benefit to the inhabitants of champaign countries in England, where timber, fuel, fruit, and shelter are much wanting, if a statute were made, giving leave that any one who has land worth five pounds, and in common fields, may, if he please enclose part of it not exceeding one rood ; and he that has four cows'-gates upon any common, may likewise enclose not exceeding one rood, or what quantity the parliament shall think fit ; and so proportionably for more, provided he plant those enclosed parts all over with wood, and likewise giving leave to enclose some proportions for the planting of fruit-

<sup>a</sup> Bishop Burnet's printer or publisher.

<sup>b</sup> Qu. Mr. Pepys ?

<sup>c</sup> 'Obryzum signifies gold of the most exalted purity. J. E'.



trees, as you suggest in your *Pomona*, p. 358. Probably more trees would be planted without any damage to any one, if commoners had leave by statute to plant trees upon the waste for their own use as well as Lords of Manors, a due proportion being allotted to each of them. I think you would do a very good work if you would be pleased to use your interest to procure such a statute. Many Members of Parliament would sooner hearken to you than to any other person in matters of this nature, being sensible how much good you have done to this nation. That it would please Almighty God to bless you with long life and happiness, and reward you for the great pains you have taken for the benefit of your country, is the prayer of, Sir, your most obliged humble servant,

JOSHUA WALKER

*Archdeacon Nicholson to John Evelyn*

March 25th, 1701

HONOURED SIR,—It has long been my custom to clear accounts (as far as I am able) with all my creditors on the first day of every new year. Where I am non-solvent I make an honest acknowledgment, and that is my case with you. Give me leave therefore to make this return of my humble thanks for the kind letter I had from you last week; and to let you know that (since you are pleased to invite me to it) I am very ready to run farther on the score with you. Your MS. life of S. Cuthbert is, I perceive, the legend written by R. Hegge, who was fellow of Corpus Christi where that treatise was deposited. There is indeed a very faulty copy of it printed, and I have often endeavoured to procure a transcript from the author's original, but in vain. You generously offer this, and my brother will wait on you for it, and convey it to me. If I live to publish my history of the Saxon Northumberland, I shall pay a grateful respect to my benefactor.

I am troubled to hear of Mr. Pepys's indisposition. I heartily wish his recovery and the continuance of his restored health. When I was servant to Mr. Secretary Williamson (above twenty years ago), I often waited upon him at his house at Westminster; but I was then, as I still am, too inconsiderable to be remembered by him. Besides an account of the author (if known) of his MS. life of Mary Queen of Scots, I very much desire to know whether there be any very valuable matters, relating to the history of Scotland, amongst Sir R. Maitland's collections of Scotch Poems. I observe that in the same volume with Balfour's *Pratiques* (or reports as we call them), he has a manuscript of the old Sea-Law of Scotland. I would beg to be informed whether this last treatise be not the same with the *Leges Portuum*; which, though quoted by Sir John Skene under that Latin title, is written in the Scotch language, and is only a list of the customs of goods imported and exported. If I may (through your kind intercession have the favour of transcribing anything for my purpose out of his library, I have a young kinsman (a clerk to Mr. Musgrave at the tower), who will wait on him to that purpose.

Suffer me now, Sir, to own another obligation to you (wherein I am a sharer with the public) for your *Acetaria*, which, with submission, I think you have miscalled an appendix to your *Calendarium*. You give it the precedence, and very justly, in your royal plan; the several chapters whereof I shall much long to see published, for though an ingenious countryman of mine, Mr. Baker, seems dissatisfied with Mr. Wotton's making agriculture and gardening parts of liberal knowledge, I am as much an admirer of all the branches of natural as civil history, and the former has as many of my spare hours in the summer, as the latter has in the winter. There is one passage (page 65) wherein I think myself nearly concerned to request your farther information. The French *Acetosella*, with the round leaf, grows (you say) plentifully in the north of England. You distinguish this from the Roman *Oxalis*, wherewith Dr. Morrison had made our *Acetosa Eboracensis* (as he calls it) to be nearly of a kind. But Mr. Ray has rightly observed that ours is not Casp. Banhinus's *Rotundifolia Hortensis* (which is the same with the Roman *Oxalis*), but his *Scutata repens*. Besides this I know of no kind of sorrel that is so peculiar to the northern parts of this kingdom as your expression seems to intimate, nor can this, which is no trefoil, be reckoned among any of the *Acetosellæ*. You will pardon this impertinence in, Sir, your obliged humble servant,

WILL. NICHOLSON



*Archdeacon Nicolson to John Evelyn**Salkeld, 9th May, 1701*

HONOURED SIR,—About ten days ago I received your two MSS., for which I now return my most humble thanks. The legend of St. Cuthbert comes very opportunely, and (as I expected) differs considerably in the account it gives of the Council at Twyford, wherein he was chosen Bishop, from what the print had said of it. This being one of the matters wherein I am scoundreled by the late reply of Dr. Wake, here's a seasonable assistance given me in the defence I shall be obliged to make of my *insipid* notes on Northumberland; and 'twill likewise afford me an opportunity of making a just acknowledgment for the benefaction. I hardly expected that the third part of my historical library would have been treated by any man with so much contempt, after it had been so fortunate as to be approved by yourself and some others of the most competent judges of the kingdom. It is a duty I owe to your kind characters of it, as well as a piece of justice to my own innocence and integrity, to wipe off as much of this gentleman's dust as I can; and when I have done that, I hope it will sufficiently appear that he has much more to answer for than I have. Begging your pardon for this impertinence, I am, dear Sir, your most obliged humble servant,

WILLIAM NICOLSON

*William Wotton to John Evelyn**Jan. 22, 1701-2*

HONOURED SIR,—The kind notice you have been pleased to take of my poor performances gives me a satisfaction which few things in the world could have equalled. Few authors, I believe, are so entirely disengaged from the world, as to be proof against applause even from common readers; but the approbation of great masters is the highest reward any writer ought to look for. I am sure my time has not been misspent, since Mr. Evelyn has passed so favourable a judgment upon what I have been doing. It encourages me also to go on with Mr. Boyle's *Life*, for which I have been so long indebted to the public. I have now all the materials I am to expect, and intend with all convenient speed to digest them into such an order as may make them at hand when I shall use them.

His works have been epitomated by Mr. Bolton after a sort, I am at a loss whether I shall interweave a kind of a system of his philosophy into the *Life* as I at first designed, or only relate matters of fact. In that matter I shall be guided by my friends: especially your judgment I shall long for if you will do me the honour to give it me; and then I am sure to make no mistake. The work, I am sure, will please me; if I fall not short of my subject I shall be glad.

I am extremely sorry that the greediness of some people hath driven you to cut any part of those charming groves that made Wotton so delicious a seat. What, are those woods behind the house towards Leith-Hill cut down! If they are, the greatest ornament of the finest county in England is gone. But I hope better; and do not know, if God spares my life, but I may wait upon you this summer at Wotton, and then I shall inform myself.

That God Almighty may long preserve you to your family, and continue to make young Mr. Evelyn what he promises, and you desire, is the hearty prayer of, honoured Sir, your most obliged and most faithful servant, W. WOTTON

I beg leave to present my humblest service to your lady. I have the same intelligence concerning Mr. Hare that you have.

*Rev. Richard Richardson (of Lamport, Northamptonshire) to John Evelyn**Brixworth, June 2, 1702*

HONOURED SIR,—I shall not make a preface of excuse to you, a member of our noble and communicative profession of planters and florists, or rather the head or father as I call you, in my *De Cultu Hort. Carm*:

Evelinumque patrem Hortic.,

in which I pretend Le Sieur Quintinye, Monsieur Barpoæ, follow your steps



especially our countryman Mr. Rea. I must confess it was but a pretence ; for I was mainly intent upon the digressive part after the example of Columella and our master Virgil, whom I suppose nobody consults in the science, but rather Cato, Varro, Columella, in prose, &c. Sir, I am importuned by some friends, florists, in my second edition intended, to make good the title, and indeed, I have made some additions, but yet I have run out most upon the digressive. I have no other way to give them satisfaction but by prefixing, with your good leave, your *Calend. Hort.* which I have put into Latin : that is, the body of the work. I have omitted the preface chiefly because I durst not venture upon Cowley's Pindaric ; and the Green-House at the end, because it is but an essay, and little useful to the southern virtuosi ; the cuts also would be chargeable. I have also omitted the references to your other books, because they are English. For what concerns Bees, being a matter somewhat heterogeneous, I send the reader to Butler's history, by me long since translated into Latin. Sir, if you desire the whole, or any part, I will send it to you, and beg, if you have any, some further improvements. If you please to honour me with an answer, you may direct it to me, Rector of Lamport, Northampton. I am, Sir, your most humble and obedient servant,

RICHARD RICHARDSON

*William Wotton to John Evelyn*

Jan. 23, 1702-3

HONOURED SIR,—When I see two letters of yours before me, and both unanswered, it fills me with confusion. I ought not to be so insensible of the honour you do me by your correspondence, an honour which I shall never be able sufficiently to acknowledge ; though I confess it is with the extremest pleasure that I think I shall ere long tell the world, that I have had the happiness to be known to so great an ornament of our age and nation as Mr. Evelyn.

Your last papers have cleared some doubts which I was in concerning Mr. Boyle's family, and some still remain. I want to know whether Sir Geoffrey Fenton was not Secretary of State ; I think he was. Sir William Petty's will I have got a copy of. I have many other things to ask you of which you will in a short time have a list. You encourage me, Sir, to come to you ; I will labour that you shan't repent.

I received last post two letters out of Surrey, one from Dr. Duncombe, of Shere, the other from Mr. Randyll, of Chilworth, in behalf of one Mr. Bannister, Vicar of Womersley, a small vicarage just by Albury. It seems one Steer, of Newdegate, has left an exhibition for a poor scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge. Now Mr. Bannister has with great difficulty bred up a son whom he designs for the University, and hopes he shall procure this exhibition. But that will be a slender support. I am solicited therefore to desire Dr. Bentley to look favourably upon him if he shall deserve it. There are very many ways by which a master of such a house may assist a promising lad, whose fortune is narrow. I intend to send a letter to the master by the lad when he goes up, and I take the boldness to say all this to you, because I have reason to think it will be esteemed by Mr. Randyll and Dr. Duncombe (whose family are patrons of that vicarage) as an exceeding great obligation, if you will vouchsafe to interpose with our friend in this lad's behalf. Many a boy who struggles at his first entry into the world, proves afterwards a very considerable man. Dr. Duncombe says the child is qualified to go to Cambridge. My wife desires to have her most humble service presented to Mrs. Evelyn. I am, honoured Sir, your most obedient and faithful servant,

W. WOTTON<sup>a</sup>

*William Wotton to John Evelyn*

Milton, Aug. 13, 1703

HONOURED SIR,—It is now so long time since I first mentioned to you my design of giving some account to the world of the life and writings of Mr. Boyle, that I question not but you have long since looked upon it as a vain brag of an

<sup>a</sup> This letter is superscribed : ' For John Evelyn, Esq., at his house in Dover Street, near St. James's Street, Westminster '.



impertinent fellow, who, when he had once appeared in public, thought he might be always trespassing upon their patience. The discouragements I met with since I undertook it were so many, that I have often wished that I had let it alone, or never thought of it. And I was ordered to pursue another scent by the Bishop of Salisbury, which it pleased God to make unsuccessful. However, my design has long been resumed, and every day I do something to it. Next spring I hope to wait upon you in Dover Street, and show you what I have done. I am sensible I am a slow and a lazy writer, and since the public can well spare me and what I shall ever do, it is no great harm if I am dilatory. But since you, Sir, were the first ἐργοδιωκτης to me in this affair, and were pleased so far to flatter me, as to make me hope the world would (upon Mr. Boyle's account) pardon what I should say, I must take the freedom to be yet farther troublesome to you. By your letter of March 29, 1696, I am encouraged to trouble you, and for that letter I again must thank you, since, notwithstanding the notices which Mr. Boyle's own papers and the Bishop of Sarum's hints have given me, I found your information so useful, that without them my work would be very lame. I beg therefore of you farther,

1. An account of Mr. Hartlib: what countryman? what his employment? in short, a short eulogy of him, and his writings and designs, with an account of the time of his death

2. The like of the beginnings of Sir William Petty. Those two were very great with Mr. Boyle before the Restoration.

3. Do you know anything of one Clodius<sup>a</sup> a chemist? Was he (or who was) Mr. Boyle's first master in that art?

4. What was the affinity between your lady's family and Mr. Boyle? What son of that family was it that lies buried in Deptford church? and particularly all you can gather of the old Earl of Cork's original. Was Sir Geoffrey Fenton Secretary of State in Ireland; if not, what was his employment? Did not he translate Guicciardini into English?

5. In what year began your acquaintance with Mr. Boyle? I find letters of yours to him in 1657. Have you any letters of his; and would you spare me the use of them? they should be returned to you with thousands of thanks.

I think, Sir, you will look upon these as queries enough for one time. It is in your power to make my work perfect and the obligations I shall have thereby, though they can't well add to those you have conferred already, yet they will give me a new title to subscribe myself, honoured Sir, your most obedient and most obliged servant,

W. WOTTON

My wife and I desire our services to be most humbly offered to Madame Evelyn.

Pray was Sir Maurice Fenton<sup>b</sup> (whose widow Sir W. Petty married) a descendant of Sir Geoffrey's? or what else do you know of him?

In one of your letters to Mr. Boyle you mention a Chymico-Mathematico-Mechanical School designed by Dr. Wilkins: what farther do you know about it?

*John Evelyn to William Wotton<sup>c</sup>*

*Wotton, 12th September, 1703*

WORTHY SIR,—I had long ere this given you an account of yours of the 13th past (which yet came not to me till the 20th) if a copy of the inscription you mention, and which I had long since among my papers, could have been found, upon diligent search; but lost I believe it (with other loose notes) upon my remove hither, *cum pannis*. To supply which, it is now above ten days past that I sent to Dr. Stanhope (Vicar of Deptford) to send me a fresh transcript: but hearing nothing from him hitherto, I believe my letter might not have come to his hands; and now a servant of mine (who looks after my little concerns in that place) tells me the Doctor is at Tunbridge, drinking the waters; and perhaps my letter may lie dormant at his house, expecting his return upon this accident

<sup>a</sup> Claudius.

<sup>b</sup> A question partly founded on a mistake of names, Evelyn noting in the margin, 'Felton it should be'.

<sup>c</sup> This letter is endorsed by Evelyn himself: 'Copy to Mr. WOTTON, in answer to one of his in order to the *History of the Life of Mr. Boyle, &c.*, which I first put him upon'.



and interruption, unwilling you should remain any longer in suspense, or think me negligent or indifferent in promoting so desirable a work, I send you this in the meantime.

To the first of your queries, Mr. Hartlib was, I think, a Lithuanian, who coming for refuge hither to avoid the persecution in his country, with much industry recommended himself to many charitable persons, and among the rest to Mr. Boyle, by communicating to them many secrets in chemistry, and improvements of agriculture, and other useful novelties by his general correspondence abroad ; of which he has published several treatises. Besides this, he was not unlearned ; zealous and religious ; with so much latitude as easily recommended him to the godly party then governing, among whom (as well as Mr. Boyle and many others, who used to pity and cherish strangers) he found no small subsistence during his exile. I had very many letters from him, and often relieved him. Claudius, whom you next inquire after, was his son-in-law, a professed adeptus, who by the same *methodus mendicandi* and pretence of extraordinary arcana, insinuated himself into acquaintance of his father-in-law : but when or where either of them died (though I think poor Hartlib's was of the stone), or what became of them I cannot tell : no more than I can who initiated Mr. Boyle among the Spagyristes, before I had the honour to know him ; though I conjecture it was whilst he resided at Oxford after his return from travel, where there was then a famous assemblage of virtuosi : Drs. Bathurst of Trinity, Dickinson of Merton, Wren, now Sir Christopher, Scarburgh<sup>a</sup>, Seth Ward (afterwards Bishop of Sarum), and especially Dr. Wilkins (since Bishop of Chester), the head of Wadham College, where these and other ingenious persons used to meet to promote the study of the new philosophy, which has since obtained. It was in that college where I think there was an elaboratory, and other instruments, mathematical, mechanical, &c., which perhaps might be that you speak of as a school ; and so lasted till the revolution following, when, everybody seeking preferment, this society was dispersed. This, Sir, is the best account I can at present render you, having since lost so many of my worthy friends, who might possibly have informed me better.

As to the date of my first acquaintance with this honourable gentleman, it sprung from a courteous visit he made me at my house in Deptford, which as I constantly repaid, so it grew reciprocal and familiar ; divers letters passing between us at first in civilities and the style peculiar to him upon the least sense of obligation ; but these compliments lasted no longer than till we became perfectly acquainted, and had discovered our inclination of cultivating the same studies and designs, especially in the search of natural and useful things : myself then intent on collections of notes in order to an History of Trades and other mechanical furniture, which he earnestly encouraged me to proceed with : so that our intercourse of letter was now only upon that account, and were rather so many receipts and processes, than letters. What I gathered of this nature (and especially for the improvement of planting and gardening), my *Sylva* and what else I published on that subject being but part of that work (a plan whereof is mentioned in my late *Acetaria*), would astonish you, did you see the bundles and packets amongst other things in my *chartaphylacia* here, promiscuously ranged among multitudes of papers, letters, and other matters, divinity, political papers, poetry, &c., some as old as the reign of Henry VIII (my wife's ancestors having been treasurers of the Navy to the reign of Queen Elizabeth), and exceedingly increased by my late father-in-law Sir Richard Browne's grandfather, who had the first employment under the great Earl of Leicester, Governor of the Low Countries in the same Queen's reign ; and by Sir Richard Browne's despatches during his 19 years' residence in the Court of France, whither he was sent by Charles the First and continued by his successor. But to return from this digression. This design and apparatus on several other subjects and extravagances growing beyond my forces, was left imperfect upon the restoration of the banished King, when everybody expected a new world, and had other things in view than what the melancholy days of his eclipse suggested to pass away anxious thoughts, by those innocent employments I have mentioned. So as this Revolution, and my father-in-law's attendance at Court (being eldest Clerk of the Council) obliging

<sup>a</sup> This is the same 'Dr. Scarborough' and 'Sir Charles' mentioned in *Diary*, pp. 193, 310.



me to be almost perpetually in London, the intercourse of formal letters (frequent visits, and constant meetings at Gresham College succeeding) was very seldom necessary<sup>a</sup>; some I have yet by me, but such as can be of no importance to your noble work, one of which excepted, in answer to my returning him my thanks for sending me his *Seraphic Love*, which is long and full of civility, and so may pass for compliment with the rest, long since mingled among my other packets.

I can never give you so accurate an account of Sir William Petty (which is another of your inquiries) as you will find in his own will, that famous and extraordinary piece (which I am sure cannot have escaped you), wherein he has omitted nothing concerning his own simple birth, life, and wonderful progress he made to arrive at so prodigious a fortune as he has left his relations. Or if I could say more of it, I would not deprive you of the pleasure you must needs receive in reading it often.

The only particular I find he has taken no notice of, is the misadventure of his double-bottomed keel, which yet perishing in the tempestuous Bay of Biscay (where fifteen other vessels were lost in the same storm) ought not at all reproach perhaps the best and most useful mechanist in the world: for such was this *faber fortunæ*, Sir William Petty. I need not acquaint you with his recovering a certain criminal young wench, who had been hanged at Oxon, and, being begged for a dissection, he recovered to life; and (who) was afterwards married, had children, and survived it fifteen years. These, among many other things very extraordinary, made him deservedly famous, and for several engines and inventions; not forgetting the expeditious method by which, getting to be the surveyor of the whole kingdom of Ireland, he taught ignorant soldiers to assist in the admeasurement, reserving to himself the acres assigned him for his reward: and the despatch which gained him the favour of impatient soldiers, whose pay and arrears being to be supplied out of the pretended forfeited estates gave him opportunity to purchase their lots and debentures for a little ready money, which he got confirmed after the Restoration<sup>b</sup>. This was the foundation of the vast estate he since enjoyed. I need not tell you of his computations in what was published under the name of Mr. Grant, concerning the Bills of Mortality; and that with all this he was politely learned, a wit, and a poet (see his Paraphrase on Psalm civ., &c.); and was the most charming and instructing conversation in the world. But all these excellent talents of his, rather hindered than advanced his applications at Court; where the wretched favourites (some of whom for their virtue one 'would not have set with the dogs of the flock', and some who yet sat at the helm), afraid of his abilities, stopped his progress there: nor indeed did he affect it, being to my observation and long acquaintance, a man of sincerity and infinitely industrious. Nothing was too hard for him. I mentioned his poetry, but said nothing of his preaching, which, though rarely and when he was in perfect humour to divert his friends, he would hold forth in tone and action; passing from the Court pulpit to the Presbyterian, and then the Independent, Anabaptist, Quaker, Fanatic, Friar, and Jesuit, as entertained the company to admiration; putting on the person of those sectaries with such variety and imitation, that, it coming to be told the King, they prevailed with him to show his faculty one day at Court, where, declaiming upon the vices of it, and miscarriages of the great ones, so verily as he needed not to name them, particularly the misgovernment of Ireland, as (though it diverted the King, who bore raillery the best in the world) so touched the Duke of Ormond there present, and made him so unruly, as Sir William perceiving it, dexterously altered his style into a calmness and composure exceedingly admirable. One thing more, which possibly you may not have heard of, was his answering a challenge of Sir Allen Brodrick (in great favour with my Lord Chancellor); and it being the right of the appellant's antagonist to choose the place and name the weapon, he named the lists and field of battle to be in a dust cellar, and the weapon hatchets, himself being purblind, and not so skilful at the rapier; and so it concluded in a feast. But after all this, this poor, rich, and

<sup>a</sup> In another copy of this letter (Sloane MSS. 4229), Evelyn substitutes at this passage: 'the establishment of the Royal Society, taking in all these subjects, made our personal meeting, unless at Gresham College, where we assiduously met and conversed, at one another's houses less necessary'.

<sup>b</sup> Evelyn adds, in the duplicate of this letter to which I have referred: 'though probably not without acknowledgments to the great men in power, who were as greedy of money as others'.



wonderful man, and an excellent physician also, was suddenly taken away by a gangrene in his leg, it seems too long neglected, a few days after we had dined together in cheerful company. The coat armour which he chose and always depicted on his coach, &c., was a mariner's compass, the needle pointing to the polar star, the crest a beehive, the *lemma*, if I remember well, being '*operosa et sedula*', than which nothing could be more apposite. And now I am extremely sensible of my detaining you so long, in giving you rather the history of Sir William Petty instead of satisfying your inquiry concerning his lady, and who married the widow of Sir Maurice *Felton* (not Fenton), a Norfolk family<sup>a</sup>, daughter of that arch rebel Sir Hardress Waller, a great commander in Ireland, by whom he had three or four children, to whom he left vast fortunes. This wife is yet living, a very stately dame, in one of the stateliest palaces of that city.

But now, asking your pardon again for this (perhaps impertinent) aberration, I return to Mr. Boyle, who had, besides all we have enumerated that were his acquaintance and admirers, the Lord Viscount Brouncker, first President of the Royal Society; that worthy person and honest Scot, Colonel W. Murray; the famous Sir Kenelm Digby; Dr. Godard; and of later date, Dr. Burnet, now Bishop of Sarum; and generally all strangers and learned persons, pretending to chemistry, and other uncommon arts: nor did any Ambassador from abroad think he had seen England till he had visited Mr. Boyle.

As to the affinity and relation of my wife's family to Mr. Boyle's, take the following account she received from that most religious and excellent lady, his niece, the late Countess of Clancarty; who, coming down one day to visit my father-in-law Sir Richard Browne, who lay incommoded with the gout, and sitting by his bed side, upon some casual discourse of his family, and how they always esteemed him as of kindred, related this pretty passage of a kinsman of Sir Richard's mother's first husband, whose name was Geoffrey Fenton, who neglecting his study, being designed for a lawyer, so exceedingly displeased his uncle, that he sent him into Ireland as an abandoned young man, to seek his fortune there. The young student, considering his condition, soon recovered his uncle's favour by so diligently applying himself to that study, as in short time he became one of the most eminent of that profession. Now the first Earl of Cork being then but Mr. Boyle (a Kentish man; and, perhaps I may have told you, a school-master at Maidstone, but this particular being nothing of the Countess's narrative and a secret betwixt you and I only, and perhaps uncertain), coming to advise with Sir Geoffrey Fenton, now knighted, and finding him engaged with another client, and seeing a pretty child in the nurse's arms, entertained himself with them, till Sir Geoffrey came to him, making his excuse for making him wait so long. Mr. Boyle pleasantly told him, he had been courting a young lady for his wife. And so it fortun'd, that sixteen years after it, Mr. Boyle made his address in good earnest to her, and married the young lady, from whom has sprung all this numerous family of earls and lords branching now into the noblest families of England. How many sons and daughters he left, I do not remember; only that Roger Boyle was the eldest son, whom his father sent young into England, to be educated under the care of his relation, my grandmother, at Deptford, where was then a famous school. Thus, Sir, have you the original of the relation you inquire after, and of the kindness which always continued between them. This Roger Boyle is the young gentleman, who, dying in Sir Richard Browne's house at Saye's-Court in Deptford, was interred in that parish church.

I will now endeavour to commute for your patience with a pleasant passage, current with the Boyles. When King Charles the Second newly come to his crown, and using frequently to sail down the river in his yachts for diversion, and accompanied by all the great men and courtiers waiting upon him, it was often observed, that when the vessel passed by a certain place opposite to the church at Deptford, my Lord Burlington constantly pulled off his hat, with some kind of reverence. This being remarked by some of the Lords standing by him, they desired he would tell them what he meant by it: to which he replied, 'Do you see that steeple there? Have I not reason to pay a respect to the place where my elder brother lies buried, by which I enjoy the Earldom of Cork?' Worthy Sir, I remain, your most humble and obliged servant, J. EVELYN

<sup>a</sup> In the copy of this letter in the Sloane MSS. Evelyn adds: 'of which was Felton, who assassinated the famous Duke of Buckingham'.



P.S.—Where I speak of this family, perhaps it may not be amiss to see what Sir William Dugdale says of it in his *Baronage*; though what the heralds write is often sorry and mercenary enough. I am able to bring my own Pedigree from one Evelyn, nephew to Androgios, who brought Julius Cæsar into Britain the second time: will you not smile at this? Whilst Onslow, Hatton, and Evelyn came, I suppose, much at the same time out of Shropshire into Surrey and adjacent counties (from places still retaining their names), some time during the Barons' Wars.

Methinks you speak of your not being at London till next spring: a long day for *Octogenarius* to hope for that happiness, who have of late seen so few moments I can call so all this past year<sup>a</sup>. I have been much impaired in my health, by a defluxion which fell into one of my legs, caused by a light scraze on my shin-bone, falling on a stump as I was walking in Brompton Park to take the fresh air; and might have been healed with a little Hungary water in a day or two for my flesh never rankles), but, this neglected, a chirurgeon, my godson, whom almost forty years since I bound apprentice to that profession, persuading me to apply a miraculous plaster of his, it drew down a sharp humour, which kept me within three months; and that being at last diverted and perfectly cured, it has since tormented me with the hemorrhoides, if I may so call tumours that do not bleed (or rather blind piles), which make me exceedingly uneasy. I have yet adventured to pay my duty to my Lord Guernsey, who did me the honour to visit me at Dover Street whilst I was not able to stir, and has lately called often since he came out of Kent.

My young grandson improves laudably in his study of both laws, history, chronology, and practical mathematics: 'tis pity he has not a correspondent that might provoke him to write Latin epistles, in which I am told by some able to judge, and that have seen some of them, he is master of a handsome style: he does not forget his Greek, having read Herodotus, Thucydides, and the rest of that class. I do not much encourage his poetry, in which he has yet a pretty vein; my desire being to make him an honest useful man, of which I have great hopes, being so grave, steady, and most virtuously inclined. He is now gone to see Chichester and Portsmouth, having already travelled most of the inland counties; and went the last summer before this, as far as the Land's End in Cornwall. Thus you see I make you part of my concerns, hardly abstaining from the boasts of men of my dotage.<sup>b</sup>

I have paid the visit we lately received from Mr. Hare and his lady, very glad to find them both in so good state of health. He longs to see Mr. Wotton, as well as your humble servant,  
J. E.

The master of Trinity was often at St. James's without being so kind as to visit the *Clinic*.

*William Wotton to John Evelyn*

October 30, 1703

HONOURED SIR,—I am heartily ashamed that I deferred so long to answer yours wherein you sent me so large and so obliging an answer to all my queries. I could say my family has been indisposed (my wife having been lately brought to bed of a daughter), and that has broke my thoughts. But even that excuse satisfies me not, and so I shall pass it. I only beg I may not forfeit your favour, and entreat you to accept of my sincere promises of future amendment. Your hand in this last, which I received last night, seems stronger and healthier than in your former. God grant your health, which now I hope is perfectly recovered, may long continue to the joy of your family and your friends, and to the satisfaction of all the learned world, to which whilst you live you cannot but be doing good. Another edition of your *Sylva* I should be glad to see. It is a noble work, and the reception it has met with amongst the competent judges, demonstrate it to have been so esteemed. Another edition of your *Parallel of*

<sup>a</sup> A passage worth preserving is here interposed, in the duplicate copy already referred to: 'A great part of the year past, my health has much declined, nor do I murmur, considering that I have hardly had occasion to keep my bed in sixty years'.

<sup>b</sup> 'Doute-age'.



*Architecture* I could rejoice to see done by yourself. I know you have noble materials for another impression by you, which the public greedily longs for.

Before I shut up this paper, I must rejoice with you for the prospect you have in young Mr. Evelyn. May that good Providence which has preserved him to you and your admirable lady thus far, give you every day an increase of satisfaction in him for the future. This is the unfeigned prayer of, honoured Sir, your most obedient and faithful servant,

W. WOTTON

I should be glad to know when you think of seeing London, and for how long.<sup>a</sup>

*Archbishop Tenison to John Evelyn*

*Cockpit, December 5th, 1704*

SIR,—Mr. Clark, who preached Mr. Boyle's lecture last year, and whose excellent book I suppose you have received, is so very deserving a man, that I cannot but think it reasonable to commend him to you for the preacher for the next year, and the rather because persons of such abilities in theology, philosophy, and mathematics are not to be commonly found. I am, with true respect, Sir, your assured friend,

CANTERBURY

<sup>a</sup> This letter is superscribed: 'For the Honoured John Evelyn, Esq., at Wotton Place, near Dorking, in Surrey'.

# LETTERS OF MRS. EVELYN

## CHARACTER OF MRS. EVELYN

By DR. BOHUN<sup>a</sup>

*From the original MS.*

I HAD lately occasion to review several letters to me from Mrs. Evelyn of Deptford. After reading them, I found they were much to be valued, because they contained not only a complete description of the private events in the family, but public transactions of the times, where are many curious and memorable things described in an easy and eloquent style.

Many forgotten circumstances by this means are recalled afresh to my memory ; by so full and perfect a narration of them, they are again present to my thoughts, and I see them re-acted as it were before my eyes. This made strong impressions on my mind, so that I could not rest till I had recollected the substance of them, and from thence some general reflections thereon, and from thence drew a character of their author, so far only as by plain and natural inferences may be gathered from their contents. This was not performed in a manner worthy of the design, but hastily and incorrectly, which cost no more time than could be employed at one sitting in an afternoon ; but in this short model, Mrs. Evelyn will appear to be the best daughter and wife, the most tender mother, and desirable neighbour and friend, in all parts of her life. The historical account of matters of fact sufficiently set forth her praises, wherein there could be no error of self-conceit ; and declare her to be an exact pattern of many excellent virtues ; but they are concealed in such modest expressions, that the most envious censurers can't fix upon her the least suspicion of vanity or pride. Though she had many advantages of birth and beauty, and wit, yet you may perceive in her writings an humble indifference to all worldly enjoyments, great charity, and compassion to those that had disobliged her, and no memory of past occurrences, unless it were a grateful acknowledgment of some friendly office ; a vein of good-nature and resignation, and self-denial, runs through them all. There's nothing so despised in many of these letters as the fruitless and empty vanities of the town ; and they seem to pity the misfortunes of those who are condemned by their greater quality or stations to squander away their precious time in unprofitable diversions, or bestow it in courtly visits and conversations. Where there happens to be any mention of children or friends, there is such an air of sincerity and benevolence for the one, and religious concern for the happiness of the other, as if she had no other design to live in the world than to perform her own duty, and promote the welfare of her relations and acquaintances.

There's another observation to be collected, not less remarkable than the rest, which is her indefatigable industry in employing herself, and more for the sake of others than her own. Thus she wrote, not out of vain glory, or to procure commendation, but to entertain them with whom she had a familiar correspondence by letters, with the relation of such accidents or business wherein she was engaged for the month or the week past.

This was a peculiar felicity in her way of writing, that though she often treated

<sup>a</sup> The Rev. Dr. Ralph Bohun, D.C.L., was a scholar at Winchester College, and was elected probationary fellow of New College, Oxford, at the early age of 19. In 1671 he wrote a *Discourse on the History and Nature of Wind* ; and in 1685, he completed his Doctor's degree. His connection with Evelyn's family arose from his having superintended the education of his son.



of vulgar and domestic subjects, she never suffered her style to languish or flag, but by some new remark or pleasant digression kept it up to its usual pitch.

The reproofs in any of these numerous letters were so softly insinuated, that the greatest punishment to be inflicted upon any disobedience was only to have the contrary virtue to the fault they had been guilty of, highly applauded in the next correspondence, which was ever so managed as to please and improve.

Scarce an harsh expression, much less any evil surmise or suspicion, could be admitted where every line was devoted to charity and goodness. This is no effect of partiality, but appears in the particular instances, so that the same judgment must be made by all unprejudiced persons who shall have a sight of them.

Any misfortune or disappointment was not mournfully lamented, but related in such a manner as became a mind that had laid in a sufficient provision of courage and patience beforehand to support it under afflictions. All unfortunate accidents are allayed by some consolatory argument taken from solid principles. No kind of trouble, but one, seems to interrupt the constant intention to entertain and oblige; but that is dolorously represented in many of the letters; which is the loss of children or friends. That being an irreparable separation in this world, is deplored with the most affectionate tenderness which words can express. You may conclude that they who write in such a manner as this, must be supposed to have a just sense of religion, because there can scarce be assigned one act of a beneficent and charitable temper but has many texts of the Gospel to enforce it. So that all good Christians must be very useful and excellent neighbours and friends; which made this lady ever esteemed so. She was the delight of all the conversations where she appeared, she was loved and admired, yet never envied by any, not so much as by the women, who seldom allow the perfections of their own sex, lest they eclipse their own; but as this very manifestly and upon all occasions was her temper, the world was very grateful to her upon that account. This happiness was gained and preserved by one wise qualification; for though no person living had a closer insight into the humours or characters of persons, or could distinguish their merits more nicely, yet she never made any despising or censorious reflections: her great discernment and wit were never abused to sully the reputation of others, nor affected any applause that might be gained by satirical jests. Though she was extremely valued, and her friendship prized and sought for by them of the highest condition, yet she ever treated those of the lowest with great condescension and humanity. The memory of her virtues and benefits made such deep impression on her neighbours of Deptford and Greenwich, that if any one should bring in another report from this, or what was generally received among them, they would condemn it as false, and the effect of a slanderous calumny: either they would never yield that any change should happen to this excellent lady, or they'd impute it to sickness, or time, or chance, or the unavoidable frailties of human nature. But I have somewhat digressed from my subject, which was to describe her person or perfections no otherwise than may be gathered from the letters I received<sup>a</sup>; they contain historical passages and accounts of any more or less considerable action or accident that came to her knowledge, with diverting or serious reflections as the subject required, but generally in an equal and chaste style, supported by a constant gravity, never descending to affected sallies of ludicrous wit.

It's to be further observed, that though she recites and speaks French exactly, and understands Italian, yet she confines herself with such strictness to the purity of the English tongue, that she never introduces foreign or adopted words. That there's a great steadiness and equality in her thoughts, and that her sense and expressions have a mutual dependence on each other, may be inferred from hence, you shall never perceive one perplexed sentence, or blot, or recalling a word in more than twenty letters.

Many persons with whom she conversed or were related to her, or had any public part in the world, were honoured by very lively characters conferred on them, always just and full of discernment, rather inclining to the charitable

<sup>a</sup> Copies of many letters to Dr. Bohun were found at Wotton, but not those here referred to. Several of them will follow, with some addressed to other correspondents, as specimens of her manner and great good sense.



side, yet no otherwise than as skilful masters who paint like, yet know how to give some graces and advantages to them whose pictures they draw. The expressions are clear and unaffected, the sentences frequent and grave, the remarks judicious, the periods flowing and long, after the Ciceronian way ; yet, though they launch out so far, they are strict to the rules of grammar, and ever come safe home at last without any obscurity or incoherence attending them.

I will only give one instance of a person who was characterized by her in a more favourable manner than he durst presume that he deserved ; however, to show the method of her writing, I shall set it down. ' I believe (such an one) to be a person of much wit, great knowledge, judicious and discerning, charitable, well natured, obliging in conversation, apt to forget and forgive injuries, eloquent in the pulpit, living according to known precepts, faithful to his friend, generous to his enemy, and in every respect accomplished ; this in our vulgar way is a desirable character, but you'll excuse if I judge unrefinedly who have the care of cakes and stilling, and sweetmeats and such useful things.'

Mrs. Evelyn has been often heard to say concerning the death of her admirable and beloved daughter, that though she had lost her for ever in this world, yet she would not but that she had been, because many pleasing ideas occur to her thoughts that she had conversed with her so long, and been made happy by her for so many years.

*Oxon, 1695, Sept. 20*

[This character of Mrs. Evelyn would appear to have been written thirteen years before her death. She outlived her husband nearly three years, and, by her will dated in February 1708-9 (the year and month of her death), desired to be buried in a stone coffin near that of 'my dear husband, whose love and friendship I was happy in, fifty-eight years nine months ; but by God's providence left a disconsolate widow, the 27th day of February, 1705, in the 71st year of my age. His care of my education was such as might become a father, a lover, a friend, and husband ; for instruction, tenderness, affection, and fidelity to the last moment of his life ; which obligation I mention with a gratitude to his memory, ever dear to me ; and I must not omit to own the sense I have of my parents' care and goodness, in placing me in such worthy hands.']

## LETTERS OF MRS. EVELYN

*To Mr. Bohun<sup>a</sup>*

SIR,—I am concerned you should be absent when you might confirm the suffrages of your fellow collegiots, and see the mistress of both Universities court ; a person who has not her equal possibly in the world, so extraordinary a woman she is in all things. I acknowledge, though I remember her some years since and have not been a stranger to her fame, I was surprised to find so much extravagancy and vanity in any person not confined within four walls. Her habit particular, fantastical, not unbecoming a good shape, which she may truly boast of. Her face discovers the facility of the sex, in being yet persuaded it deserves the esteem years forbid, by the infinite care she takes to place her curls and patches. Her mien surpasses the imagination of poets, or the descriptions of a romance heroine's greatness ; her gracious bows, seasonable nods, courteous stretching out of her hands, twinkling of her eyes, and various gestures of approbation, show what may be expected from her discourse, which is as airy, empty, whimsical, and rambling as her books, aiming at science, difficulties, high notions, terminating commonly in nonsense, oaths, and obscenity. Her way of address to people, more than necessarily submissive ; a certain general form to

<sup>a</sup> This letter appears to describe the impression produced on the writer by that interview with Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, to which reference is made in the *Diary*, p. 294 : 'Went again with my wife to the Duchess of Newcastle, who received her in a kind of transport, suitable to her extravagant humour and dress, which was very singular'. The date therefore will be 1667.



all, obliging, by repeating affected, generous, kind expressions ; endeavouring to show humility by calling back things past, still to improve her present greatness and favour to her friends. I found Doctor Charlton with her, complimenting her wit, and learning in a high manner ; which she took to be so much her due that she swore if the schools did not banish Aristotle and read Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, they did her wrong, and deserved to be utterly abolished. My part was not yet to speak, but admire ; especially hearing her go on magnifying her own generous actions, stately buildings, noble fortune, her lord's prodigious losses in the war, his power, valour, wit, learning, and industry, what did she not mention to his or her own advantage ? Sometimes, to give her breath, came in a fresh admirer ; then she took occasion to justify her faith, to give an account of her religion, as new and unintelligible as her philosophy, to cite her own pieces line and page in such a book, and to tell the adventures of some of her nymphs. At last I grew weary, and concluded that the creature called a chimera which I had heard speak of, was now to be seen, and that it was time to retire for fear of infection ; yet I hope, as she is an original, she may never have a copy. Never did I see a woman so full of herself, so amazingly vain and ambitious. What contrary miracles does this age produce. This lady and Mrs. Philips<sup>a</sup> ! The one transported with the shadow of reason, the other possessed of the substance and insensible of her treasure ; and yet men who are esteemed wise and learned, not only put them in equal balance, but suffer the greatness of the one to weigh down the certain real worth of the other. This is all I can requite your rare verses with ; which as much surpass the merit of the person you endeavour to represent, as I can assure you this description falls short of the lady I would make you acquainted with : but she is not of mortal race, and therefore cannot be defined.

M. E.

*To Mr. Bohun*

May 21, 1668

If it be true that we are generally inclined to covet what we admire, I can assure you my ambition aspires not to the fame of Balzac, and therefore must not thank you for entitling me to that great name. I do not admire his style, nor emulate the spirit of discontent which runs through all his letters. There is a lucky hit in reputation, which some obtain by the defect in their judges, rather than from the greatness of their merit : the contrary may be instanced in Doctor Donne, who, had he not been really a learned man, a libertine in wit and a courtier, might have been allowed to write well ; but I confess in my opinion, with these qualifications he falls short in his letters of the praises some give him.

Voiture seems to excel both in quickness of fancy, easiness of expression, and in a facile way of insinuating that he was not ignorant of letters, an advantage the Court air gives persons who converse with the world as books.

I wonder at nothing more than at the ambition of printing letters : since, if the design be to produce wit and learning, there is too little scope for the one ; and the other may be reduced to a less compass than a sheet of gilt paper, unless truth were more communicative. Business, love, accidents, secret displeasure, family intrigues, generally make up the body of letters ; and can signify very little to any besides the persons they are addressed to, and therefore must lose infinitely by being exposed to the unconcerned. Without this declaration, I hope I am sufficiently secure never to run the hazard of being censured that way ; since I cannot suspect my friends of so much unkindness, nor myself of the vanity to wish fame on so doubtful a foundation as the caprice of mankind. Do not impute my silence to neglect. Had you seen me these ten days continually entertaining persons of different humour, age, and sense, not only at meals, or afternoon, or the time of a civil visit, but from morning till night, you will be assured it was impossible for me to finish these few lines sooner ; so often have I set pen to paper and been taken off again, that I almost despaired to let you know my satisfaction that Jack<sup>b</sup> complies so well with your desires, and that I am your friend and servant,

M. EVELYN

<sup>a</sup> The once 'matchless Orinda' ; now forgotten. An edition of her poems had come out during the present year.

<sup>b</sup> Her son, then at College under Mr. Bohun's care.



*To Sir Samuel Tuke*

SIR,—I think myself obliged, since this is the day designed for your happiness, to express the part I take in your joy, and join my wishes for the continuance of it. The favour you intend me on Monday I receive with much satisfaction, but fear you will not afford it us long, when you find the many inconveniences of a little house, a disordered family, and the difference in judgments; all which may be dispensed with, whilst health, the discretion of servants, and other accidents, permit; but should there be a miscarriage in any of these, the end of our joining families ceases, and I, who am sensible of my own defects and tender of my friends' contentment, cannot entertain the hopes you will be sufferers many days. Let not this surprise you, since it proceeds from a cautiousness in my nature, which will not suffer me to engage, where I have any part to act, with that assurance some are more happy in; therefore prepare your lady with the nicety of my temper, and the truth of this, that I may not pass in either opinions for a person that promises more than can be performed by, Sir, your humble servant

M. E.

*To Mr. Bohun*

July 17, 1668

SIR,—By honest John and my last to Jack, you have learnt Sir Samuel is entered into the state of matrimony. I do assure you, if marriage were the happy establishment in his opinion, he has made choice of a wife every way worthy of him, for person, quality, wit, good mien, and severe virtue; her piety cannot be questioned after living seven years a canoness, which includes all the strictness of a nun, the vow only excepted. They are both here at present, and will remain some time till they can fit themselves for housekeeping; I am generally well pleased with such favours from my friends, and I am extremely satisfied with the conversation of this fair lady. I am apt, I confess, to enlarge the characters of them I esteem, but to be just to the merit of this person I ought to say much more. I will suppose your college affairs take up much of your time, and that your diversions in Oxford are very charming; yet neither should make you so absolutely forget Deptford and those in it, as not to impart some of your pleasant thoughts, at spare moments especially, knowing how well we receive your letters, and how naturally our sex loves novelty, that I cannot but accuse you of unkindness; however, I am, your friend and servant,

M. E.

*To my brother Glanville<sup>a</sup> in France*

SIR,—I have received your kind letter, and am not astonished Mr. Fuller finds so great a difference between a French pension and Woodcott table. Let him know eating is the least design of travellers; that particular waived, I still persevere in the defence of France; and will believe, when you have overcome the difficulties of the language, and gained some acquaintance amongst the better sort, visited the Court, seen the noble buildings and pleasant seats in and about Paris, you will render to what has been related to you, that it is an excellent country, wherein indeed riches are partially distributed, yet employed to great use and ornament. The people are little various in their tempers, for which blame the several nations from which they are descended; but all agreeing in the desire to enlarge their bounds, and augment the glory of the prince under whom the most of them do but breathe. I am sorry it was not my good fortune to stay till you came, or your lot to come when I was there, that I might have been assisting to your conversation. An ambassador is daily threatened to be sent from hence, but it is not yet decided which of the two able statesmen shall carry it, the Lord Buchan, or Mr. R. Montagu; since it does not depend on their abilities for the employment, but their being disposed to marry my Lord Arlington's wife's sister, as the necessary article to arrive to

<sup>a</sup> See *Diary*, p. 527, for a character of Mr. Glanville, who had married Evelyn's sister. The letter is undated, but the mention of Lord Arlington's influence seems to fix the year as that immediately following Clarendon's disgrace, and the triumph of the Cabal; namely, 1668-9.



that dignity. When either is declared, you shall not fail of the address you desire. In the meantime any English gentleman must be well received by my Lord of St. Alban's. Though your eye be continually over my cousin your son, and your care as great as a tender and knowing parent's can be, yet I am persuaded you will find the breeding in an academy the likeliest way to answer all ends except that of expense, which must be greater there than elsewhere; but not to be valued, considering the advantages of good conversation, the emulation which young persons of good birth raise in one another, the learning, all manly exercises in community, and the gaining a good air and assurance best acquired by example, which works most with such ingenious and observing tempers as my cousin seems to be. The orders are generally good, the discipline strict, and, I am informed, the chief master in our time has left a nephew, that not only equals but excels him; and is also of the religion<sup>a</sup>. If you are inclined to take this course with my nephew this winter, you will find him out in the Faubourg St. Germain, so pleasant a part of the town I admire you can live out of it. When you walk to the Charity, if you inquire for the Rue Farenne you may see how pleasantly our house was situated. I fear you will judge I mention Paris with that affection persons in age remember the satisfaction of their youth, to which happiness was the nearest, at least in their opinion, and so past that there is no hopes of a return. Such, I confess, in part are my thoughts of that place, but must not flatter myself you will confirm me in them, who arrive there in a more discerning age, and carry with you a little prejudice against the people; yet something is to be expected from the justice of your nature in their behalf, and from the goodness of your nature in mine. Excuse the liberty of your affectionate sister,

M. E

To Mr. Terryll in Ireland<sup>b</sup>

Feb. 10, 1668-9

SIR,—I have received yours with the enclosed to Mr. Bohun, which shall be conveyed to him with care. I am not to doubt of your good reception where your merit is well understood; I am rather to wish you may not meet with engagements to keep you long out of this country, which, if so unhappy as to impart vices to its neighbours, cannot boast of many virtues to spare. This may truly be esteemed an admiring age, if distance from what is worthy define it well; and what leads me to this opinion is the strange veneration paid to the ruins of ancient structures, greater than the entire edifices ever could pretend to; a sort of justice virtue challenges in our time, and leaves the practice to the choice of the succeeding age. To inform you of what passes here cannot be acceptable, since I suppose you are, not without the curiosity of travellers, desirous to collect foreign novelites; which, should you be exempt from, little is worth communicating to you from hence. The censure of our plays comes to me at the second hand. There has not been any new lately revived and reformed, as Catiline, well set out with clothes and scenes; Horace, with a farce and dances between every act, composed by Lacy and played by him and Nell, which takes<sup>c</sup>; one of my Lord of Newcastle's, for which printed apologies are scattered in the assembly by Briden's order, either for himself who had some hand in it, or for the author most; I think both had right to them<sup>d</sup>. State affairs I am not likely to give you an account of, if Mr. B.'s character be taken of me, who fancies I know nothing of the Dutch war till the guns went off at Chatham; and in my own concerns the most important good-fortune which has befallen me of late is the honour I have had to kiss my lady your mother's hands, with two of your sisters, whose stay in town being short as well as mine deprived me of the satisfaction I rejoiced much in. My father and Mr. Evelyn are infinitely your servants, and I am, Sir, your humble, &c.

<sup>a</sup> A Protestant, Mrs. Evelyn means.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. Tyrrell was the son of Sir Timothy (variously called by Evelyn, Tirrill, Tyrell, and Tyrill), as to whom see pp. 187, 267, 347, 684.

<sup>c</sup> See *Pepys' Diary*, Routledge's edition, p. 709. 'Horace' was a poor translation of Corneille's *Tragedy* by Mrs. Philips. See *Evelyn's Diary*, p. 301, where Evelyn contrasts the virtue of the authoress with that of the ladies (Castlemaine and others) before whom he saw it performed.

<sup>d</sup> An entry in the *Diary* of Pepys will probably explain this allusion.



*To Mr. Terryll in Ireland*

SIR,—Had I not been assured by some of your friends that you were upon your return into England about Easter, I should not have omitted my acknowledgments for your obliging letter ; but since finding, upon better information, that good fortune is not so near, give me leave to beg your excuse for an undesigned fault, and inquire farther what can be the charms of a place which has not only invited but detained persons of so much wit and merit in it ? Can it be the natives' fame for learning of late years which is the powerful attraction ? or the Irish beauties above those of other countries, which engages through such dangerous seas ? It cannot be judged by Mr. Terryll that interest only should be the motive ; there must be something more reasonable than rich fields and herds to souls so much raised above the vulgar. But I will give a stop to my curiosity, and satisfy myself that the same prudence which was our guide here accompanies you everywhere, and will maintain your choice of every thing but friends, which admits of no objection except the permission you give me to be of the number ; yet I am certainly as much as any, Sir, your most, &c.

*To my Brother Glanville in France*

SIR,—I have received yours of the 25th May, and will hope mine in answer to your first came safe to you, since it passed under your niece's cover. Of any person I know, you had the least reason to visit France, either to improve mien, wit, or style, since all necessary accomplishments were ever granted you ; but I acknowledge a nicer way of raillery is practised where you live than is used amongst us, or you would never address yourself to me for lessons in an art too well understood by you already. All I pretend to is, to keep myself on the defensive ; plainness and sincerity are my best guards ; I confess beauty and youth sometimes stand in need of subtlety and stratagems to evade and rescue them from the surprises of men, but persons wanting those charms are sufficiently rescued from any attacks that may exercise the invention. Your return hither will be very pleasing to your friends. I imagine you so furnished with such critical and pleasant remarks of the countries, people, and customs, that, should you oppose former characters of France, your relation would be rendered to, as being latest and made with most judgment. Yet let not curiosity pass in your opinion for the only inducement which makes me desire your return, since your merit challenges my best wishes, which shall accompany you till I can assure you in a better manner how much I am, Sir, &c.

*To my Brother Glanville at Wotton*

Sept. 21, 1670

SIR—I will not study much or long to excuse those weak tears you so slight and condemn in women, as believing they are always at our command, but I can assure you neither the flesh-pots nor the onions caused them in me. I have often been as nobly and as civilly entertained at Wotton<sup>a</sup>, and yet have I parted with dry eyes. It is reality and kindness which gains upon my spirit. I will not deny but a confusion of thoughts proceeding from gratitude, a sense of my own want of merit, an apprehension I should make unequal returns, with the approaching loss of so much happiness, produced those unusual and unseasonable effects in me, though common in others without the least mixture of pride or emulation. This your severity will hardly allow of, but when you shall learn more of my nature and the secrets of my heart, which I wish you already knew, so I might be spared the telling them, because advantageous to me, and which are not concealed from you out of the least distrust of your discretion or friendship, but from niceness I cannot very well justify. Sometimes philosophical reflections have been of use to me, but I was surprised with abundance of kindness, of which you may justly claim a large share, since, I am, &c.

<sup>a</sup> The reader may be reminded that Evelyn did not succeed to the paternal estate of Wotton till after his elder brother George's death ; nearly thirty years after the date of this letter.



*To Mrs. Evelyn of Woodcot*

*Sep. 26, 1670*

DEAR SISTER,—The indisposition which you carried out of town, and the solitude you live in, gives me a desire to inquire after your health, and a title to interrupt your melancholy thoughts<sup>a</sup>, though it be but with the assurance of our wishes for your perfect recovery. One who is of so judicious a temper as you are, cannot, if you give your reason leave to act, but be armed against all accidents which may disturb your quiet in a great measure. I confess to be wholly insensible of sorrow or misfortune is as little to be wished, as it is seldom to be found ; since the inequalities of human life contribute much to the happiness of it, so that the variety of ills prove not the greater share ; which hitherto your condition seems to have exempted you from. It is true you have newly lost a friend and a guide, but you have it now more absolutely in your own power to be whatever prudence and generosity dictates to you. And as you have it in your power, so I am confident it is in your will to oblige and gratify a friend, especially one who may challenge your kindness in some sort upon the account of avowed services and much worth, one who has pursued your satisfaction preferably to his own interest, which shows he has a true sense of honour, and not to keep you longer in suspense with the character of a person, better known to you by his actions than by any description I can make of him, it can be no other than my brother Glanvil ; who certainly, being named, tells you wherein you may acknowledge past obligations and engage him for the future, by advancing his pretensions to my Lady Lewtner. Possibly you may think it early to propose anything of that nature to a discreet widow and your own sister, who it may be you could wish might never have any thoughts of changing her condition, upon like resolutions of your own ; but be assured, persons so considerable for beauty, virtue, and fortune, will never enjoy that calm of those thoughts long ; attempts will be made ; persons of all degrees of merit and sufficient quality will make addresses, and value themselves by breaking through those rules of decency that they may be the first discoverers of their extreme ; therefore you ought not to blame my brother if he has already given marks of his, who from a long knowledge of my Lady's great merit and obliging nature, has taken courage to lay himself at her feet ; from whence he must not hope to be raised if she were of a haughty mind, that could allow of no happiness but in great titles and vast riches (in which certainly it is not wholly to be placed) ; but did it consist in either, she is so secured by a large provision of both, that she need not require an addition from a husband ; all that seems to be required is, her choice in a man that can value her perfections, be a friend to her interests, and make her happiness his own ; which qualifications may assuredly be allowed by my brother, who protests with all imaginable zeal and sincerity that he has no other design but her satisfaction and advantage, and to live with honour the rest of his days, towards which who would not that could assist, and who better can than yourself ; an endeavour which acquits your obligations to a sister that you love, and a friend that you value ; which that you will do cannot be thought strange, but that I should concern myself in my Lady Lewtner's affairs may appear so, being neither solicited by my brother, who knows nothing of my presumption in his behalf, nor called to council by you who need no advice to do well ; however, let me beg of you to give a favourable construction to this freedom, and believe it proceeds from the kindest intentions I can express, since I am, dear sister, your, &c.

*To Mrs. Evelyn of Woodcot*

DEAR SISTER,—I very much rejoice in the improvement of your health, and do still persist in my opinion that you may owe much of your happiness and quiet to your own prudence. I also continue to believe that my brother Glanvil deserves very much from you ; and you have rightly guessed my meaning by the intrigue between my cousin Will and my niece, which would have proved no dishonour to him had he resolved to succeed in it, since we judge of things of that

<sup>a</sup> The death of her husband (Evelyn's brother Richard) had taken place a few months before. See *Diary*, pp. 309, 310.



nature commonly by the event, and not from the means, but he being tender of your satisfaction made honour a very nice point. Give me leave to rectify a little mistake in Mr. Evelyn's behalf, who though he might often wish one of the name worthy of my niece, never declared for my cousin Will more than that, she should think him sufficiently deserving, with my brother and your consent, it was not a choice to be contemned and deplored, since he is likely to make a very good man ; and farther than such a reply I believe he never made to several discourses on that subject, urged at several times by many of our relations and acquaintance. As to my Lady Lewtner's concern, I do acknowledge I ought not to have gone so far had I not flattered myself with the hopes of your embracing any proposition so much to my brother's advantage ; but possibly you have reasons in reserve more powerful than those which are visible to the world against him ; and it is not my single opinion, but the belief of many others, that my Lady, your sister, though never so prudent and cautious, may not injure herself in marrying such a person as he is ; yet I will not importune you to be his advocate since you declare so positive a dislike to second marriages in general, the only excuse you can make for not being his friend in this particular, be it on the account of gratitude or kindness, the word signifies little where the intention is friendly ; exceptions against such strict rules are daily made, and experience shows that as unequal fall out, therefore I shall make the less apology for the failings of your humble servant,

M. E.

*To my Cousin Mary Evelyn*

Sept. 28, 1670

DEAR COUSIN,—I have had often cause to acknowledge the noble entertainment and great civilities I have received at Wotton, but I never was more sensible of my obligations to my brother and yourself, than at present, from a full persuasion I was never treated with more reality and kindness, which gains infinitely upon such a temper as mine is : I wish you were as well inclined to believe as I am that passage in Scripture reasonable, which advises a woman not only to leave, but to forget her father's house for a husband, and as well assured you should meet with as worthy and deserving a family as I have done. Some part of this you will think strange doctrine, but I seriously beg of you not to persist in your opinions concerning marriage, and that you will conform to so good a father's desires as you have in this particular, and endeavour to establish your happiness beyond his life, which, that you may long enjoy, with all other blessings I heartily wish, being your affectionate,

M. E.

*To Mrs. Evelyn of Wotton*

1670

DEAR COUSIN,—I am so well persuaded of your good nature and merit, and so sensible of your best civility, that I wish for a more important occasion to express the desire I have to serve you. I have endeavoured to perform your commands in fitting my little niece with a mantle coat, bodice coat, petticoat, narrow shoes and stockings, which I bespake two sizes less than any that are made for a child of a year old. If they prove to nurse's mind, or have any fault, let me know it, that the next may be the same or more exact. I was not willing to send all, believing it some difficulty to fit the lady by guess. Though you never want very good company, I cannot but wish myself sometimes two or three hours in a day with you, to be a witness of the pleasant conversation I fancy such wits as Mr. Duncan and others of that strain afford you. I hope my cousin Mary is perfectly recovered ; that your father, husband, uncle, and brother are in perfect health, to whom my father presents his most humble service and particularly to yourself ; assure them of my humble service, and esteem me, dear Cousin, your humble servant,

M. E.

*To her Son*

JACK,—I have received your letter and request for a supply of money ; but none of those you mention which were bare effects of your duty. If you were so desirous to answer our expectations as you pretend to be, you would give those



tutors and overseers you think so exact over you, less trouble than I fear they have with you. Much is to be wished in your behalf : that your temper were humble and tractable, your inclinations virtuous, and that from choice, not compulsion, you make an honest man. Whatever object of vice comes before you, should have the same effect in your mind of dislike and aversion that drunkenness had in the youth of Sparta when their slaves were presented to them in that brutish condition, not only from the deformity of such a sight, but from a motive beyond theirs, the hope of a future happiness, which those rigorous heathens in moral virtue had little prospect of, finding no reward for virtue but in virtue itself. You are not too young to know that lying, defrauding, swearing, disobedience to parents and persons in authority, are offences to God and man : that debauchery is injurious to growth, health, life, and indeed to the pleasures of life ; therefore, now that you are turning from child to man, endeavour to follow the best precepts, and choose such ways as may render you worthy of praise and love. You are assured of your father's care and my tenderness ; no mark of it shall be wanting at any time to confirm it to you, with this reserve only, that you strive to deserve kindness by a sincere honest proceeding, and not flatter yourself that you are good whilst you only appear to be so. Fallacies will only pass in schools. When you thoroughly weigh these considerations, I hope you will apply them to your own advantage, as well as to our infinite satisfaction. I pray daily God would inspire you with His grace, and bless you. I am, your loving mother,

M. EVELYN

*To my Brother Glanville at West Dean*

*December, 1670*

SIR,—Though I will not murmur that you prefer West Dean to Deptford to pass your Christmas in, since the attractive upon all accounts is so much more powerful, yet give me leave to lament the loss of so good conversation as I promised myself in yours : but to let you see I can prefer the satisfaction of a friend to my own, I will turn my complaints of you into good wishes for the success of so reasonable an address, as I am persuaded you are now making ; and could I question any perfection in the ladies you so much admire, it would only be how one who deserves so well should so long dispute the merit of such a man as you are ; do not imagine I pretend to compliment in return of those civilities you pass upon our sex, since, having the least title to your praises, I will have the least share in the acknowledgments ; but to be just to you and serious in my opinion, I do repeat, what I have so often declared with sincerity in your concern, that might I, after such a loss as a good husband must be to a virtuous wife, hope to repair it by the choice of a second, I should not only hope, but think myself secure, when I had twenty years known and conversed with the freedom which honour and friendship permits, with a person of so much wit, good humour, generosity, prudence, and integrity as you possess ; one of so entire a reputation in the world, so generally esteemed, and so fortunate in obliging others, and, to conclude, above all one resolved to love me disinterestedly, without which I confess the rest would prevail but little. This my Lady Lewtner cannot be ignorant of ; and being convinced that it is true, how is it possible she can resist her own happiness in making yours ? what scruple can remain in the breast of a worthy woman, who finds all that is desirable in her power ? she may oblige you with her person and show her generosity too, since you will not pretend to equal her in fortune, though in nothing else inferior were articles to be drawn : I would take the liberty to own as much to the lady herself, were the acquaintance I have with her such as is requisite to recommend advice ; but I dare not offer my sense to be the guide of another's actions, though I flatter myself I do not err in this opinion : but what discourages me chiefly is the slight reception my sister Evelyn gave a few lines I writ to her on the subject, who I thought might have endeavoured more to your satisfaction than I find she is inclined to do, since not inconsistent with her own interest and the value she has for such a sister. Pardon the liberty I take to tell you my thoughts plainly, and the interruption I give those happy moments you now enjoy, to which I wish to bring increase.



*To my Lady Tuke after the Death of Sir Samuel Tuke*

January 28, 1670-1

MADAM,—I acknowledge these are trials which make Christian philosophy useful, not only by a resignation to the Divine decree, but by that hope which encourages us to expect a more lasting happiness than any this world can give : without which we were extremely wretched, since no felicity here has any duration. We are solicitous to obtain, we fear whilst we possess, and we are inconsolable when we lose. The greatest conquerors themselves are subject to this unsteady state of human nature ; let us not murmur then, for we offend ; and though in compliance to your present sense of things I could join with you in grieving, having made as particular a loss as ever any did in a friend, I dare not indulge your sorrow, especially when I consider how prejudicial it will prove to yourself and those dear pledges that are left to your care ; but I do rather beg of you cease grieving, and owe that to reason and prudence which time will overcome. Were I in so good health that I could quit my chamber, I would be daily with you and assure you how really I am concerned for you. You cannot doubt the affection of your, &c.

*To Mr. Bohun*

Sayes-Court, Jan. 29, 1670-1

SIR,—If a friend be of infinite value living, how much cause have we to lament him dead ! Such a friend was Sir Samuel Tuke, who retired out of this life on St. Paul's day [25 Jan.] at midnight, and has changed the scene to him and us, and left occasion to all that knew him to bewail the loss. You need not to be made sensible by a character of a person you knew so well, and you can enumerate virtues enough to lament and shed some tears justly ; therefore spare me the sorrow of repeating what effect it has wrought on such a mind as mine, who think no misfortune worth regretting besides the loss of those I love. Do not blame me if I believe it almost impossible to meet with a person so worthy in himself, and so disposed to esteem me again ; and yet that is not the chiefest cause of my affliction. I might waive much of my own interest, had I not so many partners that will suffer equally. These are the trials which make Christian philosophy useful, not only by a resignation to the Divine decree, but by that hope which encourages us to expect a more lasting happiness than any this world can give, without which we were extremely wretched, since no felicity here has any duration. The greatest conquerors themselves are subject to this unsteady state of human nature, therefore well may I submit, whose concerns are trivial in respect of others. Yet this I conclude, that we die by degrees when our friends go before us. But whilst I discourse thus with you, I should consider what effects melancholy reflection may have on a splenetic person, one who needs not cherish that temper. I will only add that I am now able to quit my chamber, which is more than I could do these fourteen days, and that I am, Sir, your servant,

M. EVELYN

*To Mr. Bohun*

1671

SIR,—I must believe you are very busy, hearing so seldom from you, and that you are much in the esteem of Dr. Bathurst<sup>a</sup>, since he judges so favourably of your friends. It cannot be the effect of his discernment which makes him give sentence in my behalf, being so great a master of reason as he is ; but it is certainly a mark of his great kindness to you that he defers to your judgment in opposition to his own. I should not question yours in other things, but the wisest may be allowed some grains, and I conclude you no less a courtier than a philosopher. Since my last to you I have seen 'The Siege of Grenada', a play so full of ideas that the most refined romance I ever read is not to compare with it ; love is made so pure, and valour so nice, that one would imagine it designed for an Utopia rather than our stage. I do not quarrel with the poet, but admire one born in the decline of

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Ralph Bathurst, Dean of Wells, and President of Trinity College, in Oxford, whose *Life and Literary Remains* were published by Thomas Warton.



morality should be able to feign such exact virtue ; and as poetic fiction has been instructive in former ages, I wish this the same event in ours. As to the strict law of comedy I dare not pretend to judge : some think the division of the story not so well as if it could all have been comprehended in the day's actions : truth of history, exactness of time, possibilities of adventures, are niceties the ancient critics might require ; but those who have outdone them in fine notions may be allowed the liberty to express them their own way, and the present world is so enlightened that the old dramatic must bear no sway. This account perhaps is not enough to do Mr. Dryden right, yet is as much as you can expect from the leisure of one who has the care of a nursery. I am, Sir, &c. M. EVELYN

*To Mr. Bohun*

*May, 1671*

SIR,—I wish you had remembered my answer to some discourses you held before your departure concerning my cousin Glanville : it might have spared you the trouble, and my cousins the importunity, of a proposition not at all to their advantage or our satisfaction, since Jack is designed for the law in good earnest, in which he can make little progress, should marriage intervene ; neither will his grandfather, father, and myself sacrifice him for a fortune, but shall rest satisfied with such a mediocrity as may be obtained with stratagem when his age and discretion will allow of that tie. Besides, having heard my cousin had intentions to bestow his daughter and fortune upon one of his name, it would not become us to select for ourselves to the prejudice of a relation we should willingly assist ; therefore, upon the account of generosity or mistaken interest, let this design die as civilly as you can : when your time permits you to think of coming to town, you need not question your being welcome at Deptford ; we are all well in health ; all our relations are in town, your Deptford friends are well, and I am, Sir, your servant,  
M. E.

*To my Brother Glanville*

*Oct. 8, 1671*

SIR,—I have of late fancied myself very well established in your good opinion ; I will not examine merit or the causes of things too strictly for fear I return to doubts again : your last confirms my belief, being a very obliging letter. Love cannot be the motive from a man prepossessed, nor can interest in either of us be the inducement ; it must then be concluded a mutual disposition to like one another's inclinations and tempers, which we will call friendship, and which, from this day forward, let neither piquant raillery nor pleasant interrupt, let neither censure nor whisper destroy ; and if you sign these articles you shall never complain of a breach on my side. Well, what do you think of widows ? are they not odd creatures ? There is now a lady, newly a fine prize, near you. Who hovers about her yet ? Can twenty years esteem of the Sussex lady change into a violent passion for the Dorking lady ? If need were, cannot you imagine more probability in an address there, than the other way ; were she as considerable, I would advise it : but when one goes to yoke oneself one would be glad it should be very easy ; consideration of religion and fortune will come into one's head whether one will or no : and then, it may be, my friend Glanville is a happier man with liberty than so engaged ; for marriage to such minds as yours and mine requires plenty and quiet, without which considerations keep as you are, master of yourself ; take heart, and, let fortune throw cross or pile, be merry, and always a friend to one that will ever be yours, since I am, dear Brother, your affectionate,  
M. E.

*To her Son*

*Oct. 9, 1671*

DEAR JACK,—I do not question your being very happy in so fine a place and so good company, neither do I think you wholly pass your time in diversion. I wish you early wisdom ; it may prevent late repentance. Your father is gone a little journey with Mr. Treasurer, to Newmarket, and to my Lord Arlington's upon his earnest invitation<sup>a</sup> ; your grandfather is newly recovered of a

<sup>a</sup> It was on this occasion that Evelyn dined familiarly with the King, and was witness of 'fondness and toying' highly characteristic of the time. See *Diary*, p. 323.



fit of the gout ; your sisters are all well except Moll, who, I fear, has taken a cold which may end in an ague. Mrs. Durfe comes down stairs after your sister Susan's fashion, she is yet so weak ; we have been like to lose Mrs. Turner, but she is now passed danger ; we shall certainly lose Madam Howard, and your spouse who is this night arrived, if the news hold that Sir Thomas Osborne brings his family this next summer to Deptford ; Mr. Bohun sticks so close to his Spanish brother that we seldom see him ; I have rare chocolate of his presenting for you. The foul weather and storms at sea have produced many shipwrecks and strange escapes. A seaman of this town, being the twentieth in a rotten ship boat, which sunk by their weight, and the only one amongst them that could swim, endeavoured to save the life of two of his companions that laid hold of an oar by driving them to the shore ; but finding his skill and strength fail him he shook off one of the men, who gave him such a parting look so full of sorrow and pity, that though he came safe to land with his other companion, he cannot banish the thought of that dreadful farewell, nor almost forgive himself for not perishing with him. Another adventure of a Yarmouth fisherman, not less remarkable, who, being at sea when a great storm arose, alone in a little boat endeavoured to get to a bigger vessel which lay at anchor, but was loosened by the storm and set a drift, which he would have recovered, but in the attempt lost his oars, the waves dashing over him, so as he was almost overturned into the sea ; when he saw a ship not far off, towards which he made, and by signs implored aid, which they speedily granted, and hauled him aboard. Few hours after, God gave him an occasion to show his gratitude ; they being strangers, unacquainted with the coast, and in great danger of striking against the sands, which this old seaman perceiving, though he could not be understood by them in words, made them sensible by taking the rudder hastily from the steersman and turning another course, and so brought them safe to Yarmouth, where he saw his own abandoned barque returned safe also freighted with as many men as she could bring to harbour, which seemed to be a kind of providence for the safety of these men, who else had perished in a bigger vessel. To this accident it were desirable that some fine lady had made an escape to complete the adventure, which might have given you a subject for a copy of verses, but what may not a poet add ? Amongst the ships that made the late discovery of the new strait, one had the ill fortune to perish with most of her men, and those few which escaped were preserved by the generosity of a seaman that could swim, who ventured five times with success to the rescue of five of his companions which he brought safe to shore, but perished endeavouring to bring in the sixth ; an attempt that merits a better fate, and not outdone in the Roman story, since more greatness of mind has not been often expressed. Were you here, there would be no end of these stories ; but it is time I finished this discourse, to remember my obligations to my brother for his favours to you, and to wish my cousin joy of the little one, since I hope the sorrowful hour is past. My service to my cousin Joe, to my cousin John, and to my cousin Mary when she returns. I am, your loving mother,

M. E.

*To Mrs. Alexander*

*Oct. 9, 1671*

Since there has happened so much foul weather I have very much rejoiced that you did not make the Irish voyage, and do congratulate the safe arrival of your fair Ladies. Had you been very kind you would have passed some of your time at Deptford, but when I remember how little diversion there is here, and how ill you were treated, I forgive your long absence. I have sent your treasure, and approve of your generosity. Christian has left a small bundle for you, which Dubourg will deliver you. I hope it will not be long before I come to town, and if I can hear where to find you, I will endeavour to let you know it, that I may wait upon your Ladies, whose affections you cannot fail of as soon as you are known to them. I have many strange adventures and remarkable escapes at sea to relate for the encouragement of one that were ready to embark ; but since you are not in any such hazard, I will reserve them till I see you, and do wish you established to your satisfaction : it is but what you merit, and it is what I would contribute to were I capable, since no person is more affectionately your friend, than is

M. E.



To Mr. Bohun<sup>a</sup>

Sayes-Court, March 2, 1671-2

SIR,—When I have assured you that my usual indisposition has treated me so severely this winter, that I have had little leisure to think of anything but the means of gaining health and ease, I am persuaded you will excuse me if I have not decided in my thoughts which was the greatest captain, Cæsar or Pompey ; whether M. De Rosny were not a great politician, a brave soldier, and the best servant that ever Prince had for capacity, fidelity, and steadiness, a man strangely disinterested, infinitely fortunate, and every way qualified to serve such a master as was Henry the Great, who, notwithstanding human frailties, was worthy to be faithfully dealt with, since he knew how to judge and to reward. But why do we always look back into times past ? we may not reproach our own, since here is at this present a scene for gallantry and merit, and whilst we may hope, we must not condemn. Should I tell you how full of sorrow I have been for the loss of Dr. Bretton<sup>b</sup>, you only would blame me ; after death flattery ceases, therefore you may believe there was some cause to lament, when thousands of weeping eyes witnessed the affliction their souls were in ; one would have imagined every one in this parish had lost a father, brother, or husband, so great was the bewailing ; and in earnest it does appear there never was a better nor a more worthy man. Such was his temper, prudence, charity, and good conduct, that he gained the weak and preserved the wise. The suddenness of his death was a surprise only to his friends ; as for himself it might be looked upon as a deliverance from pain, the effect of sickness ; and I am almost persuaded God snatched him from us, lest He might have been prevailed with by the number of petitions to have left him still amongst us. If you suspect kindness in me makes me speak too much, Dr. Parr<sup>c</sup> is a person against whom you cannot object ; it was he who preached the funeral sermon, and as an effect of truth as well as eloquence he himself could not forbear weeping in the pulpit. It was his own expression that there were three for whom he had infinitely grieved, the martyred King, my Lord Primate<sup>d</sup>, and Dr. Bretton ; and as a confirmation of the right that was done him in that oration, there was not a dry eye nor a dissenting person. But of this no more.

M. EVELYN

To Mr. Bohun

January 4, 1672

SIR,—Do not think my silence hitherto has proceeded from being taken up with the diversions of the town, the éclat of the Court gallantry, the entertainment of the wedding masquerades, which trebled their number the second night of the wedding that so there was great disorder and confusion caused by it, and with which the solemnity ended : neither can I charge the housewifery of the country after my return, or treating my neighbours this Christmas, since I never find any business or recreation that makes me forget my friends. Should I confess the real cause, it is your expectation of extraordinary notions of things wholly out of my way. Women were not born to read authors and censure the learned, to compare lives and judge of virtues, to give rules of morality, and sacrifice to the Muses. We are willing to acknowledge all time borrowed from family duties is misspent ; the care of children's education, observing a husband's commands, assisting the sick, relieving the poor, and being serviceable to our friends, are of sufficient weight to employ the most improved capacities amongst us ; and if sometimes it happens by accident that one of a thousand aspires a little higher, her fate commonly exposes her to wonder, but adds little of esteem. The distaff will defend our quarrels as well as the sword, and the needle is as instructive as the pen. A heroine is a kind of prodigy ; the influence of a blazing

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Bohun had now completed his superintendence of young Evelyn's education, and gone into residence at Oxford, 'having well and faithfully', says Evelyn, 'performed his charge'. See *Diary*, p. 315.

<sup>b</sup> Minister of Deptford ; he died in February, 1671-2.

<sup>c</sup> Richard Parr, D.D., Vicar of Reigate and Camberwell. He died Nov. 2, 1691. The funeral sermon alluded to was printed in 1672. See Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*, vol. i, p. 323.

<sup>d</sup> Archbishop Usher.



star is not more dangerous or more avoided. Though I have lived under the roof of the learned, and in the neighbourhood of science, it has had no other effect on such a temper as mine, but that of admiration, and that too but when it is reduced to practice. I confess I am infinitely delighted to meet in books with the achievements of the heroes, with the calmness of philosophers, and with the eloquence of orators ; but what charms me irresistibly is to see perfect resignation in the minds of men, let whatever happen of adverse to them in their fortune : that is being knowing and truly wise ; it confirms my belief of antiquity, and engages my persuasion of future perfection, without which it were in vain to live. Hope not for volumes or treatises ; raillery may make me go beyond my bounds, but when serious, I esteem myself capable of very little, yet I am, Sir, your friend and servant,

M. E.

*To my Lady Ann Carr*

*March 26, 1672*

MADAM,—I can assure you neither the cold weather nor the hilliness of the ways has kept me thus long from paying my respects to your Ladyship, but an indisposition to which I am subject, and which has treated me so severely this winter, that I have been confined to my chamber and house above three months without once venturing out so far as the church ; a kind of weaning me from that sensible loss we have made by the death of Doctor Bretton ; a more worthy man there never was, and one in whom there is so many things to be justly said in his praise, that should I but enter upon the discourse you might fear the length of my letter. I know not how to acknowledge your Ladyship's last favour by any return of news from hence. Madam Howard has almost quitted this place, with whose concerns I am as little acquainted as during her last long absence ; yet I wish all imaginable happiness to that family. The marriage of Betty Turner with a citizen of London is the latest joy has been in this parish, the fame of which has not reached your Ladyship yet, at which fine clothes, fine company, and great feasting could not be wanting. My father has been so happy as to be free from the gout this winter. Mr. Evelyn is at present taking care of those that fall by the hands of the Dutch, being gone to visit Chatham and Dover, and the rest of those places where sick and prisoners put in ; Jack is with him. My little flock of girls are all well, and I promise myself so much health as may give me leave to wait upon my Lady Vere and your Ladyship very suddenly. I keep the portrait of the Duchess of Richmond with care, that I may return if you should desire it ; I am so out of the way of such kind of wits that I dare not pretend to judge of it, yet I fancy the Duchess deserves all that is said of her ; and did the author pass for lover, much more might have been expected from him, but he has now another kind of gallantry in chase, which I wish may prove successful to him and those other brave men that daily hazard themselves in the war. I am so near the guns that your Ladyship will not wonder that I should be solicitous for a happy event, and I am not less concerned to be esteemed, Madam, your most humble servant,

M. E.

*To Mr. Evelyn*

*December, 1672*

MY DEAR,—I hope you do not imagine, though I live in the country and converse with sea-nymphs, now and then with a tarpaulin hero, that I do not apprehend the difference between this kind of felicity and that which you possess in a glorious Court, amongst great beauties and wits, and these so refined that the charm of that splendour has no power on their spirits ; persons whose ideas are of a higher nature, whose minds are pure and actions innocent ; these, if I could be capable of envy, I should make the subject, but I am so far from failing in that kind that I rejoice in your happiness. I acknowledge you a better judge of such perfections, and to merit the honour of being an admirer of the calm, prudent, and beautiful Alecone, the friendship of the sprightly saint, and to be allowed the liberty of a playfellow to Ornethia, whose excellencies unite your admiration and esteem, since you have qualifications which may entitle you to as much good fortune as any man. If knowledge and discernment in curious



and choice speculations, joined with virtues not common, though desirable in your sex, may obtain return of friendship from persons who cannot be unjust, and therefore must allow you a share of their esteem, you may pretend ; but should I hope for a part, it must be upon no other account, but as I have a little interest in you, and possibly a kindly thought of by you, which happiness produces many advantages to

AORTINSA<sup>a</sup>

*To Mr. Bohun*

*January, 1672-3*

SIR,—I find the slight cares of a family are great hindrances to the study of philosophy, and that one grows less and less capable of improvements by books, as one grows more acquainted with the world ; yet amongst those fine experiments which fall in my way, could I meet with any one equally curious with those of the Greshamites, though as unuseful and trifling, I might hope in time to be in something famous ; learning is become so easy of access by the late industry of some who have removed the bar language put to the illiterate, and make women pretenders to judge of Alexander's valour and conduct, and determine whether the effeminacy and imbecility of the Persians did not abate of the miracles of such a conquest ; that it was suddenly and unjustly gained, and as precipitously lost ; and yet allow the man heathen worth who made all that stir till prosperity made him forget himself. He might have expected a better fate ; but this subject has been in so many boys' mouths and themes, that it is reasonable for me to give it over and fall upon Dr. Pierce's sermons, which is a great step from Homer's admirer. Not to dispute the eloquence of the person who appears more like a Grecian orator than a Christian preacher for three parts of each sermon, which how necessary, now whole countries are under the Christian profession, I know not, one would imagine 26 hundred years had worn out the remembrance of idolising insensible orators ; that there were no more need of drawing instances from the moral men to encourage virtue, where light and joyful truth have had such influences. But for the selections of young students whose first compositions are far-fetched, and keep alive the stories of the ancients by succession in the pulpit, one should hardly know who Socrates and Zeno were ; and of what importance to the congregation, few in it understand. The great example should be Christ. His doctrine, and the effects of it in the first ages of the church, when innocency and purity filled the minds of men ; when the sincerity of their words appeared by the manifestation of good works ; when the leaders and people lived in mutual charity and love. If this could be brought into fashion again it were a happy effect of men's labours. And since I have seen that piece of the primitive christianity, I fancy we are strangely out of the way to heaven ; self-denial is a kind of by-path, and many necessary circumstances of a true believer are wholly out of use. Do not wonder I treat with you in this style, since I am assured you own it as the greatest honour that could have happened to you to serve at God's altar, and therefore cannot be displeased when anything is suggested to His glory. Your last to Mr. Evelyn gave us hope of seeing you suddenly.

*To Mrs. Saul*

MRS. SAUL,—The esteem I have had for you as a neighbour and a deserving person, makes me more concerned for the general censure upon your late quitting your husband and family : had you consulted real friends with your design, they never would have advised a separation without equal consent of both parties ; there is something so strict and binding in the marriage vow, that but upon extraordinary causes (the examples of which are rare) any divorce can be lawful : women especially being very tender how they violate that obligation, choosing rather to bear with infirmities, to pray for and endeavour the reformation of an ill man, by all the ways respect and love can suggest, and to bear injuries patiently, valuing their mutual reputation above particular satis-

<sup>a</sup> Mrs. Evelyn makes sad havoc of classical names in this playful letter to her husband, but they are left, with her signature, as she writes them.



faction, as the necessary duty of a good wife, and the common effects of a good Christian, which qualification enables persons to overcome their own inclinations for a better end yet than present or worldly advantages, and secures their future and more lasting happiness. There is no state of life unattended with cares and troubles, afflictions are common and fall to every one's share more or less, therefore we should not without great presumption expect to run the course of this life so smoothly as to meet with no rub by the way. I take the more freedom to enlarge upon this subject with you, because I am really sorry one who appeared so sensible of what became her upon all accounts, as I have often observed you were, should take such ill measures in this last action as you have done; you cannot be ignorant how many there are who rejoice at peoples' misfortunes, and think they excuse their own errors by publishing others' failings; and I wish, and wish it heartily, you had not justified your husband by hurting yourself. I do remember some occasional discourse of yours to me in confidence, concerning some of his miscarriages, which obliged me to lament for you both, that a couple so likely by the agreeableness of person, quality, fortune, and age, should meet with any interruption to their happiness; but do now infinitely bewail it is come to so wide a breach. I was in hopes you had convinced Mr. S. that it was both reasonable as well as convenient to reform the ill habits company might have engaged him in, and that he had wholly designed to take off your suspicion of a relapse; which disposition to virtue and kindness should have been complied with, and cherished by welcome at home, and all endeavours used to confirm him in so good a resolution. I know not what the real cause of dislike is on your part at present, neither will I judge. But were I to recommend Mr. S. to a wife in the temper I find him, I should pronounce in his behalf that he is likely to make a wife as happy as any man I know, if good humour, generous inclinations, industry, and many other good qualities, you have yourself done him the right to acknowledge him possessed of, can contribute towards it. Pray be so kind to yourself and him to return to all the duties of a wife; to forgive past faults like a Christian, to forget them like a friend; to begin your friendship upon a new account; and as caution for him, give me leave to be the person; your word is sufficient for yourself. Since he desires so earnestly to make you happy, banish all obstacles; do not entertain a thought that may check a blessing offered to you both. You will oblige me infinitely by a ready consent to so just a request, you will overcome by it the prejudicial reports concerning you, recover your friends, make an experiment which if successful will prove worth your while. Who would not try it, and submit to harder conditions than any I hope you will find? I beg of you to consider well what is offered you, and assure yourself that my zeal proceeds from a perfect belief of your innocency and merit, and a desire to reunite persons who have both deserved so well the esteem of your friend and servant,

*March 28, 1673<sup>a</sup>*

SIR,—I acknowledge the receipt of two of your letters unanswered: That of the 20th this day came to my hands, with a note to Will. Hayes, which I have given him. He will punctually observe your orders concerning your horse; for the beer, according to his judgment of things, he believes, since it is left undisturbed to which cellar it should go, it most properly belongs to his, as being worst furnished of any in Deptford; yet upon second orders it shall be bestowed where you please. You need not fear a long comment upon the lady's censure of my indulgence to children, since I confess myself too much inclined to that failing; but I have a maxim never to disturb the company with my own affairs, in showing dislike to servants' mistakes and children's faults; so that sometimes, I believe, I pass for a very fond mother and remiss mistress; yet it may be, in a convenient place, both are reproved; and amongst those who understand civility very well, this method is not unacceptable. Were I willing to entertain grief, I could answer to every particular of your first letter; but since there is no recalling of the dead, let us not mingle past sorrows with the present;

<sup>a</sup> The address of this letter is lost. It was probably written to one of her relatives at Wotton.



every moment produces new occasions to exercise our morality. To comply with Mrs. Palmer's request it is impossible, till I am as much convinced of the excellency of my style as Mr. Alderson is of his preaching, who assured me his last funeral sermon was an elaborate, judicious, well-timed piece ; and then all the scraps I have written shall be at her service. And in the meantime advise her, since she is a person of wit, bred under Doctor Bathurst's wing, and lives in the air of the university, to hazard some of her own lines abroad, and try what justice may be in the world. If I do not enlarge at this time, impute it to Easter-Eve ; and excuse this character, scarce legible. I am, sir, your servant.

*To my Brother Glanville*

*Decem. the last, 1673*

SIR,—I am not naturally suspicious, especially where I have an esteem. I was, I acknowledge, a little thoughtful what the cause of your silence might be, yet never doubted your friendship ; and since it was on so reasonable an account, I am not only pacified for the loss of those kind expressions which I am always sure of from you, but would have added many good wishes to your endeavours for the success in the Captain's concern, which, by this time, I hope is out of question. Pray assure him and his lady I am their humble servant. When you are disposed to make us happy with your conversation, you cannot fail of welcome in a family that rejoice in the hopes of seeing you. You have conversed so much in the world, that you cannot be ignorant either of your own merit, or how kindly you will be received by those that have a real value for you. Be assured neither care nor industry would be wanting if an occasion would offer. Whatever else is unequal to you must be forgiven. The unsteadiness of the times is such, that a great man's favour is no sooner gained, but one is to begin again ; and the difficulty is to know where a new endeavour may be made. The next lesson will try how fast some of them sit. If you were one of the house, you have a talent that might improve what interest you please. I suppose your correspondent is so good, I need not entertain you with news. The satisfaction I had in a week's stay in town was not so great that I should trouble you with the relation of it, besides the honour to have the Duchess's hand, visit the Duchess of Modena, &c. Only this particular I cannot omit concerning Sir George Lane, who is married to a daughter of my Lord of Dorset, a young, handsome person, who has 5000*l.* to her portion. The son desires to go into Ireland ; to oblige him perfectly, the father settles 3000*l.* a year on his son, and reserves as much for a second venture : makes her a thousand a year jointure, and all the advantages in Ireland. I have had the honour to wait on the lady, and to give them both joy. My father has had his turn in town, proceeds as vigorously as he can in his affair, but they stand it out, which forces him to issue out an arrest against them. What that course may produce is yet to learn. He seemed desirous to finish it himself, as being best able to dispute their right, or defend his own ; but the gout seizes him so often, though with less violence, that he is the more solicitous to end it. He is at present in bed, but not very ill. We have our workmen still, but hope a little time will finish all. Your brother watches and prays still. Jack studies and ruminates ; the girls make a noise ; and I lend a little of my time to any one that seems to want it. How well I pass the hours in which I am not serviceable to others, I am no good judge. The conclusion of this year with this day, puts me in mind to wish you happiness with all imaginable joy the next. I am, &c.

*To Lady Tuke*

*April, 1685*

How to express the sorrow for parting with so dear a child is a difficult task. She was welcome to me from the first moment God gave her, acceptable through the whole course of her life by a thousand endearments, by the gifts of nature, by acquired parts, by the tender love she ever showed her father and me : a thread of piety accompanied all her actions, and now proves our greatest consolation. The patience, resignation, humility of her carriage in so severe and fatal a disease, discovered more than an ordinary assistance of the Divine good-



ness, never expressing fear of death, or a desire to live, but for her friends' sake. The seventh day of her illness she discoursed to me in particular as calmly as in health, desired to confess, and receive the blessed Sacrament, which she performed with great devotion; after which, though in her perfect senses to the last, she never signified the least concern for the world, prayed often, and resigned her soul. What shall I say! She was too great a blessing for me, who never deserved anything, much less such a jewel. I am too well assured of your Ladyship's kindness to doubt the part you take in this loss; you have ever showed yourself a friend in so many instances, that I presume upon your compassion; nothing but this just occasion could have hindered me from welcoming you to town, and rejoicing with the best friend I have in the world—a friend by merit and inclination, one I must esteem as the wife of so worthy a relation and so sincere a friend as Sir Samuel was to me and mine. What is this world when we recall past things! what are the charms that keep our minds in suspense! without the conversation of those we love, what is life worth! How did I propose happiness this summer in the return of your Ladyship and my dear child, for she was absent almost all this winter!

She had much improved herself by the remarks she had made of the world and all its vanities—what shall I add! I could ever speak of her, and might I be just to her without suspicion of partiality, could tell you many things. The papers which are found in her cabinet discover she profited by her reading, such reflections, collections out of Scripture, confessions, meditations, and pious notions, evidence her time was not spent in the trifling way of most young women. I acknowledge, as a Christian, I ought not to murmur, and I should be infinitely sorry to incur God's further displeasure. There are those yet remaining that challenge my care, and for their sakes I endeavour to submit all I can. I thank my poor Cousin a thousand times for her kind concern, and wish she may live to be the comfort you deserve in her, that God will continue the blessing of both, and make you happy, which is the prayer of her who is yours, most affectionately,

M. E.

[To these letters of Mrs. Evelyn may be subjoined two letters which have come into the Editor's possession since the volume containing her husband's correspondence was printed, but which so agreeably illustrate Evelyn's habits and intercourse with his neighbours and friends that it is worth including them in this collection.]

*Mrs. Owen to John Evelyn*

*Eltham, June 26, 1680*

HONOURED SIR,—I am heartily sorry that I forced you to buy tulips for your fine garden. I must confess your guineas look more glorious than now these tulips do; but, when they come to blow, I hope you will be better pleased than now you are. I have sent you some of my ordinary sort, and, sir, when mine are blown, if you please to come and see them, Mr. Evelyn shall buy no more, but have what he please for nothing. I am so well pleased with those that I have, that I shall neither buy more, nor part with any, unless it be to yourself.

I cannot, sir, send my husband's service to you, because I do not acquaint him with my trading for tulips. Sir John Shaw I cannot yet speak with (being taken up so much with visitors), as to know his mind about a gardener. Sir, I now beg your pardon for my rude lines, and desire you to assure yourself, that my husband and I, upon any occasion, shall be always ready either to ride or go to serve you or yours. Thus having no more, but desiring to have my service to yourself, your lady, and Sir Richard Browne, and your beloved progeny, I shall take leave, and subscribe myself, your most humble servant, to command,

AMY OWEN

*John Evelyn to Mrs. Owen*

*June 26, 1680*

MON AMY (that is, My Friend),—I am not so well pleased with Mrs. Owen's letter as with her tulips, because I am assured there must needs be some mistake, and that my gardener (who, perhaps, does not care that I should purchase anything but through his hands and in the common manner), as was to tell you



that I would come myself and make friends with you, did leave that out. Can you ever imagine that I looked on your kindness as an imposing on me? Sure, you know me better than to think so; and that when I told you flowers of less value would better become my poor garden, it was neither to save my money nor reproach your merchandize. But I assure you I not only thank you for [them], but shall condemn you for a very unwise woman if you should forbear to continue a traffic which is so innocent, so laudable, and so frequent even among very great persons. You and I, therefore, must come to a better understanding upon this chapter. In the meantime I had a good mind to have sent you your last present back again, till all this had been cleared; for I do not love to be overcome in point of generosity, though I see that for this present I must be. You seem to think I complained I had not full measure, and think now to make it up by overwhelming me with your kindness. This is a revenge that I cannot long endure, as you shall be sure to find, the first opportunity I can lay hold on. In the meantime I thank you most heartily for all your good intentions, and the kind offices which both you and the Doctor have ever been ready to do me. Sir Jo. Shaw did us the honour of a visit on Thursday last, when it was not my hap to be at home, for which I was very sorry. I met him since casually in London, and kissed him there unfeignedly. I chided myself that I was not there to receive him. Two of our coach-horses are still so lame, that we have not been able to stir out this fortnight; but so soon as they are in very tolerable condition, my wife and I will not fail of kissing your hands, and repaying this civility to Sir John; and so with our best respects to you and your Doctor, we remain, &c.

PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

KING CHARLES I

AND HIS

SECRETARY OF STATE, SIR EDWARD  
NICHOLAS

WHILST HIS MAJESTY WAS IN SCOTLAND, 1641, AND AT OTHER  
TIMES DURING THE CIVIL WAR





THE  
CORRESPONDENCE OF CHARLES I  
AND  
SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS

FEW more valuable or more interesting illustrations of English history have been at any time made public than the Private Correspondence between Charles I. and his secretary-of-state, Sir Edward Nicholas. These letters were found at Wotton, with the correspondence of Evelyn; his father-in-law, Sir Richard Browne, whose papers he inherited, having been connected by marriage with Mr. Secretary Nicholas; and since their publication they have been quoted and commented upon by every historian or critic of the period on which they throw so much curious and important light.

In no respect illustrating or forming part of Evelyn's history, the reason which existed for modernizing the spelling in the case of the *Diary and Letters* did not here apply. These papers are strictly historical documents, and, as such, are presented in all respects precisely as they were found; with the king's apostils, by way of answer or remark to his secretary's information, printed as written in the margin of the secretary's dispatches; with the queen's notes and messages appended; with the occasional ciphers as in the originals; and, throughout, whether in these particular letters or in the few additional ones of later date, with a strict adherence to the exact orthography of the individual writers.

The date of the commencement of the letters is one of the most critical in the life of the king. It was that of the journey to Scotland, which preceded the fatal attempt to arrest the five members. The king's motives for this journey have been variously surmised and stated; but that, besides his hope of effecting a better understanding with the Scotch parliament by personal communication with its members, they also included an attempt by means of the new anticovenanting Scotch party which had been secretly formed by Montrose, to obtain evidence available against the popular leaders in England, may be gathered from a study of the present correspondence. The feeling entertained in the House of Commons as to what was involved in the king's departure became manifest as soon as it was ascertained to have actually taken place; commissioners being immediately named and appointed to proceed to Scotland, ostensibly to treat with the Scots concerning the satisfaction of the treaty under discussion, but really to thwart as far as possible the king's suspected intentions. The new secretary-of-state, Nicholas, appointed on the flight of Windebank, had it left to him in charge by his royal master to furnish diligent information, during his absence, of what was going on in London; and his letters, noted and answered in the margin by Charles, and posted back to the writer, form the bulk of the succeeding correspondence. They begin with the king's first letter from Edinburgh, written five days after he quitted London, and continue during the whole of the stay in Scotland. After Charles's return there is a considerable interval in the correspondence, but it is resumed at the period of the treaty of Uxbridge, for which Nicholas was appointed one of the commissioners; and is continued through the vicissitudes and disasters of the war, up to the king's detention by the army of the Scots, and his imprisonment at Holdenby and in the Isle of Wight.

Of Sir Edward Nicholas, who plays so prominent a part in this correspondence, and of whom Clarendon remarks that he was appointed secretary upon the king's observation of his virtue and fidelity, and without any other recommendation, some brief account may be expected by the reader. He was the eldest son of John Nicholas, Esq., of Winterbourne Earls, in the county of Wilts; was born in April, 1592-3, educated at Oxford, and entered of the Middle Temple; resided some time in France, and on his return to England, directed his thoughts to public business. His first official appointment was in the time of James I. He was named one of the six clerks in chancery; and afterwards became secretary to Lord Zouch, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, who surrendered that employment to please the king, by enabling him to confer it on the Duke of Buckingham. The duke continued Nicholas in his office,



and advanced him to be secretary to the Admiralty. The commissioners appointed to administer the affairs of the Admiralty, on the duke's death, also continued Nicholas as their secretary; and he retained the office till 1636, when Algernon, Earl of Northumberland, being appointed Lord High Admiral, he was removed to the clerkship of the council. This brought him more within the personal view and knowledge of the king, from which resulted his selection for the office of secretary-of-state, when the flight of Windebank left it vacant in 1641. He received his knighthood at Whitehall, at the close of November, 1641, the day after the king's return from Scotland. For his activity and earnestness in the execution of his duties, he had meanwhile become obnoxious to the Parliament, and was one of those excepted in the terms which they offered to the king after he had raised his standard at Nottingham. Notwithstanding this exception, however, they did not refuse to receive him as one of the king's commissioners at the treaty of Uxbridge. He was at Oxford during the time it was besieged by the parliament forces. On the death of the king he went to France, and afterwards joined the exiled prince at Rouen, on his arrival there from Jersey.

In this service he remained, discharging it at various places in France and Holland, till the treaty of Breda, when Charles went to Scotland. On his return, Nicholas again joined him at Aix; and when the Restoration came, in 1660, he was continued as secretary. In October 1662, being then about seventy years of age, he finally resigned the secretaryship, in which he was succeeded by Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington. He refused a peerage offered him by the king; and retiring to his seat at West Horsley, in Surrey, an estate which he had purchased of Carew Raleigh, Esq. (son of Sir Walter), died there in September 1669. In the church of that parish are monuments erected to him and his descendants, who continued there till 1749. He left four sons. In 1641, it would appear from the letters now printed, he had a house at Thorpe, in Surrey.

The reader of these letters will scarcely need to be told that he was not only a devoted servant of Charles I, but a diligent and faithful adviser, never scrupling to offer his opinion, and that a conscientious and honest one. It is to the king's credit that he allowed him to do so, commending his openness, though unhappily for himself he did not always attend to the advice so given. It was Charles's greatest misfortune to have had few counsellors so judicious, industrious, and experienced as Nicholas; of such unimpeachable integrity, or of a temper so unambitious and averse to intrigue.

#### *The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

NICOLAS, Your aduertisments to me<sup>a</sup>, is so far from displeasing to me, that I comand you to continew it, & that as often as conuenientlie ye may. Deliuier thease incloseds. (I hope ye know by that yesterday that on [one] is to my Wyfe.) So I rest your friend,

CHARLES R.

EDEN. 15 Aug. 1641

Aduertise my Wyfe vpon euery dispache, that she may (if she will) wryt; & make one when & as often as she will comand you.

#### *The Queen to Sir Edward Nicholas*

Maistre Nicholas, I haue reseaued your letter: and that you send me from the King: which writes me word he has been vere well reseaued in scotland: and that both the armie: and the people: have shued a creat joye to see the King: and such: that theay say was neuer seen before: pray god it may continued: for the letter that I writt to you counserning the commissionaires it is them

<sup>a</sup> This letter is evidently the first sent by Charles to Sir Edward Nicholas, in answer to his first communication respecting the proceedings subsequent to the King's departure. The royal journey was by no means agreeable to the Parliament; for, so late as the 7th of August, the Commons desired the Lords to join with them in an attempt to delay the King's departure for fourteen days. Charles, however, gave his assent on that day to several Bills both public and private, and then bade the Parliament farewell. The next day, Sunday, the Commons sat for the purpose of forming and presenting a petition on the subject. On the 9th, his Majesty again gave the royal assent to four Bills, and took leave a second time, telling the Parliament that he should return before Michaelmas, if possible. At two o'clock he set off, accompanied by the Elector Palatine and the Duke of Richmond.



that are toe dispatch bussinesse in the Kings absence : I thank you for your care of geuing me aduises of what passes at London : and soe I reeste your frand,

OTELANDS<sup>a</sup>, the 19 August.

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

Indorsed : 'For Mistre Nicholas'.

In Sir E. N.'s writing : '19<sup>o</sup> Aug. 1641. The Queenes ler to me'.

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, yesterday I receaved yor Maties of the 17th of this month, & in it one to the Queene, & another to my Lo : Keeper<sup>b</sup> : I forthwh presented yor Maties to the Queene, wch when she had read, her Matie comanded me to forbear to deliver that to my Lo. Keeper, & took it into her owne custody, for that her Matie said it was written att her entreaty, & that there is now noe occasion for ye delivery of it, as her Matie tells me she will by her next satisfy yor Matie, & I hope I have donne nothing but my duty in obeying her Maties comaund touching that letter.

*Apostyled in the  
King's writing<sup>c</sup>.  
Ye ar verrie right.*

Satterday morning the Comittees did set forth towards Scotland<sup>d</sup>, & that day the Peers adiourned their House till too-morrow : it is concealed there will not be much business donne now in P'liam'te untill they shall understand of the arrivall and recepon of their Comittees by yor Matie, whereon all their eyes are fixed.

The Constable of ye Tower is commanded by ye Lodes House forthwh to reside constantly in the Tower, & order is given (as I am credibly tould) that there shal be 40 souldiers added to reinforce that garrison, wch new soldiers are to be contynued & paid by the P'liam't here during yor Maties absence.

Upon a Conference had betweene both Houses, there is an order of P'liam't for ye present disarming of all Recusants<sup>f</sup>, and some Comittees of the Houses are appointed to see ye statutes on that behalf forthwh put in execucon.

Upon consideracon of ye great ielousies that are rayseed here & spread abroad, as if there were some intencons to make use of some of ye armyes to ye preiudice of ye Parliamt, and upon the apparent delay that hath been used in ye paying off, & disbanding ye English armye, wch hath bene cleerely throughe ye negligence of those whom ye Parliamt hath imployed in that service, I humbly beseech yor Matie to give me leaue to offer to yor Maties consideracon, whether it may not be fitt for yor Matie p'sently to wryte yor l'res to the Speaker of one or

*Heerein I haue  
tane your aduyce,  
the inclosed to the  
Keeper being to  
that effect, onlie I  
would haue you  
aduerterce my wyfe  
of it.*

<sup>a</sup> Oatlands at this time was the Queen's property, having been granted to her some years before, by the King; for her life. In the preceding year, 1640, her son, Henry of Oatlands, was born there. Oatlands had long been a royal mansion; but the house, which then stood on low ground, was pulled down during the Protectorate, with the exception of a small part, which was again given up to the Queen upon the Restoration.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Edward Lyttleton, soon after created Lord Lyttleton. He succeeded Finch, and it was not inaptly said of him that he was a good Englishman, a good subject, and learned in the laws; but, not having the same dexterity that his predecessor had he was not so fitly qualified for his imporant trust in such perilous and critical times.

<sup>c</sup> What is apostyled by the King will be indented in the page against the passages so noted.

<sup>d</sup> These Commissioners were appointed by both Houses on the 16th of August, with instructions to negotiate with the Scottish Parliament respecting the affairs of that kingdom. Their real mission was to counteract the anticipated effects of the King's presence in Scotland.

<sup>e</sup> Here the Secretary hardly shows his usual discernment. The Commons had been very busy since the King's departure: having brought fresh charges against the impeached Bishops; voted Perry, Jermyn, and Suckling, guilty of high treason; and established a complaint against the Queen's Capuchin Friars. Though the King was gone, yet Commissioners were left to exercise the royal functions in Parliament, and the assent was given to the Bill for Tonnage and Poundage on the 16th of August. Before adjournment also, they had made fresh orders against the Recusants, and also for raising money speedily for the use of the army.

<sup>f</sup> This originated in a complaint from the Commons to the Lords on the 17th of August, that the laws for disarming them were neglected, and that many of them were even screened by members of the Upper House.



both Houses, taking notice of ye delay & sloth that hath bene used in ye disbanding the armies, wch have bene kept on foote here to ye great greavaunce of yor subcts in ye North, & att a heavy charge to yor kingdome in England in g'rall, notwithstanding yor Matie hath from tyme to tyme by frequent speeches to both Houses often called upon them to ease this yor kingdome of that grevous burthen. Yor Matie now understanding, that (when by ye agreemt wth the Scots all the Englishe forces are to be disbanded) ye Lo. G'rall hath advertised ye Houses that there wants 140. thousand pounds to finish that worke, therefore yor Matie may be pleased to quicken the Parliamt here, & to let them know how sensible yor Matie is of ye long sufferings of yor people of England, & to comaund the Houses, (all other matters set apart), forthwith to apply themselves to free this yor kingdome of soe heavy & dayly a charge. Such a letter would let yor people here see yor care & affec'on to them, & make appeare cleerely to the world that there is noe intenc'on on yor Maties pte to make use of the army here, as may be otherwise insinuated.

I humbly beg yor Maties p'don for this bold & tedious discourse, wch is noe other than an effect of the dutifull affeccion of yor Maties most humble & most obedient servant,  
EDW. NICHOLAS

As I was closing this packet, I receaved one from Edenburgh, wherein was yor Maties ler of the 19th p'sent: I shall lett my Lo. Keeper understand what yor Matie hath comaunded me to deliver to my Lo. Ch. Justice Bankes (who is now in his circuit in Suffolke) touching ye 4 Irishe regiments<sup>a</sup>, and desire his Lopp (in ye others absence) to acquaint ye Lodes House therewith. Yor Maties ler of ye 19th p'sent I have sent to ye Queene.

WESTMINSTER, 23<sup>o</sup> Aug. 1641

Under this date, in the King's writing, 'EDEN. 28'.

Indorsed: 'For yor Matie'. And signed by the King, 'Yours apostyled'.

Likewise indorsed by Sir E. N. 'My ler to ye King of ye 23 Aug. 1641. Apostiled ye 28th'.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

Nicholas, I thanke you for the account you haue giuen by yours of the 14, comanding you still to continew the same course, as lykewais that in my name ye tell the same to my Lord Cheefe justice Bankes<sup>b</sup> also: So I rest your friend,

EDEN: 19 Aug.: 1641.

CHARLES R.

You must tell my L. Cheefe justice Bankes from me that I am so far now engaged to the Spanish Embassador<sup>c</sup> for fower regiments, that I cannot now goe backe, for it was asseured me before I cam from London that bothe Houses were content, onlie it wanted the formalitie of voting: whereupon I gaue an absolute order for the leauing & transporting of those men, but also reiterated my promises to the Embassador: wherefor he must tell the Houses from me that these leauiers must not be stoped.

C. R.

Addressed: 'For your selfe'.

Indorsed by Sir E. N. '19<sup>o</sup> Aug: 1641: R. 23<sup>o</sup>. His Maties ler to me'.

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, this morning about 6 o'clock I receaved by ye hands of Mr. Murray yor Maties of the 22th, & have acquainted my Lo. Keeper, that yor Matie is well satisfied wth his lettr, whereof his Lopp is very glad, & acknowledgeth yor Maties great goodnes to him in it.

Before my receipt of yor Maties last letter I had acquainted my Lo. Keeper (in ye absence of my Lo. Ch. Justice Bankes) wh what yor Matie commanded me, touching yor Maties engagemt for transportac'on of 4 regiments of Irishe for ye service of the Spanishe King,

<sup>a</sup> I see your discretion may bee trusted in greater matters.

<sup>a</sup> When the Irish regiments were on the point of being disbanded, the Ambassadors of France and Spain made an application to the Parliament on the 14th of August for leave to hire several regiments for foreign service; but their application was refused.

<sup>b</sup> Sir John Banks, who had succeeded Sir Edward Lyttelton as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

<sup>c</sup> Don Alonzo de Cardenas. This is noticed in the preceding letter.



& wh ye reasons of it, & his Lopp having that morning made ye same knowne to the Lodes, they thereupon had ye next day a conference wh ye Comons House, the result of wch conference is not as yet reported to ye Lodes House, but I am tould, that the Comons<sup>a</sup> are very much against these 4 regiments going for Spayne, in regard it crosseth wth yor Maties & ye Houses Declaration against ye Spanyard on behalf of ye Prince Elector<sup>b</sup>; & therefore my Lo. Keeper thinks not fitt to hasten ye report of that conference : As soone as there shal be any order or resolucon in it by ye Parliamt, I shall advertise it to yor Matie. I sent yor Maties letter to Sir Ph. Maynewaring<sup>c</sup> by an expresse messenger into Northamptonsh : whither Sr Phillip was gonne 2 dayes before my receipt of yor Maties to him.

Since Satterday last there hath beene noe business done in Parliamt of any publique nature<sup>d</sup> that I can heare of ; but only the order made by the Lodes touching ye election of ye present Sheriffs of London, whereof I gave advertisemt to Mr. Thre're by myne of ye 23th<sup>f</sup>. This day ye Lo. Mayor was att the Upper House to get an alteration of that their Lops order but the House would not recede from it in any p'ticular, whereat ye Lo. Mayor and cheif cittizens seeme to be much troubled.

There is here great expectation what recepcon yor Matie will give to ye Comittees sent hence. I wishe yor Matie could have soe tymely expedited yor affaires there, as that you might have bene reddey They came heere yesternight. to come away before their arrivall theres.

Yesterday ye Comons ordered<sup>h</sup> that ye pay of Coll. Willmot, Ashbournham, & ye rest of ye soldiers (that are questioned in P'liam't) shalbe sequestred untill their busines shalbe heard & adjudged. And upon occasion of ye discourse of that busines, Mr. Selden did then in that house deliver his opinion with much confidence, that by ye ACT OF OBLIVION Mr. Percy and Mr. Jermyn<sup>i</sup>, & all ye

<sup>a</sup> On the 28th of August, when the House of Commons again took this affair into consideration, Sir Benjamin Rudyard spoke loudly against it, founding his objections principally upon the points here stated by Sir Edward Nicholas. The Commons then refused assent to the measure, in which the Lords agreed with them; and a letter, expressing their refusal, was sent to the King.

<sup>b</sup> Charles Louis, Elector of Bavaria, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, and nephew to Charles I., being the son of his sister Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia.

<sup>c</sup> He was of Over Peover, in Cheshire, and father to the first Baronet of that name, so created after the Restoration. He was Sheriff of Cheshire in 1639, and Captain in the Cheshire light horse. Collins does not mention his knighthood.

<sup>d</sup> Again the Secretary is remiss, or at fault. Public business was certainly going forward. On the 25th of August the Lords sequestered the temporalities of Dr. Roger Manwaring, Bishop of St. David's, for his contumacy to an order of the House; and, on the day on which Sir Edward wrote his letter, both Houses had a conference respecting a proposed recess of Parliament.

<sup>e</sup> 'Mr. Treasurer', that is, Sir Henry Vane the elder.

<sup>f</sup> This evidently relates to the dispute then existing between the Lord Mayor and the Commons of London; the former laying claim to the choice of one of the Sheriffs, by a prescription of three hundred years. The Livery refusing to abide by this, the Court of Aldermen petitioned the King to decide upon the affair; but the King referred it to the House of Lords, who, after some delay, ordered that the Commonalty should proceed to the choice of the two Sheriffs, at the same time recommending that they would have those who had already been nominated by the Mayor. The Sheriffs chosen were George Garret and George Clark. Sir William Acton, Bart., was the then Lord Mayor; but he was superseded by the Parliament, and replaced by Sir Edmund Wright.

<sup>g</sup> The names of the Commissioners were Lords Bedford and Howard of Esricke, Hampden, Fiennes, Sir Philip Stapleton, and Sir William Armyne. The Secretary seems to entertain a reasonable fear of the King's being brought into collision with such Commissioners.

<sup>h</sup> Not recorded in the Parliamentary Debates.

<sup>i</sup> Jermyn had been especially implicated, by the confession of Colonel Goring, in the alleged plot contrived by certain officers of the army to secure Strafford's escape, and overawe and dissolve the Parliament, by marching the army on London and making the King absolute. Balfour, the Lieutenant of the Tower, baffled that part of it relating to Strafford; and, a quarrel arising between the leaders of the design, Goring and Wilmot



rest that are questioned with them, are freed and pardoned, wch he argued so strongly out of the very words of that Act, as ye sages of that house, who oppugned his opinion, did not (in ye iudgement of able men) give any reasonable or satisfactory answer to it : the House seemed to be much amazed att this slipp in that Act, & were not well pleased with him who delivered this opinion : some said that it was not in ye intencon of ye House to pardon them, whereupon it was replied that lawes are to be understood according to the words in ye Act, & not according to the intencon of ye makers, further than ye words will beare.

This day the House of Peers have comitted to prison ye man that printed the scandalous ballet concerning the Qu. Mother's going away, & will consider of further punishmt for him, and they have ordered that these ballets shalbe burnt by ye hand of ye hangman.

Thanke him in my  
Name for his  
account.

The inclosed from my Lo. Marshall<sup>a</sup> will give yor Matie an account of ye cause of ye Qu. Mother's stay att Dover.

Albeit this employmt wch yor Matie hath bene pleased to honour me w'thall, hath drawne much envy vpon me, & (as I heare) set some on worke to pry into my accons past & present, yet since I enioy ye comfort of yor Maties grac'ous opinion & acceptaunce of my poore & honnest endeavours, I shall not vallue any mans mallice, but rather smile att their ignoraunce, that coñceave there is any other felicity in this employmt, then to deserve to be accounted an honest man, & yor Maties most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS

I receaued this  
yesterday.

The Queene sent me word she had written lately to yor Matie, & would not write by this dispatche.

WESTMINSTER, 26<sup>o</sup> Aug.

Written by the King : ' EDEN. 31, 1641 '.

Indorsed : ' For yor most excellent Matie '.

Written by the King : ' Yours apostyled '.

Further indorsement in the hand-writing of Sir E. N. : ' 26 Aug. 1641. Myne to his Matie apostyled 31<sup>o</sup> Aug '.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

Nicholas, I haue nothing to answer to yours of the 20 : (wch I receaued yesterday in the euening), save onlie to thanke for your advertisements : but heering from good hand, that the House of Comons meanes to refuse my General Pardon<sup>b</sup>, I haue thought fitt to comand you, to comand my L. Keeper to thinke of a Declaration to be put fourth in my name (in case my Pardon be refused) to make my fauorable intentions knowen to all my English subjects, how I consulted it with the best lawyers, to make it of most aduantage that might bee for all my said people. This being the summe, for the forme & the penning, I leave it to bee consulted there : to wch end, I com'and you first to goe to my Wyfe, to receaue her directions in it (for she knowes my mynde fully in this particular) and according to what she shall direct you, to com'and my Lo. Keeper for the drawing of it, fitt for my hand, with all speede, & so I rest your friend,

EDEN, 25 Aug : 1641

CHARLES R.

(' Gorrein et Hailmot ', as Madame de Motteville calls them in her account of the affair), which Jermyn had in vain done his best to reconcile, Goring made a quasi discovery of the plot to Lord Newark, from whom, through Lords Bedford and Kimbolton, it reached Pym. Goring subsequently asserted that for his own part he had refused concurrence with the proposals to put the army into a posture to serve the King, and send a Declaration to Parliament that Episcopacy should not be infringed upon, and that the King's revenue should be established ; for he said that he thought it belonged to an army to maintain, not to contrive, acts of state. At the same time he professed that his particular object, in joining in the proposed measures, was to solicit ' a redresse for the miseries of the souldiers '.

<sup>a</sup> Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey.

<sup>b</sup> This will be found fully explained in a subsequent letter. The King appears to have wished to secure Percy, Wilmot, Ashburnham, and the others engaged with them, from the wrath of the Parliament, but, unwilling to pardon them expressly by name, he issued this General Pardon in order to include them, without appearing to confirm the charges brought against them as acting under his privity and directions.



*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellnt Matie, yo'r Maties of the 25th of this moneth founde me at Oatlands on Sunday last, as I was attending the Queenes com'aunds, where I pesently presented to her Royall hand yor Maties ler, & acquainted her Matie what you had written to me concerning a Declarac'on; her Matie saith that she now vnderstands that ye Com'ons will not suddainly refuse yor Maties Pardon; but howsoever she com'aunded me to speake wth my Lo. Keeper about it according to yor Maties leter, & to wishe him to consider of a fitting Declarac'on agreeable to yor Maties direcc'ons, that it may be reddy in case the G'ral Pardon shal be refused, & this to be donne wth all possible secrecy. My Lo. Keeper promiseth to pepare such a Declarac'on against too-morrow, & hath wished me then to attend his Lopp to Oatlands, there to shew it to her Matie, & as soon as it shall be perfected to send it for yor royal approbac'on. The busines will well beare this delay, for that ye Peers have this day adiourned their House till Munday next; and ye Com'ons (I heare) intend to adiourne too-morrow, also till Munday; & it is resolv'd that both Houses shall adiourne on Wensday se'night till ye 26th of Octobr. I humbly desire to know yor Maties pleasure whether when this Declarc'on shall be printed, it may not be fitt to shew ye same to my Lo. Banks or Mr. Attorney<sup>a</sup>, or both, before it be engrossed for yor Maties hand. I have bene tould that some take excepc'ons to yor Maties Pardon, for that it excepts all matters of eccl'all cognisaunce, albeit ye same exceptions is in ye Pardon of 21<sup>o</sup> Jacobi, but I beleeve that this excepc'on of theirs is but a pretence, & that ye mayne thing that they dislike in it is, that Mr Percy & ye rest of his company are comprehended in it. Both Houses have had a conference upon yor Maties answer and reasons sent by Mr. Nichols<sup>b</sup> touching ye com'ission, and I heare, thoughe many would have bene better pleased that yor Matie had signed ye com'ission for their co'mittees, yet they doe not much dislike yor Maties answeare, since by yor grac'ous permission their com'ittees have leave to come to Edenburg to doe the busines they are principally sent for<sup>c</sup>. I have herewth sent yor Matie ye substance of 2 messages delivered yesterday from ye Com'ons to ye Peers. The ordinance therein menc'oned touching ye disarming of Recusants is this day ordered to be printed (as I heare). There hath bene some of yor Maties deer killed in Windsor forrest neer Egham by ye inhabitants of that towne & of ye parishes adioyning, who hunted in ye day tyme by 80 & 100 in a company: Sr Ar. Maynwaring<sup>d</sup> hath bene amongst them, and wth good words & promises hath made them forbear for ye pesent. When both Houses shal be adiourned till Octobr I beleeve here wil be little or noe busines in this towne, where ye sicknes & small pox increaseth, and therefore if yor Matie please to give me leave, I humbly desire to reside att Oatlands or att my house att

I am satisfied with  
this account.

Show it to both.

I am of your mynd;  
for their petition to  
mee was to have  
it as neer to that  
of 21 Jacobi as  
might bee.

I com'and you to  
speake with the  
L. Keeper, my  
L. Bankes, and my  
learned Councell,  
to see what course  
is best to be taken  
to stop theas inso-  
lencies in tyme  
to cum.

I willinglie grant  
your desyre.

<sup>a</sup> Sir Edward Herbert, Knt.

<sup>b</sup> This was Mr. Anthony Nichols, Member for Bodmyn, whom the Commons, on the 18th August, had ordered to be their messenger to carry the Petition, Commission, and Instructions to Edinburgh for the King's approbation. It is stated in the Parliamentary Records, that the sum of 1000*l.* was then ordered for the 'Commissioner's Charges'.

<sup>c</sup> The King's answer was read to both Houses on the 30th, in which he said that he did not find it necessary to sign any such Commission; but was 'graciously pleased to give leave to the said Members to come and attend us here in Scotland, to see the ratification of the said Treaty, and what else belongs thereunto'. The Parliamentary Debates say, that 'these reasons seemingly contented both Houses, for we hear no more of the matter from either of the Journals'; but Sir Edward Nicholas explains the business with more probability.

<sup>d</sup> He had property in Chertsey, in the vicinity; and on the 17th of September was appointed, along with many others, to hold an inquest in the bounds of Windsor Forest, within the bailiwick of Surrey. The people had been enraged by the proceedings of the Justice in Eyre, the Earl of Holland. See Manning and Bray's *Hist. Surrey*, vol. i, Introduction, pp. xii, xiii.



Thorpe (wch is but 3 myles from Oatlands), whether I can take order that all packets shall without any delay or peiudice be brought to me. I assure yor Matie I would not pesume to crave this favour, if I could imagine that any inconvenience or delay might thereby happen to ye services yor Matie hath bene pleased to comitt to ye care of yr Maties most humble and most obedient servaunt,

I receaved yours of the 2: the 6 of this monthe, vpon w'ch, & other reasons, to stay this dispathe untill the 8: euen now I receaved your of the 4: w'ch requyres no answer. Eden. 8 Sept.

EDW. NICHOLAS

WESTMINSTER, 31<sup>o</sup> Aug. 1641. Apostyled 7<sup>o</sup> 7bris.

EDEN. 5 Sep.

Indorsed: 'For yor sacred Matie'.

And by the King: 'Yours apostyled'.

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor Matie, since my letr of ye 26th of this moneth it hath bene here ordered by both Houses of Parliamt, that out of ye monny accruing to yr Matie by vertue of ye last Act of Tonnage & Poundage<sup>a</sup>, there shal be paid for the use of the Navy 10 m. lb. for this moneth of Aug: and 15 m. for each of ye other 3 monethes to ye first of December next, amounting in all to 55 m. lb. and upon a message sent by ye Parliamt to ye Com'issionrs of ye Treasury, they have given warraunt accordingly.

There hath bene a conference between ye 2 Houses about some course to be taken for preserving of the myne for saltpeetre, but there is noe order as yet settled for it.

The sentence whereby London Derry was adiudged forfeited to yr Matie, is by ye House of Com'ons (as I heare) declared Nul, & that land thought fit to be restored backe to ye Citty of London.<sup>b</sup>

The Parliamt here (upon a conference of both Houses) hath resolved to make a recesse on wensday ye 8th of Sepber to ye 26th of Octobr next, unlesse before that day there shal hapen some emergent busines, wch it is thought wil be as ye intelligence from Scotland shal please us here.

The Qu. Mother<sup>c</sup> remaines still att Dover, expecting (as my Lo. Marshall writes to me this morning) ye returne of a messenger from Flanders, soe as tuesday next wil be ye soonest that her Matie wil embarque.

All things are like to be now very still here, every mans expectac'on being fixed upon yor Maties & the Parliaments proceeding there, wch I beseech God to direct

<sup>a</sup> This was taken into consideration by the House of Commons on the 26th of August, in consequence of long arrears due to naval officers, and the provisions in the magazines having been found to be decayed. Part of the money was also to be expended in fitting out ten men of war and ten merchant ships for the defence of the narrow seas; the charge of which would amount to 57,000*l.*, of which only 1200*l.* as yet was to be appropriated out of the tonnage and poundage. The farmers of the Customs were ordered to make good the deficiency, to the amount of 15,000*l.* per month.

<sup>b</sup> This refers to the proceedings of the Star Chamber against the City for non-performance of conditions in the charter granted to them by James the First. *Vide* Rushworth, vol. iv, p. 376.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* the Queen Dowager of France. The departure of the Queen Mother from England, where she had arrived in 1638, had been strongly urged forward by the Parliament party. In a curious reprint of Grebner's astrological book, with its observations on the life and death of Charles, it is said that on her coming, 'all men were against her, for it was observed that wherever or unto whatever Country this miserable old Queen came, there followed immediately after her either the plague, war, famine, or one misfortune or another'. Yet the same writer, when speaking of her departure, says, 'a sad spectacle it was, and produced tears from mine eyes and many other beholders, to see an aged leane decrepit poore Queen, ready for her grave, necessitated to depart hence, having no place of residence in this world left her, but where the curtesie of her hard fortune assigned it. She had bene the onely statelie and magnificent woman in Europe'. She had, whilst in England, an allowance of 100*l.* per day; and the Parliament gave her 10,000*l.* for travelling expenses on her departure.



& governe, as may be most for ye honor & prosperity of yor Matie & of your royall posterity & all yr kingdomes, and this shall ever be ye dayly prayers of yor Maties most humble & obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS

You may assure every one that now all difficulties are passed heere, as I have com'anded Vane to tell you more at large<sup>a</sup>.

As I was making up this packet I received an order of the Upper House of Parliamt to Sir Jo. Penington<sup>b</sup> fo. ye stay of ships bound for Ireland, a copy whereof I send inclosed, but whether there be any such ships in ye Downes, I cannot learne ye certeynty. The Queenes Matie tells me she will not wryte till Munday by Mr. Murray.

WESTMINSTER, 28<sup>o</sup> Aug. 1641

EDEN. 3 Sep.

*The King to the Lord Keeper*

My Lo. Keeper, ye answer that I can give to yours of 31. of Aug. is only, that I am very well satisfied with it : wherefore ye cheefe subject of this is, that having understood, that ye Lower House, in passing ye Bill of Tunnage and Poundage, forgot to reserve that advantage to ye merchant in divers comodities wch I have usually granted, therefore I com'and you tell ye Citty, in my name, that though they owne burgesses forgot them in P'liam't, yet I meane to supply that defect out of my affec'on to them, soe that they may see that they need noe mediators to me, but my owne good thoughts ; for as yet I assure you that I have not bene sued to in this particular by any on their behalfe. Soe I rest your assured friend,

C. R.

EDEN. 7 Sep. 1641

I have com'anded Nicholas to speake to you concerning the insolencies com'itted in ye forest.

The above is in Sir E. N.'s handwriting, and is thus indorsed : ' 7<sup>o</sup> 7bris, 1641. Copy of his Maties lettr to my Lo. Keeper, to be communicated to the Citty'.

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

In the King's hand :

Monday 20 Sep.

May it please yor Matie, I have by my Lo. Carr received yor Maties com'aunds of ye 8th of this moneth, apostiled upon my lettr of ye 31th of Aug. last, & have presented yr Maties to my Lo. Keeper, whoe hath alreddy com'unicated to my Lo. Mayor the effect of yor Maties gracious intenc'on towards ye merchants that were not provided for by ye Act of Tonnage & Poundage, wch was most dutifully & gratefully received by ye Lo. Mayor, who will make known yor Maties great goodnes to all ye merchants of this Citty. My Lo. Keeper hath appointed my Lo. Bankes, Mr. Attorney, Sr Art. Maynewaring & myself, to attend his Lopp att his house in ye country on Munday next, to consider of ye ryot com'itted in yor Maties forrest of Windsor, & of some fitting course to prevent ye killing of any more deere there.

This dispathe I received this morning, but tell my Wyfe that I have found fault with you, because none of hers was within it.

Tell him that I am satisfied with his letter, as indeed I am with you for the continuall accounts ye give mee of my businesses.

<sup>a</sup> Up to this period, notwithstanding the affair of Strafford, the king appears to have put perfect trust in the elder Vane, to whom his indulgence and favour had at all times been remarkable. Sir Philip Warwick, in his Memoirs, states a curious instance of it ; where, speaking of the economy of Charles's Court, he says that ' besides the women who attended on his beloved Queen and Consort, he scarce admitted any great officer to have his wife in the family. Sir Henry Vane was the first that I knew in that kind, who, having a good diet as Comptroller of the Household, and a tenuity of fortune, was winked at ; so as the Court was filled, not crammed.'

<sup>b</sup> Sir John Pennington was a distinguished naval officer of the period, and was appointed by the King, a few months afterwards, to the command of the fleet ; but against this the Parliament remonstrated in favour of the Earl of Warwick, and Sir John was obliged to resign. There was another Pennington, at this time, extremely active ; but his name was Isaac, and he is very harshly spoken of by the royalist writers, as a man who had enriched himself most flagitiously in the service, or rather through the influence and power, of the Parliament. He was a merchant in the City.



I have herewth sent yor Matie a list of ye names of ye Com'ittees of ye Com'ons House, & ye instrucc'ons given to them, wch I have gotten wth some difficulty.

The Com'ittees of ye Lods met yesterday in ye afternoone in ye Painted Chamber, & those of ye Com'ons in ye Excheqr Chamber apart by themselves, & afterwards iointly. All their busines was to peruse & annsweare lers, wch they receaved from my Lo. G'ralla, & their Comittees in Scotland, & to take order for monnyes for paymt of the army, trayne of artillery, and garrisons<sup>b</sup>. They have given order to my Lo. Admll to send shipps to ye Holy Island<sup>c</sup> to fetch thence ordinance and amunic'on, &c. as yor Matie by ye order inclosed may perceave. I heare that these Com'ittees have written to ye Com'ittees in Scotland, that if by their next letrs they shall certefy them that there is noe more busines for them in Scotland, then they will consider of calling them home.

By a copy herewth sent, yor Matie will perceave ye course that is here taken for paymt & discharge of ye garrison of Carlile, & accordingly the Paymaster hath alreddy receaved £4000, & is too-morrow to have ye rest of the monny, for ye pesent carriage, whereof he hath taken order, soe as it shal be there by ye 3d or 4th of 8ber, wch is ye soonest it can possibly be carried thither by cart.

The Declarac'on of ye Com'ons House<sup>d</sup> was Sunday last read in ye parishe church here in Westminster, & is sent to ye sheriffs of all counties to be published. There is noe man prayeth more fervently for yor Maties prosperous dispatch of yor affaires there, & safe & speedy returne, than yor Maties most humble and most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS

I heare ye Com'ittees here have taken order for monnyes for paymt & discharge of yor Maties garrison at Berwick, & that it is to be sent downe att 3 severall sendings, wch will require some longer tyme.

WESTMINSTER, 15<sup>o</sup> Sepbris, 1641

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellnt Matie, according to my advertisemt yesterday both Houses of Parliamt have this day adiourned till 20<sup>o</sup> Octobr next. They have appoynted Comittees to meete during the recess<sup>e</sup>, & their first day of meeting is to be Tuesday next, & then they are to adiourne from tyme to tyme as they shall thinke good. Their principall busines is to receave & annsweare all lers from Scotland, according to instrucc'ons alreddy given to the Comittees there, whom they have power to call home if they see cause. They have also power to send downe monny to ye army, & to doe what they shall think requisite for ye disbanding of it, & to dispose of ye cannons and artillery in ye North, & they are to make report of the whole business att ye next meeting of both Houses.

There was not att parting a very p'fect agreemt (as I heare) betwene the 2 Houses in all things, for the Peers declyning to ioine wth the Com'ons in orders touching innovac'ons in ye Church, the Com'ons notwithstanding ordered ye same to be printed, the particulars of wch orders are here inclosed<sup>f</sup>. I heare

<sup>a</sup> Earl of Essex.

<sup>b</sup> The Lord General stated in his letters that it was the intention of the Scottish Parliament to keep 5000 in array, until the whole of the English army was disbanded, and the 'fortifications at Berwick and Carlisle slighted'.

<sup>c</sup> On the coast of Northumberland.

<sup>d</sup> This was against all superstitious rites and observances in public worship; amongst which were enumerated crucifixes, images of the Virgin Mary, bowing at the name of Jesus, &c. They also ordered the Communion Tables to be moved from the east end of all churches and chapels; and all sports and pastimes to be prevented on Sunday.

<sup>e</sup> Lists of those Committees may be found in the ninth volume of the *Parliamentary History*, p. 536.

<sup>f</sup> The Lords did not quarrel with the spirit of the resolutions of the House of Commons: but they made some slight alterations in the details. The Commons, however, went further on the day before adjournment than they had previously done; for it was ordered that a lecture might be set up, and an orthodox minister maintained, at the expense of any parishioners, to preach on various occasions throughout the week, and also on the Sabbath where there was no sermon.

that the Lods & Com'ons have intimated that none of the disbanded soldiers, either horse & foote, Englishe or Irishe, shalbe p'mitted to serve either the ffrench or Spanishe King, but that they may serve the States<sup>a</sup>. Upon a report that the Spanishe and ffrench<sup>b</sup> Amb'dors had treated wth diverse of the horse & foote to serve their masters, the Co'mons House sent 2 of their members to each of their Amb'dors, to know by what warrt they did goe about to levy any soldiers here, & by whose procurement they obteyned such warrts, but (it seemes) they could discover nothing att all.

As soone this day as the Lds House was adiourned, I receaved from Withering's deputy 2 packetts of lers, ye one directed to yor Matie and ye whole P'liamt, the other to ye Lds in P'liamt; both wch I have sent now to Mr. Th'rer<sup>c</sup> for yor Matie. I humbly beseech yor Matie that this ler may be seene by noe other eye than yor owne, for I assure you the houses are very inquisitive after these that advertise yor Matie of any parliament busines. I hope yor Matie will now hasten for England, to put yor affaires here in good order, the armies being all disbanded but 4 regimts. I humbly beg your Maties pardon for this tedious discourse from yor Maties most humble and obedient servaunt,

I receaved yours of the 8: yesterday, this, this day, but tell my Wife, that in nether of them, there was anie from her,

If you would haue benee sure of secrecie, you should haue inclosed them under my couer.

Be confident I will as soone as I may.

EDW. NICHOLAS

It was almost nine o'clock at night before ye Com'ons did adiourne; but ye Lods adiourned at 3 in ye afternoone.

WESTMINSTER, 9<sup>o</sup> Sepbris, 1641

EDEN. 13.

'For yor sacred Matie'.

'Yours apostyled'.

In Sir E. N.'s handwriting: '9<sup>o</sup> Sepbris, 1641. apostil. 13<sup>o</sup>'.

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor Ma'tie, the ler inclosed from my Lo. Marshall will give yor Matie an accompt of ye Q. Mothers landing & recepc'on in ye Low Countries, by ye care of ye Prince of Orange. The Houses of Parliamt here begin to be att some difference one wth another; the Peers take it not well that ye Com'ons comanded to be printed an order for abolishing of innovac'ons, &c<sup>d</sup>. without their approbac'on, & thereupon their Lopps caused to be printed a former order made for observing ye Booke of Com'on Prayer, whereupon (I heare) ye Com'ons made (on thursday night a little before their adiournemt) a Declarac'on against ye Lords said former order, & some of ye Ldds have also made a protestac'on against ye same & entred it in their house, as yor Matie may perceave by ye protestacc'on herewth sent, & by the Declarac'on of ye Com'ons House, wch (I am tould) is sent to Mr. Th'rer by his sonne, but I cannot here procure a copy it<sup>e</sup>. I have herewth sent yor Matie a copy of an ordinance of both Houses concerning ye raysing & transporting of forces out of England and Irland. By a ler wch is sent in this packet from Sr John Colepeper<sup>f</sup> to Marq. Hamilton, & by another sent by young Sr H. Vane to his

I am not much sorie for it.

<sup>a</sup> This leave to serve the States does not appear on the Parliamentary Records.

<sup>b</sup> Popular prejudice had arisen to a great height against these diplomatic personages; the House of Lords having found it necessary on the 30th of August to issue an order for the punishment of some rioters who had insulted the French Ambassador and his servants.

<sup>c</sup> Sir Henry Vane.

<sup>d</sup> This is the order formerly alluded to. Previous to adjournment, on the 9th, the Lords desired a conference on the subject of orders respecting Divine Service: but the Commons, without noticing that desire, instantly passed a resolution 'that this House doth not consent to these orders, or to any of them'. The Lords who protested against the proceedings of the Upper House were Bedford, Warwick, Clare, Newport Wharton, and Kimbolton.

<sup>e</sup> Copies of these Declarations may be found in Rushworth's Collections; also in Nalson's.

<sup>f</sup> He was Chancellor of the Exchequer.



father<sup>a</sup>, yor Matie (if you call for the ye same) may see all the passages of ye Com'ons House since Munday morning, wch have beene soe various & dissonant, as may be worthy yor Maties observac'on & informac'on.

I am glad of that.

You may now say confidentlie in my name that they ar.

kingdome, I belevee it will not be difficult for you to put all things here in good order att ye next recesse, by carrying a stedy and moderate hand upon yor affaires.

*On the opposite page, in the King's hand-writing.*

I co'mand you to draw up anie such warrant, as my Wyfe shall direct you, for the disposing of the great Collar of Rubies<sup>b</sup> that is in Holland, & tell her how I have directed you to wait her co'mands in this; & that I am confident of your secrecie in this, & anie thing else, that I shall trust you with. C. R.

There hath beene nothing spoken hitherto in Parliament concerning yor Maties Generall Pardon. If yor Matie overcome all difficulties there, & make firme to you yor good people of that

Yor Matie will I hope pardon the tedious and empty lettrs wch you receive from yor Maties most humble and most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS

WESTMINSTER, 10 Sepbris, 1641

EDEN: 16:

'For yor sacred Ma'tie'.

'Yours apostyled'. 10 7bris, 1642. Apost. 16°.

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor Matie, I cannot add any thing of advertisemt worthy yor Maties notice since my last of ye 10th of this present, only I can tell yor Matie that ye Declarac'on of ye Com'ons (whereof I could not then procure a copy) is now printed, as ye Duke of Richmond<sup>c</sup> can shew yor Matie, to whome I have sent one from ye Ea. of Portland<sup>d</sup>. Mr. Th'rer's ler of ye 7th present, puts ye Queene in expectac'on every howre of lrs from yor Matie by ye Lo Carr.

Besides ye Queenes lers, yor Matie will herein receive one from my Lo. Keeper who humbly prayes yor Maties pleasure for a new Sheriff for Nottinghamshire, as Mr. Th'rer will acquaint yor Matie. I find alreddy that I shall not (now ye Parliamt is adiourned) have much occasion to trouble yor Matie wth lrs, but I shalbe never the lesse vigilant & industrious in my care to approove myself yor

Maties most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS

WESTMINSTER, 13° Sepbris, 1641

EDEN. 17.

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, I received yesterday yor Maties of the 13th of this moneth by Mr. ffrisoll, & in it a lettr to the Queene, wch I instantly presented to her Royall hands, & acquainted her wth what yor Matie comaunded

<sup>a</sup> The elder Vane continued to hold the office of Treasurer only until the 26th of November, when, immediately after the King's return, he was succeeded by Lord Falkland. Nicholas seems to desire to convey to the King in a very marked way the continued relations of intimacy and correspondence existing between the elder and the younger Vane.

<sup>b</sup> This was an affair requiring delicate management, though not now so dangerous as it became two years later, when the Parliament, understanding that the Queen had pawned the crown jewels in Holland, ordered that whoever had, or should pay, lend, send, or bring, any money or specie into the kingdom, for or upon those jewels, or accept of any bill hereafter, should be considered an enemy to the state.

<sup>c</sup> De Larrey, in his characters, describes the Duke as at the head of the royalist Lords not only from his near relationship to the King, but also on account of his personal qualities. At the early age of twenty-one he had been made a Privy Councillor, and married to the Duke of Buckingham's daughter. 'His wit, his courage, and his affection for the King, made him worthy the esteem and favour of the Court. But two qualities which he had, prevented his being serviceable to the King, who loved him: the one was, his too great diffidence of himself; and the other (quite opposite) too great a haughtiness in point of honour. By the first he rendered himself too dependent; and by the latter, too obnoxious.'

<sup>d</sup> Jerome Weston, second Earl of that title; a family now extinct.

me. Her Matie tells me she wrote lately by my I.o. Carra, & intends to write againe to yor Matie on Munday next by Mr. Wm. Murrey, & therefore forbeares to send by this packet, wch I now dispatch for conveyance of the inclosed from my Lod Keepr. I had sent the 2 letrs (wch were directed to yor Matie & ye Parliamt) under yor Maties owne cover, but that I founde it was divulged by Withering's deputy, that there were such letrs came to his hands, and by him sent to me, soe that it had beene a vayne thing for me to have concealed ye same from Mr. Th'rer, who I was sure had advertisment of them by another hand. All things here are in a great still, every one being busy in listening after the proceedings of the Parliamt in Scotland, where Mr. Th'rer writes the people are stiffe, & seeme to be resolute not to recede from their proposic'ons, wch in my poore iudgment is bad newes, and of very ill example to us here.

And this lykewais  
is meerlie for the  
conueyance of  
these two inclosed.

Ye had reason.

Eden: 23 Sept.  
1641.

I humbly thanke yor Matie for yor gracious leave granted me to reside at my house att Thorpe, for ye sickness & small pox contynues very rife in London and Westminster. I am now once a day, or att least once in 2 dayes, att Oatlands, and intended to be att Westminster every tuesday & wensday, to attend what shalbe donne there by the Comittees, having nothing in my affecc'on or ambition soe much, as by an exact dilligence & fidelity to approve myself yr Maties most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS

THORPE, 18<sup>o</sup> Sepbris, 1641

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excelt Matie, yesterday I sent by packet a letre to yor Matie from the Lo. Keeper, & should not now have troubled yor Matie, but that the oportunity of safe conveyance by this gent. doth prompt me humbly to minde yor Matie of some things in my poore opinion worthy yor Royall considerac'on.

I am confident yor Matie doth by this time cleerly perceave, how it is here insinuated upon all occasions, that Popery (wch is generally exceeding distastefull to yor subts of this kingdome) is too much favoured by yor clergy here, & in yor owne Court, & that this opinion (how vniustly soever laid by Brownists<sup>b</sup> on yor Maties governm't) hath & doth (more than any thing) preiudice yor Matie in ye esteeme & affecc'on of yor people, whose love I humbly conceive to be soe much yor Maties interest, as that it ought to be preserved & reteyned by yor Matie by all possible meanes: wherefore I humbly offer to yor Maties considerac'on, whether it be not requisite, that yor Matie should now (during this recesse) give some publique assuraunce to the contrary: wch I humbly conceive may be donne by yor pesent conferring of such Bpricks and ecclescall dignities as are now voyde vpon persons, of whome there is not the least suspic'on of favouring the Popish partie, such as may be Dr. Prideaux<sup>c</sup>, Bromwich, Gouge, Mr. Shute, & ye like, if they will in these tymes accept of such prefermts, for I assure yr Matie I am vnknowne to all and every one of them. Such men thus preferred, would not only give assurance of yor Maties firme resoluc'on to maynteyne the Protestant religion here professed, but by filling vpp of ye vacant Bpricks wth such persons, yor Matie would gayne not only their votes for

I thanke you fore  
putting me in mynd  
of the vacancie of  
Bishobrikes, there-  
fore I co'mand you  
to direct the B. of  
London to send  
me a list of all the  
vacant Bishobrikes,  
& those notes w'ch  
he & I made con-  
cerning the filling  
of those places.

Brownrigg.

<sup>a</sup> Lord Ker of Cesford; son to the Earl of Roxburgh, Lord Privy Seal of Scotland, the first peer of the family, and ancestor of the Dukes of Roxburgh.

<sup>b</sup> The 'Brownist' schism began as early as the time of Elizabeth; and their founder was able to boast, on his deathbed, that he had been in thirty-two prisons during his religious warfare with the established authorities.

<sup>c</sup> Prideaux was Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; he was made Bishop of Worcester in 1641, and died in 1650. Dr. Ralph Brownrigg, Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge, and Prebendary of Durham, was made Bishop of Exeter in 1641. Gouge and Shute were high in the confidence of the Puritan party, and remained steady to their old congregations.



Episcopacy, &c. but many more, who seeing such divines pefered, would rest confident that there is noe intenc'on to introduce or connive at Popery.

Also concerning the booke of Co'mon Prayer, (to partes whereof ye late Declarac'on of ye Co'mons House shewes there is some excep'ion), yor Matie having constituted such Bpps, may be pleased to declare yor reddines to reforme what shalbe thought amisse in it by yor clergy & Parliamt, wch will prevent those that (in a zeale wthout knowledge) seeke to overthrow ye good government & order wisely established in this church: & thus by yor Maties tymely moderac'on, you will put a bitt in their mouthes, who (vpon a popular pretence of ye reliques of Popery) cry downe all that is of good order or decency in the Church.

Hitherto, I lyke your opinion well, but c. ncerning the rest, I know not what to say, if it be not to aduertice my Wyfe of the Parlements intention concerning hir Capuchins, & so first to heare what she will say.

On the contrair I thanke you for this honnest freedome.

And for a further assuraunce of yr Maties integrity in this reformac'on, I humbly offer it to yor Maties considerac'on whether it may not be necessary (before ye next meeting in P'liamt) to send away all the Capucins<sup>a</sup> & dissolve their cloyster, for if yor Matie doe it not yorself, I am misinformed if ye P'liamt fall not vpon them when they come againe together; & it would be much more for yor Maties honr, & more acceptable to yor people, & (it may be) safer for ye Capucins, if in that particular yor Matie prevented the P'liamt.

And now I humbly beg yor Maties pardon for my presunc'on in tendering to yor great wisdom these my vndigested thoughts, wch I assure yor Matie have bene communicated to noe other person in the world, but are (wthout any p'tic'lar designe) meere the yssues of my weake iudgment & indulgent care of yor Maties honor, peservac'on & service, wch I preferre before any thing in this world that can concerne yor sacred Maties most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS

THORPE, 19 Sepbris, 1641

EDEN. 26.

'For yor sacred Matie'.

'Yours apostyled'.

Superscribed by Sir E. N.: '19<sup>o</sup> Sepbris, 1641. Apostl. 26<sup>o</sup>. his Matie thankes me for his ler and my freedome in it. It was sent by Mr. Wm. Murrey'.

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent M'tie, yesterday Sr Job Harby<sup>b</sup>, & I attended

I wonder for this, for he or Crispe<sup>c</sup>, assured me before my parting from London that it would be absolutlie free, before Bartholomytde, therefore know the cause of this mistaking houseouer I lyke the cource now taken by my Wyfe in this.

the Queene about yor Maties collar of rubies, vpon wch he saith there is alreddy 25mo. Her Matie hath let him vnderstand yor Maties pleasure concerning ye disposing of it, whereupon he hath promised that he and Sr Jo. Nulls (who hath bene formerly imployed in the pawning of it) will forthwth write to ye partie in Holland wth whome it lyes engaged, to see what more monny may be had vpon it, and if that man will not lend any further considerable som'e, then Sr Job promiseth to doe his best to procure elsewhere as much more vpon it as he can, & therewth redeeme it out of the hands where it now lyes, & get ye overplus for yor

Matie, & he assures the Queene, that he will doe this wth secrecy, and all possible dilligence.

This inclosed from my Lo. Keeper was brought to me the last night to be conveyed to yor Matie, & will I hope give yor Matie an account of yor last letr to his Lopp. Yor Matie may be pleased to procure from ye P'liament there some further reiterac'on of their declarac'on,

<sup>a</sup> This order of Roman Catholic priests had been introduced on the marriage of Charles with Henrietta Maria, and had been allowed to form an establishment here.

<sup>b</sup> He was of an ancient Northamptonshire family, the Harbys of Adston. His sister Emma was married to Robert Charlton, of Whitton, Esq., who suffered much for his loyalty in the cause of Charles the Second. Their son Sir Job was a Judge in the Common Pleas, and created a Baronet.

<sup>c</sup> This Crisp appears to be the same person afterwards engaged, in 1643, in the plan to seize the city of London for the King; to which Edmund Waller was a party, according to Rushworth's account, though Clarendon considers their plans as completely distinct.



that what yor Matie hath consented vnto concerning ye election of Officers there may not be drawne into example to yor Maties preiudice here, for if I am not misinformed there wilbe some attempt to procure the like Act heere concerning Officers before ye Act of Tonnage & Poundage wilbe passed to yor Matie for lief.

I heare that ye Committee of the Com'ons hath appointed to take into considerac'on on yor Maties Revenue ye next weeke, and that they will then set at least twice a weeke<sup>a</sup>. I am vnwilling to give yor Matie in yor great affaires there too long an interruption with the tedious lynes of yor sacred Maties most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS

THORPE, 24<sup>o</sup> Sepbris, 1641

I lyke your proposition, and shall gett as much as I may, howeuer I thanke you for your aduertisement.

I pray God, it be to good purpose, & that there be no knavery in it.

I command you to send, in my name, to all those Lords that my Wyfe shall tell you of, that they faile not to attend at the downe sitting of the Parliament.

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, being yesterday at Oatlands to attend the Queenes com'aunds, her Matie gaue me this paper inclos'd, wth comaund to send it this day to yor Matie : it was brought to ye Queene by ye Lady Carlile<sup>b</sup>, who saith she had it from ye Lo. Mandeville. I confesse it were not amise to have it published, but I had rather it should be donne by any other hand than yor Maties or ye Queenes, & therefore I could wishe yor Matie would conceale it for a day or 2, by wch tyme I know there wilbe other I shall.

The late crosse orders, & vnusuall passages in P'liam't a little before ye Recess, are so distastfull to ye wiser sorte, as it hath taken off ye edge of their confidence in parliamentary proceedings, & I verily beleeeve, that if ye Houses (when they next meete) shall approve of what was then done, it will loose them ye reverence that hath bene heretofore paid to Parliaments.

I heare there are divers meetings att Chelsey att ye Lo. Mandevilles house & elsewhere by Pym<sup>d</sup> and others, to consult what is best to be donne at their next meeting in P'liamt : & I beleeeve they will in ye first place fall on some plausible thing, that may reintegrate them in ye people's good opinion, wch is their anchor-hold & only interest ; & (if I am not much misinformed) that wilbe either vpon Papists, or vpon some Act for expunging of Officers and Counsellors here according to ye Scottish pecedent, or on both together, & therefore it will import

It were not amiss that some of my seruants met lyke-wais to countermynd ther Plots, to w'ch end speake w'th my Wyfe & receaue her directions.

<sup>a</sup> The powers given to these Committees, during the recess, were almost unlimited. In vol ix. of the *Parliamentary History*, page 537, a copy of them is inserted.

<sup>b</sup> This was the Dowager Carlisle, Lady Lucy Percy, second wife, and, at this date, widow of James Hay, first Earl of Carlisle ; a famous woman in her time, celebrated by Waller and others, and supposed to have become as intimate with Pym as she had previously been with Strafford. Clarendon accuses her of perplexing the King's affairs, and what Nicholas states of her above seems to exhibit an equal readiness to perplex the affairs of Parliament. But, being upwards of forty, she had now perhaps wholly given up amatory for political intrigues.

<sup>c</sup> Son to the first Earl of Manchester of the Montague family, and formerly a personal friend of the King, having accompanied him on his romantic journey to Spain. The nature of the paper here alluded to, may be surmised from the fact that Lord Mandeville was at this time an active member of the Parliament party, and deep in the counsels and confidence of Pym. In the preceding year he had been one of the Commissioners to arrange all causes of dispute with Scotland. He was now best known, however, as the Lord Kimbolton, having at this period been called to the Upper House for his father's barony, though retaining the title of Viscount Mandeville by courtesy. A little later, he was impeached with the five members. His brother, Walter Montague, was a bigoted Catholic priest, Abbot of Pontoise, in France, and Confessor to the Queen after the death of Father Phillips ; he is further noticed in subsequent letters.

<sup>d</sup> This was a very short time previous to the City riots, and the affair of the London apprentices. Subsequently the City found it necessary to check those riots, and Venn, one of their members, having exerted himself to keep the peace, a party pamphlet observed that the rioters would have proceeded to the Mansion House, 'but by the providence of God, and the great wisdom of Captain Ven, they were prevented.'



yor Matie, by some serious and faithfull advise, to doe some thing to anticipate or prevent them before their next meeting.

Yesterday at Oatlands I understood that Sr. Jo. Berkeley & Capt. O'Neale were come over, & that they had bene the day before privately at Waybridge : I was bould then to deliver my opinion to ye Queene, that I did beleeeve if they continued in England they would be arrested (thoughe ye P'liam't sit not) by vertue of ye warrant, that was given att first to ye Sarjant at Armes (attending ye Com'ons House) to attache them. Her Matie seemed (when I tould it to her) to appehend noe lesse, & will I believe take order that notice may be given to them of ye danger of it, but her Matie for ye pesent said she knew not where they were.

The Queene being now every day in expectac'on of lers from yor Matie (having received non since tuesday last) doth forbear to write by this dispatch.

I wonder at this,  
for all this last  
Month euery thurd  
day at furthest I  
have written to her.

Wee know not ye importance of ye affaires there that deteyne yor Matie soe long, but it is by those that wishe best to yor service here, thought very necessary that yor Matie should hasten to be here as soone as may be possible before ye 20th of 8ber ; and if yor Matie leaue behinde you some Councillors that you carryed hence, it is thought yor Councells here will not prosper the worse, nor be the lesse secreat, only it may be yor Matie may thereby deprive some menc'oned in ye paper inclosed of their wonted intelligence<sup>b</sup>. I beseech yor Matie to vouchsafe to advertise me whether this come safe to yor Royall hands, & to burne it, that it may never rise in iudgement against yor sacred Maties most humble & obedient servaunt,

THORPE, 27 Sepbris, 1641  
EDEN. 2 Oct.

EDW. NICHOLAS

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, I had noe sooner sent away my packet on Munday last but I received yor Maties apostile of ye 20th pesent, & wth it a ler to ye Queene, wch I forthwth presented to her royall hand, & yesterday I received yor Maties apostile of ye 23th of this moneth, & instantly sent away yor Maties letr to the Queene, & that to my Lo. Keeper. I tould ye Queene that yor Matie had blamed me, that in severall of my dispatches there was no ler from her Matie, for wch she hath now made a recompence by sending me two lrs, wch yor Matie shall herein receive.

Tell her that this  
doble amends is  
abondant satisfac-  
tion.

The Com'ittees of ye Peers met not yesterday, but will tuesday next. The Com'ons Comittees<sup>c</sup> met, & had before them Sr Jo. Berkley & Capt. O'Neale, who coming over lately, were (as I heare) yesterday apprehended by ye servaunt of ye Serjant att Armes (attending ye House of Com'ons) vpon ye first warraunt that was issued for taking of them, & ye Com'ittees would not bayle them, though they tendred it, alleaging they had not power to doe it.

I hope some day  
they may repent  
there seueritie.

Yesterday ye Remembrancer of the Citty of London came to me from the Lo. Mayor & Court of Aldermen, & desired me to present to you Matie the humble & dutifull thanks of the Citty for yor Maties great grace & goodnes in ye busines

<sup>a</sup> O'Neale was deeply implicated in what was called the Army Plot ; the conspiracy for bringing up the English army against the Parliament, before referred to (*ante*, p. 755), in which Percy, Wilmot, Goring, Ashburnham, and several others were engaged. May, in his *History of the Parliament*, p. 65 (Mason's edition), calls O'Neale an Irishman and a Papist ; and states that he was committed to the Tower, but escaped before trial. Berkeley was an officer of high rank, always active in the King's service, and is repeatedly mentioned by Clarendon, particularly as Governor of Exeter, which he was obliged to surrender to the Parliamentary forces.

<sup>b</sup> The allusion to the elder Vane is manifest here. The Treasurer, however, was now in his northern seat at Raby, having temporarily left the king.

<sup>c</sup> The Report of these Committees was made to the Parliament, on their meeting, by Mr. Pym. A copy of it is inserted in vol. x of the *Parliamentary History*, p. 1. Pym, in this report, says that Berkeley and O'Neale came voluntarily to him, at his lodgings in Chelsea, for the purpose of submitting to the orders of the House ; after which the deputy serjeant attached them on the first order.



of Tonnage & Poundage. I assure yor Matie that yor grac'ous ler concerning that matter hath wrought much vpon ye affecc'ons, not only of ye merchaunts, but of diuerse others of this Citty.

The Remembrancer tould me further, that ye Lod Mayor & Aldermen desired him to enquire of ye day when yor Matie wilbe here, to ye end that, according to their dutifull affecc'ons, they might meete yor Matie, to attend yor royall person in this Citty, thoughe he said ye Citty (being become poore) were not able to give yor Matie any pesent according to their custom, I have promised to let them know when yor Matie wilbe here as soone as I shall know ye certeynty of it. Of all wch I thought it my duty to advertise yor Matie, that I may therein doe nothing but what may be agreeable to yor Maties good pleasure; notwithstanding I humbly conceave it imports yor Matie to cherish ye affecc'ons & goodwill of this Citty.

When ye shall see  
littell Will : Murray  
then ye shall know  
certainlie not onlie  
of my returne, but  
also how all will  
end heere.

By letrs to partic'lar p'sons (wch I have seene) dated 25<sup>o</sup> 7bris, it is advertised from Edenb. that yor Matie hath nominated ye Lo. Lodian to be Chancellor. Whatsoever ye newes be that is come hither amongst ye partie of ye Protesters, they are observed to be here of late and cheerefull, & it is conceaved to arise from some advertisements out of Scotland, from whose acc'ons & successes they intend (as I heare) to take a patterne for their proceeding here att their next meeting. I hartely pray for yor Maties speedy & happy returne, as being (of all men) most obliged to be yor sacred Maties & most obedient servaunt,

It is Loudon not.

I belue before all  
be done that they  
will not haue such  
great cause of joy.

EDW. NICHOLAS

WESTMINSTER, 29<sup>o</sup> Sepbris, 1641

This day I receaved  
yours of the 1 : Oct.

EDEN. 5 Oct.

'For yor sacred Matie'.

'Yours apostyled'.

29<sup>o</sup> 7bris, 1641. Apost. 5 8bris.

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellnt Matie, these inclosed from ye Queene & my Lo. Keeper were brought to me ye last night late to be sent to yor Matie. I have not as yet receaved from the Bpp of London<sup>a</sup> a list of the vacant Bpricks : I beleve his Lop hath not finished the notes yor Matie & his Lopp made concerning that busines, wch he tould me were very imperfect.

I beseech yor Matie to give me leave to put you in minde that there is noe one thing that you can now doe, that will better rectify ye ielousies of yor good people, more satisfie their mindes, & settle their affecc'ons to yor Matie, then ye good choyce you make of such as yor Matie shall now appoint to be Bpps ; & as it wilbe much for yor service that ye new Bpps be plausible persons, & beyond excep'ion, soe there would be a great care had that noe Bpp be removed, of whome there is any suspic'ion of being any wayes popishly affected, or otherwise much disliked.

I dout not but in  
this to giue good  
satisfaction.

The partie here, who we say hath ye best intelligence from Scotland (wch is Mr. Pym & young Sr Hen. Vane), report that ye Ea. of Arguile<sup>b</sup> is Chauncellor of that Kingdome ; it seemes it was soe designed.

I hear Mr. Th'rer is still at Raby<sup>c</sup>, & that he will not returne to Scotl. before yor Maties coming thence, wch makes me humbly to craue yor Maties com'aund whether I shall contynue the addresse of all packets still to him, or to whome else.

Ye may see by this  
that all their desynes  
hit not, & I hope  
before all be done  
that they shall miss  
of more.

Addresse them to  
the Duke of  
Richemont.

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Juxon, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

<sup>b</sup> This report was not true, as the King observes. Argyle was not Chancellor of Scotland ; though Charles had been induced to grant him a Marquisate. In connection with the fact that he was afterwards beheaded for high treason (in the year after the Restoration), it is remarkable that in 1651, he had actually put the crown upon the head of Charles the Second at Edinburgh.

<sup>c</sup> His own country seat.

<sup>d</sup> From this, and the similar covert threats in the margin of the letter preceding, as well as in others that follow, it is obvious that the King now believed himself in possession of facts involving the probable overthrow of the popular leaders.



I assure yor Matie it is here resolved (if my intelligence doth not much deceaue me) to presse yor Matie, at ye next meeting in P'liam't for ye like Act touching ye elecc'on of officers and Councillors here, as yor Matie hath graunted to ye Scots; & in this I believe yor Matie will find a more general concurrency & accord, then hath bene in any one thing this P'liamt; for many here say, that otherwise all ye great offices and places of councillors here, wilbe filled upp wth Scotsmen. I beseech yor Matie to vouchsafe to consider well of this particular, and be pleased to conceale that you have ye advertisemt of it from me.

I beseech God to direct & assist yor Matie and yor Councillors soe as you may returne wth honour, wch shall ever be ye prayer of yr sacred Maties most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS

THORPE, 3 Octobr, 1641

EDEN. 9.

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellnt Matie, yesterday I received yor Maties com'ands by an apostile vpon my ler of ye 24th of ye last moneth, & forthwth pesented yor Maties to ye Queene, and sent that to my Lo. Keeper; & wth this yor Matie will receive 2 lettrs from ye Queene, & one from my Lo. Keeper.

It hath bene here confidently said, by those that holde correspondency wth ye Engl. Committees in Scotland, that ye Ea. of Arguile shalbe at length Chauncellor, & that ye Lod Amont<sup>a</sup> shall not be Th'rer; &, if I am not much misinform'd, they are here as peremptorily resolved to presse & put upon yor Matie a Lo. Th'rer & some other officers before they will settle yor returne, & nothing can brake their designes here but yor Maties presence; & if yor Matie do not hasten to be here some dayes before ye next meeting in Parliamt, I doubt there wilbe few that will dare to appeare here to oppose ye party that now swayeth; & I pray God there be not some designe in deteyning yor Matie there till yor affaires here be reduced to the same state they there

are in. I assure yor Matie ye opinion of wise men here is, that to have wth officers you desire in that kingdome cannot make soe much for your service there, as yor absence hence at this tyme will preiudice you in businesses of more importaunce here: and as for the Lo. Montrosse<sup>b</sup> & ye rest, some here (that pretend to understand ye condic'on of their case) are of opinion, that ther innocency is such, as they will not fare ye worse for yor Maties leaving them to ye ordinary course of justice there.

I am credibly assured, that ye Citty of London growes very weary of ye insolent carriage of ye Schismatics, finding their way of governmt to be wholly arbitrary. Alderman Gourney [Gurney] (according to his right and place) is elected Lo. Mayor notwithstanding ye opposic'on of ye factious party, throughe ye stoutnes and good affecc'on of one of ye new Sheriffs (called Clerck), who while ye factious persons were making a noyse, & would not proceede to ye elecc'on, proposed Ald'man Gourney (who I heare is very well affected & stout), & carry'd it, & ye Schismatics (who cryed noe elecc'on) were silenced wth hisses, & thereupon ye Sheriff dismist ye Court.

Yor Matie will herewth receive from my Lo. of London ye notes yor Matie sent for to him; his Lopp is soe lame in his hand & shoulder, as he was not able to write to yor Matie, for wch he beggeth yor Maties pardon. His Lop desired

me to signify that he hath sent yor Matie ye same individuall papers & notes wch yor Matie hath formerly seene, because yor Matie is best acquainted wth them: & he saith that ye Bpricks

<sup>a</sup> This was Levingston, Lord Almont, who had the first command under Lesley in the Scottish army, and was afterwards created Earl of Callendar. Charles had certainly intended to give him the office of Lord Treasurer, but was obliged to put it into commission, naming the Earls of Argyle, Glencairn, Lothian, and Lindsey, as Commissioners.

<sup>b</sup> Montrose, it is hardly necessary to remind the reader, had very recently quitted the Covenanting party, and joined the King.



that are voyde have a cipher set before them; his Lop alsoe entreated me to acquaint yor Matie that ye party whome you had in yor thoughts for ye Bprick of Chichester desires to be spared for that place, if yor Matie soe please, & at yor returne he will acquaint yor Matie wth ye reason of it.

I have tould ye Queene what yor Matie wrote to me touching ye Collar of rubies, & by her Maties co'maund I have sent to speake wth Sr Job Harby about that busines, whereof by my next I shall give yor Matie a further accompt. I shall have a care to send in yor Maties name to all such Lods (as ye Queene shall direct) not to faile to attend ye downe sitting of ye P'liamt.

The Committees of both Houses met this afternoone att a conference, they were all bare-headed during ye conference, both Lodds & Co'mons by a privatt intimac'on, but if ye Lods should have put on their hatts, ye Co'mons were resolved to have donne soe likewise. Their conference was concerning some troopers, who flock to ye Committees in soe great numbers, as they have agreed vpon an order to be forthw printed for sending them away, a copy of wch order is herewth sent. Vpon lettrs from ye Lo. Howard, and ye rest of ye Com'ittees (advertising that yor Matie will not come from Scotl. this moneth at soonest) they have leave to come home as they desire, wth power to leave any of their company behinde them if they shall see cause. The Comittee of ye Com'ons here, upon pretence that some of their lettrs have miscarryed, doe now send an expresse messenger wth their lettrs to their Comittees, & I am privatly tould that that messenger carries lettrs that advertise all their secret designs from ye close counsell that have beene held here: & that he sets not forth from hence till too-morrow noone at soonest, soe as this wil be wth yor Matie before him. I beseech God to send yor Matie a speedy, safe, & honble returne, & soe will euer pray, your sacred Maties most humble & most obedient servaunt,

WESTMINSTER,\*5: 8bris, 1641

EDW. NICHOLAS

EDEN, 12.

'For yor sacred Matie'.

In the King's writing: 'Yours apostyled'.

5a 8bris, 1641. Apostild 12°. By Sr Wm. Balletine.

### *The Queen to Sir E. Nicholas*

Maistre Nicholas, I send you the names of the Lords that I thinke fit to be send for. You must to aduertice the Bishops to be heer, so hauing no more to say I reste your assured frend,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

Cumberland, huntintong, bath, Northampton, Deeuonchier, bristoll, New-castell, Pawlett, Couentry, Seymer, Cotintong<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> The new-made Bishops were:

BRISTOL . . .	Thomas Westfield, Archdeacon of St. Alban's, of Jesus College, Cambridge.
CHICHESTER . . .	Henry King, Dean of Rochester, of Christ Church College, Oxford.
EXETER . . .	Ralph Brownrigg, Prebendary of Durham, Scholar and Fellow of Pembroke Hall, and Master of Catherine Hall, Cambridge.
NORWICH . . .	Joseph Hall, Bishop of Exeter.
SALISBURY . . .	Brian Duppa, of Christ Church, Oxford, Bishop of Chichester, Tutor to the Prince, translated to Winchester.
WORCESTER . . .	John Prideaux, Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church, died 1650.
YORK . . .	John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, Lord Keeper, died 1650.
CARLISLE . . .	James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, ob. 1655.

<sup>b</sup> Westminster was at present vacant, in consequence of John Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, afterwards Archbishop of York, having been suspended by the Court of Star Chamber. John Earl was the next holder of the Deanery.

<sup>c</sup> The Peers here meant may be easily understood, notwithstanding her Majesty's royal grant of new names. The last, which has suffered the most, is evidently intended for the Lord Cottington.

voide Bish<sup>a</sup>: ar to bee filled in a noate aparte, all wth my owen hand; where in you ar to obserue two things to him; first that I haue altered somewhat frome my former thoughts, to satisfie the tymes, & yet I hope, that I haue not disserved my selfe, in my elections: secondly, that in filling the Bish: I haue voided 3 Deaneries, to witt Westminster, St. Paules, & Rocester, wch I haue not thought fitt to fill, until my returne, because I am not yet well resolved in anie of them: onlie I intend (if the tymes will suffer it) to giue that of Westminster<sup>b</sup> to him that I intend it should have been B. of Chichester.



If you wood writt to bridgemanna<sup>a</sup> to com and to speake to all is frends in that contray is in Lencachier and so to as manie as ar your frends : for mene others I haue spokne my selfe to them already.

' For Maistre Nicholas '.

Indorsed, ' R. 5<sup>o</sup> 8bris 1641, the Queenes lettr to me '.

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, since my last of ye 7th present, I receaved yor Maties comaunds apostiled ye 2nd of this moneth, & have presented yor Maties leter to ye Queene, whereof I have herewth sent an aunsweare from her Matie, wch came this day to my hands. I have acquainted her Matie (as you were pleased to comaund) that yor Matie wished that some of yor servaunts here would meete to countermyne ye plots here, but ye Queene saith, that cannot be done in yor Maties absence. I have written lettrs to all such Lodds, as I have had direcons to send unto, to attend att ye downe sitting of ye Parliamt. Touching yor Maties Collar of Rubies, ye Queene wishes that nothing be donne in it till ye next weeke, when Sr Job Harby saith he shall receive answeare to his lers sent into ye Low Countries, & in ye meane tyme I am privatly to informe myself by what warrant that iewell was put into Sr Job Harbyes or any other hands.

I confesse not so well, but yet so much as may doe much good, therefore be diligant in it.

You shall doe well to do so.

Yor Matie will herewth receive a letr from my Lo : Lieutenant of Ireland<sup>b</sup>. The insolency & disorders of ye disbanded souldiers in & neer this towne is soe great, as ye Lods of ye Councell (who met this day at Whitehall) have thought fit that some course should be forthwth taken to disperse & send them away, & to that purpose their Lopps humbly desire to know yor Maties pleasure whether a proclamac'on shal be issued by ye Lods Com'issioners (whome yor Matie did authorise to set forth proclamac'ons upon certeyne occasions in yor Maties absence) to ye effect of ye inclosed printed order of ye Com'ittees of both Houses, (whereof yor Matie had formerly a cobby sent); but this their Lopps intend should be without taking any notice of that order, unlessse yor Matie shall expressly direct that menc'on be made of it; in this partic'lar their Lops pray yor Maties speedy resoluc'on & order.

The principall cause ye Lods meeting this day in Councell was to consider of some let'rs from Irland concerning Londonderry, whereupon they have sent to ye Lods Justices for further informac'on before they can doe any thing in it. I pray for yor Maties happy dispatch of yor great affaires there, & safe returne for England, as being yor sacred Maties most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS

WESTMINSTER, 9<sup>o</sup> Octobre, 1641

EDEN. 13.

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent Matie; I receaved (by young Sr Rob : Pye<sup>c</sup>) on Saterdag last yor Maties com'aunds by apostile of ye 5th pesent, & am much ioyed, that there is hope of yor Maties returne sooner then is generally reported here, where it is confidently said (amongst ye most authentique intelligencers in Scottish affaires), that yor Matie will not be here till Christmas, & I assure yor Matie they give forth, as if yor Matie were likely to receaue but an ill harvest of all ye paynes yor Matie hath taken : But I hope ye happy conclusion of yor businesses there, shall now very shortly, by good effects, contradict and falsify their stories.

<sup>a</sup> This most probably was Sir Orlando Bridgeman, then Master of the Court of Wards, and Attorney to the Prince of Wales; or it may have been one of his brothers, sons of the Bishop, two of whom were married into Lancashire families.

<sup>b</sup> The Earl of Leicester had received the appointment, but he never went over to take possession of his Government.

<sup>c</sup> Of Lockhamsted, Bucks, Baronet; a title now extinct.



I humbly conceaue that it may be for yor Maties honour & advantage, that ye Lo : Mayor of London wayte on yor Matie att yor returne, that you may have thereby opportunity to shew yorsell gra'cous to yor people, by speaking a short word now & then to them as you passe amongst them, to cheere & encourage them in their dutifull affecc'ons to yor Royall person ; & therefore I beseech yor Matie, that by yor next I may receave yor pleasure, whither I shall intimat to ye Lo. Mayor, that yor Matie will expect that he & his brethren attend yor Matie accordingly : And I humbly desire to know to whome I shall addresse letrs for yor Matie, when you shalbe on yor iourney hither, for that I beleeeve Mr. Thre'or will not ride soe fast as yor Matie. The occasion of this dispatch is ye inclosed from my Lo. Keeper.

I doe lyke well, that you should doe so.

To the Duke of Riche : (Richmond).

The Queene sent me word even now that she shall not write by this packet. We hope yor Maties next l'rs will satisfy yor good servaunts expectac'on here wth the desired newes of yor Maties happy & speedy returne, wch is ye earnest prayer of yor sacred Maties most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS

THORPE : Munday 11<sup>o</sup> 8bris, 1641

EDEN : 18.

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, yesterday I sent to yor Matie in myne a let'r from my Lod Keeper by packet : and this is to give yor Matie advertisemt, that ye Lodds of yor Maties Privy Councell met here this morning, to consider of some Irishe businesses, when they agreed upon a let'r to be forthwth sent to yor Matie wth their Lops advise, for divers reasons expressed in their said let'r (a copy whereof for better expedic'on is here inclosed), to giue order to yor Maties Justices in Irland to prorogue ye parliamt there (wch is to meete ye 9th of Nober) till ffebruary next : the originall under ye Lods hands shalbe sent to yor Matie as soone as it can be got signed, if yor Matie shall approve of their Lops advise, you may be pleased for better expedic'on to send one letr under yor Maties hand imediatly from Edenburg into Irland by an express messenger to ye Lodds Justices, forthwth to set forth a proclamac'on to that purpose : & another by the way of West Chester or thereabouts, least ye former should miscarry or receave delay. The Lodds of yor Maties Privy Councell here have also this day giuen order to the Justices of Peace (in & neere London) to take a course, that a more effectuall and strict order be taken for present sending away all ye disbanded souldiers (wch still pester this city) : & for shutting up of all houses infected, for that ye sicknes disperseth very much & dangerously hereabouts.

I have done this alreadie.

There was this day nothing donne by the Comittees of either House worthy yor Maties notice. There is a strong report (spred by persons of best credit here for intelligence & knowledge of ye proceedings in Scotl:) that yor Matie will not be here these 2 moneths, but what ground they have for it, I cannot learne.

There is a whispering here, as if yor Parliamt (when it meetes) would adiourne for some moneths, or to some other place : I tould my Lo: Keeper this day that if ye P'liamt should adiourne to a further day, (thoughe but for a moneth or two) before they passed ye Bill of Tonnage & Poundage to yor Matie, (the same being graunted only to ye first of Decem: next), it would put yor Matie to a great streight for want of monny to uphold yor house, & for divers other occasions : and I humbly offer it to yor Maties considerac'on, whether it may not be fitt for you to let my Lo: Keeper, & some other of yor Maties best affected servaunts of either House of P'liamt know, what you would have them to insist upon in case there should be any moc'on for a further adiournemt, before yor Maties returne, by reason of ye sicknes, wch growes soe rife & dangerous, as will make such a moc'on willingly hearkened unto. My humble & earnest prayers shalbe still for a prosperous dispatch of yor affaires there, & for yor Maties speedy & safe returne, there being

I would not have that intention hindered, Cambridge would be best.

For this, I would haue you consult with the Keeper & others of my servaunts what to doe in it, leaving it to your discretions to doe as you shall see cause, but I would have the adiournement furthered by anie means. As I haue bene sufficientie slandered heere, in sume respects, so



there also I heere  
that I haue not  
mist those good  
offices, though in  
an other kynde, as  
being resolved, at  
my retorne, to alter  
the forme of the  
Churche gouernement  
in England to  
this heere: therfor  
I com'and you to  
assure all my  
seruants there that  
I am constant for  
the Doctrine &  
Disipline of the  
Churche of England  
as it was established  
by Queene Elis. &  
my Father, &  
resolues, (by the  
grace of God) to  
liue & dey in the  
maintenance of it.

If your owen ob-  
servation doe not  
sufficiently tell you,  
lett my Wyfes direc-  
tion gyde you.

It will be well done.

This inclosed is ye letr from ye Lodds of yor Maties Privy Counsell, whereof in my last by Mr. Mungo Murrey<sup>a</sup> I sent a copy: their Lopps, as soon as they rose from Councill, (& before ye letr was drawne) dispersed themselves to their severall homes in ye country, wch is ye cause (as I am tould), that it was this day before it was brought signed to me for yor Matie. The more secrecy and expedic'on there is used in dispatch of yor Maties letr to ye Lodds Justices (if you shall approve of their Lopps advise) ye better, & that made me presume to hasten to yor Matie ye copy, before ye letr itself was signed. I finde that ye Com'ttees of both Houses (by reason of ye contynuaunce of ye sicknes) incline to be very earnest, when ye Parliamt meets next, to perswade a further adiournemt for a tyme, but Mr. Pym, & those of his party, will not heare that ye P'liamt shalbe held any where but in London or Westminster: I hope yor Matie (if you shall stay there past ye 18th present) will send some direcc'ons to yor servaunts here how to apply their endeavours in P'liamt, in case there shalbe any debate touching an adiournemt.

I haue given suf-  
ficient order in all  
this already.

I have herewith by ye Queenes com'aund sent yor Matie ye draught of a warrant for yor Matie hand for ye delivery of yor Maties Collar of Rubies to Sr Wm Boswell for yor Maties use: I tould Sr Job Harby, that Sr Wm was to kepe it till yor Matie should send for it. The Queene tould me yesterday, that she would write to yor Matie to be pleased wth yor owne hand to give Sr Wm Boswell order what to doe wth ye said Collar, for it is apparent, that

I haue syned it, &  
therefor see that it  
be immediatly sent  
ouer, for tell my  
Wyfe that I shall  
loose no tyme in  
sending to Sr Will:  
Boswell<sup>b</sup> as she  
desyres.

noe man so much obliged to yor Matie for yor grac'ous favour, as yor Maties most humble & most obedient servaunt,

WESTMINSTER, 12<sup>o</sup> 8bris. 1641

EDW. NICHOLAS

EDEN: 18:

Superscribed 'For yor Sacred Matie'.

Written by the King: 'Yours apostyled'.

Written on the back by Sir E. N. 'Sent by Mr. Mungo Murrey, and recd back by 'e post boy of Barbican the 23th at Westr at 9 at nyght. His Matie is constant in ye doctrine & discipline of ye Church.'

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, I receaved yesterday yor Maties apostile of ye 9th pesent by Mr. Barkley, & have (according to yor Maties com'and) addressed this packet to ye Duke of Richmond, & shall soe contynue my addresses, untill I shall understand of Mr. Th'ers retorne to Court. Yor Matie com'aunds me to advise wth some of yor best servaunts here, how to pevent the intenc'ons of some here to presse yor Matie at ye next meeting in P'liamt for ye like Act touching ye elecc'on of officers & councillors here, as you have graunted in Scotland. I (wth all humility) assure yor Matie, that I conceive it no lesse difficult for me (now in yor absence when ye awe of the Parliamt is upon all in generall) to discern who are yor Maties best servaunts here, then it is almost impossible for such yor servaunts, to know what to doe or advise, to pevent soe plausible a designe, wch in my poor opinion nothing can soe well divert, as yor Maties speedy retorne: but of this intend forthwth to speake wth the Queene.

<sup>a</sup> Murrey (Mungo) was a confidential servant and gentleman of the bedchamber to the King, who often entrusted him with private correspondence. In February, 1646, whilst the King was in the power of the English Commissioners at Newcastle, Murrey, having obtained leave of absence on pretence of visiting Scotland, was admitted to his Majesty's presence before witnesses for the purpose of kissing his hand. The Commissioners, however, observed something put into his hand by the King; and having followed him, when out of the presence, they searched him, and found a letter in cypher directed to Montreuil the French agent. The letter was immediately sent up to the Parliament, and Murrey committed to prison, but admitted to bail after two days' confinement.

<sup>b</sup> Boswell seems to have been an old confidential servant of the King, who mentions him as his agent in 1634, in a letter to the Queen of Bohemia. See *Bromley's Royal*



these merchaunts dare not have a hand in the engaging of it, but they say they will take order that, upon receipt of yor Maties warraunt, it shalbe safely delivered accordingly.

If yor Matie shall stay long from hence<sup>a</sup>, I humbly pray yor Matie wilbe pleased to let me understand wh whome you would have me to advise concerning yor affaires here, & that yor Matie would vouchsafe to let them know, how farre yor Matie would have them to confide in me in any yor Maties services, that I may have ye more credit wth them, when I shall have occasion to attend them, & be ye better able to annsweare yor Maties expectac'on. I haue not bene att Oatlands since Mr. Berkley came, but am this morning going to wayte on ye Queene, to know if her Matie hath any com'aunds for yor sacred Maties most humble & obedient servaunt,

I haue tould you  
in my former  
Dispatches.

I shall doe this.

THORPE; 15 8bris, 1641

EDEN: 20:

EDW. NICHOLAS

'For yor sacred Matie'. By the King: 'Yours apostyled'.

15<sup>o</sup> 8bris 1641. Apost: 20. R. 25<sup>o</sup> at 9. at night.

### *Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, yor Maties sent by Sr Wm Ballatine<sup>b</sup> were delivered here ye 18th of this moneth by 4 in ye afternoone.

Upon letrs from ye Englishe Com'ittees now in Scotl: to ye Com'ittee here, relating ye newes of Mar: Hamiltons, the Ea. of Arguiles, and Ea: of Lannericks abandoning ye Court & Parliamt therec, our Com'ittee here was yesterday in a great fright, & (declaring that they conceived the same to be a plot of ye Papists there, & of some Lodds & others here,) sent pésent order to ye Lo: Mayor &c. to dubble ye gardes & watches of this Citty & Suborbs, & it is thought that this business will this day in Parliament be declared

I was the lesse  
carefull to send a  
perfect relation of  
this business,  
because I sent one  
of whose discretion  
& knowledg I was  
& am so confident,  
that I thought his  
discourse of the

*Letters*, p. 67. He was also in the confidence of the Palatine Princes about the same time. *Bromley*, p. 79. He was at this period the British Resident at the Hague, but afterwards fell into disgrace, as we find by a subsequent letter of the Queen of Bohemia.

<sup>a</sup> On this day the King wrote a letter to the Lord Keeper, desiring him to inform the Parliament that he was unavoidably detained, but that he would make all diligence to return. This was read to the Lords on the 26th.

<sup>b</sup> Afterwards Lord Ballenden, the first Peer of that name. In 1640 he appears, by *Bromley's Letters*, pp. 115, 116, to have been attached as Minister at the Palatine Court. He was much in the confidence of all the branches of the Royal Family; and obtained his peerage from Charles the Second for his very useful and active services during the Usurpation.

<sup>c</sup> This is the affair which, in the history of that time, went by the name of 'The Incident'. See Pym's Report of the Committees on the re-opening of Parliament, which may be referred to in vol. x of the *Parliamentary History*, p. 5. Lord Lanerick's (or Lanark's) relation of it may be seen in Hardwicke's State Papers, vol. ii, p. 299, wherein he asserts that there was a plan laid, by the opposite party, to cut the throats of himself and the two Lords mentioned in this letter; and he adds, that their 'abandoning the Court and Parliament' was literally nothing more than quitting Edinburgh in order to save their lives. All that is absolutely known in the matter is, that Charles had summoned these three Lords to attend his Court; but that they not only absented themselves, but quitted the city, and placed their houses in a state of defence; and that on the King demanding an investigation to clear his honour, a secret committee of the Scotch Parliament made a report in exculpation of his Majesty, but justifying the three Lords in the course they had taken. Clarendon says that Montrose had advised and 'frankly' undertaken the assassination of Hamilton, his brother Lanerick, and Argyle; and whatever reception may have been given to this proposal (which there is no ground for thinking that the King for a moment sanctioned), it is hardly to be doubted that schemes were now on foot between Montrose and Charles, embracing a simultaneous movement in the three kingdoms, and sufficiently explaining the alarm and excitement of the Parliamentary leaders, especially on the sudden breaking out of the Irish rebellion. It should be added that the friends of Montrose strenuously assert, in opposition to the statement of Clarendon, that his secret proposal to the King was not for the murder, but simply for the arrest, of Argyle, and the Hamiltons.



business as hauing  
beene an ey witness  
would haue satisfied  
more than anie  
written relation,  
therefore I desyre  
you to call on him  
in my name to  
satisfie well affected  
persones, of the  
treuth of that w<sup>ch</sup>  
passed while he was  
heere; &, for what  
hath passed since, I  
haue directed the  
D: of Rich: to  
giue you such an  
account as there is.

to be a greater plot against the Kingdomes and Parliamts in Eng: & Scotl: then hath bene discovered at all. There have bene some well-affected parliamt-men here wth me this morning to know whether I had any relac'on of that busines, but finding I had none, but only a few words from Mr. Sec'rie Vane, wch I shewed to them, they seemed much troubled, as not knowing what to say to it: I hasten this of purpose to give yor Matie notice hereof, & to pray yor Matie, that there may be sent hither wth all possible dilligence a full & p'fect relac'on of ye present disturbance there, & the cause & grounds thereof, & what upon exa'iac'on it appeares to that parliamt to be: all wch, I humbly wishe may be certefyed hither in as authentique a way<sup>a</sup>, & from

as vnsuspected a hand as may be.

If Mr. Secr'ie Vane had written to me, or any of his friends here, a true narrac'on

It is now under  
examination, w<sup>ch</sup>  
as soone as it (is)  
ended you shall be  
sure to haue.

of that busines, it would have given much satisfacc'on here, and stopped the causles alarmes that are taken vpon ye noyse of it, that busines being now by ye relac'on of diuerse Scotsmen here made much worse, then I beleeeve it will prooue in ye end.

The Queene tould me yesterday that she will wryte to yor Matie this night or too morrow, but I thought it not fitt to deferre this packet now for her Maties lettr, which shalbe hastened away as soone as I shall receave it. The inclosed from Sr Art: Hopton<sup>b</sup>, I receaved from my Lo: Cottington wth direcc'on to send it to yor Matie.

Yor Matie will I hope pardon this hasty expression of the humble diligence of yor sacred Maties most humble & most obedient seruaunt, EDW. NICHOLAS

As I was closing this, I receaved for yor Maties this lettr from my Lo: Marshall.

Written by the King: 'Those of yours, wch I returne not to you apostyled, I alwais burne'.

WESTMINSTER, 20: 8bris, 1641

EDEN. 24.

'For yor sacred Matie'.

'Yours apostyled'.

20. 8bris, 1641. Apost. 24° 8bris.

R. 30 at 7 at night at Thorpe. Rec. of Captain Smith.

### *Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, I hope my ler, wch I hastily wrote to yor Matie yesterday by packet, wilbe come to yor Royall hands before this, & that wee shall speedily receaue a relac'on of this busines concerning the Marquis & ye rest, wch all yor seruaunts here call for very earnestly.

Yor Maties lettr to my Lo: Keeper was carefully delivered to his owne hands yesterday before ye sitting of ye Parliamt, but his Lopp tells me, that ye effect of it was knowne here some dayes before he receaved it: wch is an infinite peiudice to yor Maties affaires here; such anticipation of yor Maties direcc'ons in businesses of importaunce renders ye same impossible, or extreame difficult, to be effected: And I observe that ye perfect intelligence, that is here of all yor Maties resoluc'ons & proceedings there, puts lief and spiritt into some here, who wthout that encouragemt & light, would (I beleeeve) pay more reverence to yor Maties counsell and acc'ons.

When yor Matie hath made stay ye disbanding of 5 companies remayning in Barwick<sup>c</sup>, it is here thought fit not to make any

Of this I much  
wonder, for on my  
credit I acquainted  
nobody with the  
contents thereof, &  
am verie confident  
that none heere  
knew whether I  
writt to him or not:  
therefor I think it  
fitt that you should  
try as much as may  
be how this is come,  
& whether it be an  
intelligence or  
conjectur.

<sup>a</sup> The Parliament met this day; the first time after the recess.

<sup>b</sup> He was uncle to Sir Ralph Hopton, the famous Royalist General; and, when the latter was created Lord Hopton, Sir Arthur was named heir in remainder, in default of issue male; but, dying before his nephew, he never enjoyed those honours. He was of a Somersetshire family, the Hoptons of Wytham.

<sup>c</sup> The jealousy of the Parliament about Berwick was so very great, that when the Scottish army, upon their return in August, wished to march through that garrison, a wooden bridge was actually ordered to be built over the Tweed, at some distance from the town.



order to ye contrary, but it is declared (as I heare) that from ye 15th of this moneth (wch was ye tyme appoynted by ye Houses for disbanding all that garrison) those companies shall have no further pay from ye Commonwealth as it is called, and concerning this, there is to be speedily a conference wth ye Lodds, wth ye issue whereof I shall acquaint yor Matie by my next.

Sir Jo. Berkley was yesterday com'itted to ye Tower, & Capt. O'Neale to ye Gatehouse by ye House of Co'mons vpon ye old business<sup>a</sup>. Yor Matie will herewth receive a copy of ye letr sent hither by ye Com'ittees in Scotland, and of ye order made thereupon ye day before ye P'liamt by ye Com'ittees here. I have pesented yor Maties letr to ye Bpp of London, who hath promised to use all possible expedic'on in p'formaunce of yor Maties comaunds therein.

The Lodds Commissioners have given order for peparing a Proclamac'on for pesent dispersing & sending away of ye disbanded souldiers<sup>b</sup>, as yor Matie directed by yor apostile of the 13th of this moneth. My Lo: Keeper delivered me this morning to be sent to yor Matie this paper, wch was pesented to his Lop in ye nature of a protestac'on by ye persons therein vndernamed: his Lopp tells me he hath formerly acquainted yor Matie wth that busines. My Lo: of Bristoll<sup>c</sup> tould me this day, that he heares from severall hands, that there is an intenc'on to question his Lop, & his sonne ye Lo: Digby, but he knowes not for what, & he tells me that nothing shall deterre him from p'formaunce of his duty. This day there was twice read in ye Com'ons House a Bill for taking away the Votes of Bpps in ye Vpper House, and that Bill is comitted, and it is said it will passe both Houses wthin two days. The disobedience against ye order of ye House of Co'mons concerning innovac'ons, was this day questioned in that House, & after a long debate, there was no way found or resolved on, to punishe those that disobeyed ye same, for that that order was conceived by most in yt House not to be iustifyable by lawe, & therefore not binding<sup>d</sup>.

I have herewth sent yor Matie some notes of ye effect of ye conference this day betweene ye 2 Houses. I beseech God amongst those great distracc'ons to peserve yor Matie in safety: & I beseech yor Matie to give me leave once more to put you in minde to hasten hither a true relac'on of ye vnhappy interrupc'on of yor affairs there, for I find, that yor servaunts here are much disheartened that they are kept soe long in darknes in a busines soe highly importing yor honr, & yor Maties owne person. I expected a letr from ye Queene for yor Matie this day, but I beleeve her Matie pu'poses to send her letrs by an expresse; for that there are none come from her Matie as yet to be conveyed by yor sacred Maties most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS

WESTMINSTER, 21<sup>o</sup> 8bris, 1641

EDEN: 28:

'For yor sacred Matie'.

'Yours apostyled'.

Apost: 28 8bris.—R. 1<sup>o</sup> Nobris. at 5 at night, by Mr. Wm. Murray.

<sup>a</sup> It was also ordered, the Lords should be desired to examine those gentlemen respecting the charges brought against them.

<sup>b</sup> May, in his *History of the Parliament*, says that both the armies, English and Scotch, 'quietly departed, conducted to their owne homes by order from Justices of Peace through the several counties.'

<sup>c</sup> The Earl of Bristol had mingled much in party politics previous to this date. He had been Ambassador to Spain in proposing Charles's marriage with the Infanta, and was afterwards impeached in Parliament respecting the treaty and its failure; but he had such influence with the House of Commons as to bring about a counter impeachment against the Duke of Buckingham. This may account for his hostility to Charles's friend, Lord Strafford, though the increasing probabilities of civil war now induced him to support the Royal Cause.

<sup>d</sup> None of these circumstances are stated in the *Parliamentary History*; yet they are important additions to the record of those times.

Before this, that is satisfied.

I remember that I had some discourse w'th the Eng: Par: men about Prorogation, but I'm confident that it was after my Lett: was written, if it were serious, all others wer in consequence of the Plague at randome.

For diversion of this & other mischeefes, I would ye should put Bristo in mynde to renew that dispute betwixt the two Houses, concerning the Parliament Protestation wch Southampton was so fearse upon.

In this, I hope, this dispache will satisfie your longings, but I belive, not some of your expectations.



*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, I receaved Satterday night last yor Maties of ye 18th pesent, & have safely delivered yor Maties to ye Queene & my Lo: Keeper : the messenger that was sent wth yor Maties said l'ter, (bruysing himself wth a fall from his horse soe as he was not able to ride) sent yor Maties to me single by ye ordinary post, wch made me suspect that it had bene intercepted, but it came very safe. I have alreddy made known to diverse Lodds & others yor Maties pious resoluc'on to mainteyne constantly ye doctryne & disciplyne of ye Church of England, & have by their advise delivered extracts (of what yor Matie hath written) to diverse of yor Maties servaunts, that yor piety therein may be vnderstood by yor good people here.

The Queene sent Sr Wm Ballatine from hence on Friday last, & he going im'ediately from Oatlands wthout calling here, I lost ye opportunity of sending by him, but I peared my l'ter of ye 23th reddy for him, wch I have now sent by this gent. Mr. Tho. Elliot.

Wee here begin to appehend that in ye great troubles there, some of yor Maties packets may miscarry, & therefore I held it my duty to let yor Matie vnderstand, that since myne of ye 12th (wch yor Matie hath return'd) I have sent to yor Matie letrs of ye 15th & 18th, both wch were addressed in packets to ye D. of Richmond, & afterwards 2 other packets of ye 20th & 21th directed to Mr. Th'rer.

As concerning ye adiournemt of ye P'liamt here, my Lo: Keeper tells me, that he hath, by his l'ter sent in myne of ye 21th fully acquainted yor Matie how ye expectac'on was here frustrated. The Vpper

House did Satterday last reade ye Bill transmitted to them by ye Comons, for taking away ye votes of Bpps, & intend (as I heare) to speede it as fast as may be, notwithstanding it is said to be against ye auntient order of P'liamt to bring in a Bill againe the same Sessions, that it was reiecteda. Yor Maties best servaunts here remayne still in great payne, that in all this tyme they have not receaved any pefect relac'on of ye late disorders at Edinb: concerning Mar: Hamilton & ye rest, & they are the more impatient, in regarde they heare that some of ye Com'ons house have coppies of ye examinac'ons taken in that busines, & other aduertisemts touching ye same. I beseech God to send yor Matie forth of that laberinth of troubles there, & a safe & honble returne for Engl: wch willbe most welcome to all honnest men here, and to none more than to yor sacred Maties most humble and most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS

WESTMINSTER, 25° 8bris, 1641

EDEN. 30.

Written by the King: 'I hope this ill newes of Ireland<sup>b</sup> may hinder some of theas follies in England'.

'For yor sacred Matie'.

'Yours apostyled'.

25° 8bris 1641. Apost. 30 8bris.

Rec. 4° Nobris in ye morning.

<sup>a</sup> The Lords, however, did not proceed so far, until, on the 22nd of October, the House of Commons sent up Mr. Holles 'to put them in mind of their complaint exhibited against the thirteen Bishops who made the last new Canons, and to pray a speedy proceeding therein.'

<sup>b</sup> This is an allusion to the rebellion which broke out on the 25th of October. The King's memorandum, or apostyle, is dated the 30th. The return of the letter to Sir Edward, on the 4th of November, is a further proof of the rapidity with which, upon occasion, news might travel at that period. As for Ireland generally, and the King's notion of the value of a parliamentary mode of government there, it may be worth quoting an anecdote preserved in an old tract in the British Museum; where, in conversation with the Earl of Pembroke, in March 1641, his Majesty is reported to have said, 'The businesse of Ireland will never be done in the way that you are in; four hundred will never do that work; it must be put in the hands of one. If I were trusted with it, I would pawn my head to end that work. And though I am a beggar myself, yet (speaking with a strong asseveration) I can find moneye for that.'



*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, I sent to yor Matie ye 25th of this present 2. letres by Mr. Elliot<sup>a</sup>, & ye same night I receaved yor Maties apostile of ye 20th, and pesently sent away yor Maties to ye Queene, & delivered that to my Lo: Keeper. I shall forthwth deliver yor Maties warrt to Sr Job Harby, & hasten ye dispatch of that busines.

I have herein sent yor Matie a copy of an order made by the Peers concerning ye jurisdic'on of ye Archbp. of Cant. In this packet there is sent to yor Matie by my Lod. of London severall Bills for yor Maties signiture for ye new Bps, wth a ltr from his Lop touching that busines.

Hen. Vane wil  
returne all those  
syned by mee wth  
this Packe to my  
L: of Lon:

There is still kept here a strict garde & watch about ye Parliamt houses of 100 of ye trayned bands, besides diverse other watchmen: ye petence is an apprehension of some conspiracy of ye Papists against ye P'liamt here, answerable to that against some Lods in Scotl: & ye alarme of popishe plots amuse and fright ye people here, more then any thing, & therefore that is ye drum that is soe frequently beaten upon all occasions; & ye noyse of an intenc'on to introduce Popery was that wch first brought into dislike wth the people ye government both of ye Church and Comonwealth. I have not bene sparing to make knowne yor Maties pious resoluc'on to mainteyne ye doctrine & disciplyne of the Church of Engl: wch I perceave gives very good satisfac'on.

My Lo: Keeper having occasion to wayte on ye Queene this day, did yesterday move ye House for leave, & tould their Lops that my Lo: Bankes had a co'mission dormant to be Speaker in his absence, but ye Lods said they would chuse their owne Speaker, & soe named ye Lo. P. Seale<sup>b</sup>, whereupon my Lo. Keeper said he would (to avoide all question) rather stay, but ye Lods pressed him not to forbear his journey, least ye Queene might take it ill, & soe his Lop goes this day to Oatlands, & ye Lo. P. Seale is to be Speaker in his absence.

I comand you to  
speake with the  
Keeper and my  
L: Bankes to see  
if it can bee war-  
anted by anie rule  
or president that the  
Vpper House may  
chuse there  
Speaker.

Judge Berkley<sup>c</sup> was yesterday att ye bar in ye Vpper House, & there heard his charge read, to wch he pleaded not guilty, & made a prudent answeare; whereupon tyme is given him till Tuesday next to produce witnesses concerning soe much of his charge as relates to misdemeanors. The House of Com'ons did yesterday by vote declare, that ye 13 Bishops<sup>d</sup>, (who are questioned for making ye new cannons,) ought not to haue vote in ye Lods House in any busines: & they are this day to have a conference wth ye Lods thereupon, & also touching ye excluding of all ye Bps from voting in ye Bill (wch is passed ye Com'ons House) to take away totally ye Bps votes<sup>e</sup>. All yor Maties best servaunts here pray for yor Maties speedy & happy dispatch of affaires there, conceaving yor pesence would be of very much

You shall do well to  
put the B: of Lin-  
colne in mynde  
concerning the  
pardon I thought  
fitt those 13 Bps  
should haue for a  
premunire, that  
you may giue order  
to the Atur: for it  
in my name if he  
shall thinke it fitt.

<sup>a</sup> This is the same person to whom, in 1642, the Lord Keeper Lyttelton delivered the Great Seal, when the King sent him for it. Lyttelton, terrified at what he had done, fled immediately afterwards to join the King at York. May states him to have been 'a young gentleman, and Groom of the Privy Chamber to his Majesty'.

<sup>b</sup> Henry Earl of Manchester.

<sup>c</sup> He was Justice of the King's Bench; was committed to the Tower by the Lords on a charge of high treason, and afterwards fined in the sum of 20,000*l.*, besides being declared incapable of all further administration of justice.

<sup>d</sup> These were Walter Carle, Bishop of Winchester; Robert Wright, B. Coventry and Lichfield; Godfrey Goodman, B. Gloucester; Joseph Hall, B. Exeter; John Owen, B. St. Asaph; William Piers, B. Bath and Wells; George Cook, B. Hereford; Matthew Wren, B. Ely; William Roberts, B. Bangor; Robert Skinner, B. Bristol; John Warner, B. Rochester; John Towers, B. Peterborough; Morgan Owen, B. Landaff.

<sup>e</sup> The Bill went further than Sir Edward reports, for it included 'Bishops and other persons in holy orders'. It was to shut them not only out of Parliament, but also from the Privy Council, the Commission of the Peace, or the execution of 'any temporal authority, by virtue of any commission'. A pamphlet strongly marking the direction of the public feeling was at this time industriously and widely circulated, under the title of, 'Lord Bishops none of the Lord's Bishops'.



advantage to yor services here, & this is also ye earnest prayer of yor sacred Maties most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS

WESTMINSTER, 27<sup>o</sup> 8bris, 1641.

EDEN : 2 : No :

By the King : ' I co'mande you to direct my L : Keeper in my name to issew out a Proclamac'on co'manding all Parliament Men to attend on the Parliament. Thanke Southampton in my name, for stopping the Bill against the Bishops : &, that at my co'ming, I will doe it myselfe '.

' For yor sacred Matie '.

' Yours apostyled '.

27 8bris Apost. 2<sup>o</sup> 9bris. R. 6<sup>o</sup> 9bris 1641 at 6. at night, by Mr. Bruncker.

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, my last to yor Matie was of ye 27th pésent, wch I sent by packet addressed to Mr. Th'rer. Yor Maties long absence encourages some to talke in Parliamt of highe matters. It was yesterday in debate in ye Com'ons House, that ye Parliamt may have the approbac'on of all officers, councellors, amb'dors, and ministers, and yor Matie ye nominac'on<sup>a</sup>. The reasons alleged for it were, first that it had bene soe heretofore, & soe is conceived to be an auntient right : 2ly that ye ill effects that have bene by ye councells & acc'ons of olde officers, councellors, &c. & ye feares that there may be ye like by the new ; will make all that hath bene hitherto donne nothing, if this may not be graunted to secure them, whereby the kingdome may be as well peserved as purged. 3dly that yor Matie did heare partic'lar & privat mens advise in ye choyce of yor offirs, councellors, &c. & therefore it can be noe derogac'on for yor Matie to take therein ye advise of ye P'liament. Some said that untill such things as these shalbe granted they cannot wth a good conscyence supply yor Maties necessities : after a long debate this busines was at length referred to a Select Com'ittee to pepare forthwth heads for a peton to be pésented to yor Matie to receive the P'liamts approbac'on of such officers, councellors, &c. as yor Matie shall choose, for better pevenc'on of ye great & many mischeifs that may befall ye Comonwealth by ye choyce of ill councellors, officers, amb'dors & ministers of state, wch peton is to be ripened wth all speede & to be pésented to ye House : there appeared soe many in ye Com'ons House against this busines, that some conceive that there wilbe noe further proceeding in it, but I doubt it : howsoever I may not forbear to let yor Matie know, that the Lo: ffalkland, Sr Jo. Strangwishe<sup>b</sup>, Mr. Waller, Mr. Ed. Hide, & Mr. Holborne, & diverse others stood as Champions in maynten'nce of yor Prerogative, and shewed for it unaunswerable reason & undenyable pesedents, whereof yor Matie shall doe well to take some notice (as yor Matie shall thinke best) for their encouragm't.

I co'mande you to doe it in my name, telling them that I will doe it myselfe at my returne.

The Com'ons House having gotten notice of ye new Bpps<sup>c</sup> that are now making,

<sup>a</sup> A highly figurative and elaborate speech was made on this occasion by ' Master Smith, of the Inner Temple ', which he has done posterity the favour to publish. In one part he observes : ' Prerogative and Liberty are both necessary to this kingdom ; and, like the sun and moon, give a lustre to this benighted nation, so long as they walk at equal distances ; but when one of them shall venture into the other's orb, like those planets in conjunction, they then cause a deeper eclipse '. He then concludes a string of uncouth metaphors by assuring the House that it was necessary ' so to provide that the Mæcnas's of the times may not, like great jacks in a pool, devour their inferiors, and make poverty a pavement for themselves to trample on.'

<sup>b</sup> Sir John Strangeways, knt., of Melbury Stampford, Dorsetshire.

<sup>c</sup> The superstitious feeling which entered largely into all the judgments of political events at this period is curiously exemplified by a contemporary writer, speaking of the occurrences immediately after Charles's return : ' It happened one day, as some of the ruder sort of citizens came by Whitehall, one busie citizen must needs cry, " No Bishops !" Some of the gentlemen issued out of Whitehall, either to correct the sauciness of the fool in words, if they would serve, else, it seemes, with blowes ; what passed on either side in words none but themselves knew ; the citizen, being more tongue than souldier, was wounded, and I have heard dyed of his wounds received at that tyme : it hath been affirmed by very many, that in or near unto that place where this fellow was hurt and wounded, the late King's head was cut off, the Scaffold standing just over that place.'



some did mervale that any man should move yor Matie for making of Bps in these tymes, when it is well knowne how great complaints are against them in generall, & some would have had a peton or message to be sent to pray yor Matie to be pleased to stay ye constituting of any more Bps till ye busines concerning Episcopacy shalbe determyned : but this moc'on was not resented in ye House, & soe ye discourse thereof fell<sup>a</sup>.

On the contraire I command you to take order that these Billes bee expedited that they may with all possible diligence attend the Parlement.

There was yesterday a great debate in ye Upper House about ye Bill for taking away ye Bps votes, & it was very doubtfull, after a long dispute, wch side was likeliest to carry itt, but att length both sides agreed to put off ye further debate thereof till ye 10th of Novr next, before wch tyme it wilbe tryed, of what vallidity ye impeachmt against ye 13 Bps will proove to be.

The considerac'on of these partic'lar passages may be sufficyent to move yor Matie to hasten yor returne & I shall take ye boldnes to ad to it one more, wch I observed at ye Councell Borde, when Marq: Hertford<sup>b</sup> moved ye Lodds (upon occasion of these words in Mr. Th'rsers lett'r to me, viz. that he did hope ye P'liamt of Engl. would interpose & hasten yor Maties returne) to consider whether it might not be fit to move ye P'liamt here to that purpose ; most of ye rest of ye Lodds of ye Councelle declyned it, in regarde ye ler was not written to ye Boorde but to me, & that Mr. Th'rer left it to my choyce whether to acquaint them wth it or noe ; whereby I observe that every one of yor Maties Pr. Councelle is not fond of yor speedy returne hither. Yor Matie can best make iudgmt by there carriages how much it imports you to hasten hither.

I have delivered yor Maties warraunt concerning yor Collar of Rubies, and am promised that this weeke order shalbe sent into ye Low Countries for delivery of ye same accordingly wth all dilligence possible. The Queene toulde me on Wensday last, that she would send an expresse to yor Matie wthin a few dayes, wch I beleeeve she hath donne by this tyme. This from my Lo. Keeper was delivered to me for yor Matie this afternoone.

I assure yor Matie I have bene warn'd by some of my best friends to be wary what I wryte to yor Matie, for that there are many eyes upon me both here & in Scotl. & that l'trs that come to yor Royall hands doe after oft miscarry & come to others view : albeit this shall not deterre me from p'formance of my duty in advertising yor Matie of all things that shall occurre to my knowledge of certeynty, importing yor Maties service, yet I humbly beseech yor Matie to vouchsafe to keepe to yorself what I take ye freedome to imparte, least, in these tymes, that may be rendred to be treason in me, wch I humbly conceive to be ye duty of yor sacred Maties most humble and most obedient servaunt,

It is a Ley.

I shall.

I receaued this on Wednesday last. When ye deliver this inclosed to my Wyfe, desyre her not to open it but when she is alone.

EDW. NICHOLAS

WESTMINSTER, 29<sup>o</sup> 8bris, 1641

EDEN. 6 Nov.

Apost. 6<sup>o</sup> 9bris. Red 11<sup>o</sup> 9bris by Mr. Tho. Killegrewe<sup>c</sup>.

### *Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellt Matie, the 29th of ye last moneth I sent yor Matie a ltr in a packet adressed to Mr. Th'rer, & on Saterdag last about 7 at

<sup>f</sup> <sup>a</sup> The *Parliamentary History* asserts that the motion for a conference with the Lords, for the purpose of drawing up a petition on this subject, was carried, on a division, by 71 to 53.

<sup>b</sup> Hertford, at this period, was Governor to the Prince of Wales. This branch of the Seymours became extinct in 1675.

<sup>c</sup> This is the gentleman of facetious memory, generally known only as the Court buffoon of the succeeding reign, but who had other claims, not generally understood, upon the Royal notice. At this period he was, or had been, page to Charles the First ; and was afterwards an attendant upon Charles the Second during his exile. Some allusions are made to him in subsequent letters ; particularly where the Queen of Bohemia solicits a commission for him. His family was also, in some degree, connected with the Royal family, by the marriage of Mary, daughter of Sir William Killegrewe, with Frederic of Zulestein, an illegitimate son of Henry Prince of Orange.



night I receaved by Capt. Smith<sup>a</sup> yor Maties co'maunds apostiled 24<sup>o</sup> 8bris, & according to yor Maties co'maunds I gave him yor Maties ltr to pesent it to ye Queene. The relac'ons wch are here made by any that come from thence, are (for ye most pte) varied & reported afterward by others according to ye sence and affec'on of each several auditors, & soe become very uncertaine, & some are apt to credit & report ye worst of businesses, & to silence what they like not wherefore I humbly conceive, that a relac'on written by a good & unsuspected hand, would not only gayne best beliefe, but be lesse subiect to mistakes & misreports : & I hope when ye examinac'ons of ye late disturbances there shalbe published, ye same will cleere all doubts, & giue honnest men full satisfact'on. I have shewen ye Queene & some Lodds the copy of Marq: Hamiltons 2. & 3d ltrs to yor Matie, whereby he begs yor Maties pardon, wch argues he is not soe faultlesse, & innocent, as we would here render him. I humbly thanke yor Matie that you have bene soe carefull of yor faithfull servaunt, as to burne all such of my lrs, as you returne not to me apostiled, wch soe much concerns my safety, as I assure yor Matie, I have bene warned by some of my best freinds both there and here, to be wary in my advertisemts, least being too good a servaunt (these are their very words) doe me hurt.

I have, inclosed, sent yor Matie ye copy of an order<sup>b</sup> of ye Parliamt concerning their abundant care of ye Princes highnes safety and education, the reasons thereof were delivered at Oatlands by my Lo. of Holland<sup>c</sup> to ye Queene, who (I heare) gave a very wise and discrete answeare to ye same, as (I beleeve) her owne pen will very speedily acquaint yor Matie.

It is said there is a new designe discovered of a later intenc'on then Mr. Percyes to have debauched ye late Army, but what it is I cannot learne. My Lo. Keeper sent to me this day to acquaint yor Matie, that ye pesent new Lo. Mayor lately

<sup>a</sup> This Captain Smith displayed great courage, as well as loyalty, in the King's service. In the Battle of Edgehill, on the 22nd of October, 1642, when Sir Edward Verney, the Royal Standard Bearer, was killed, and the standard taken, Smith rushed amidst the enemy and retook it, for which he was instantly made a knight banneret, and received soon after a large gold medal, 'with the King's picture on the one side, and the banner on the other, which he always wore to his dying day, in a large green watered ribband, cross his shoulders'. He fell, two years afterwards, at Cheriton fight, sometimes called the battle of Alresford.

<sup>b</sup> A conference took place on this subject between the two Houses, wherein it was urged that the Prince had recently been often at the Queen's residence at Oatlands ; and though the Commons did not doubt the motherly affection and care of her Majesty towards him, yet there were some dangerous persons at Oatlands, Jesuits and others, and therefore it was desired that the Marquis of Hertford should be enjoined to take the Prince into his custody and charge, attending upon him in person, and also that the Prince would make his ordinary abode and residence at his own house at Richmond. To this it was added, that Lord Hertford should place some person about the Prince to be answerable to both Houses ; so that, in fact, the Prince would have been a complete prisoner. When the message was sent to the Queen, she made answer that the Prince was celebrating his Sister's birthday.

<sup>c</sup> Henry Rich, first Earl of Holland (and second son of the Earl of Warwick), so created by James the First, in 1624. He is recorded in the *Loyal Martyrologie* by Winstanley, as a special favourite of Charles in the early part of his reign, being then Governor of Windsor Castle ; yet, after that date, says Winstanley, 'when the Long Parliament began to sit, and religion became the bone of contention, he sided with them ; but afterwards perceiving that they made religion only a cloak to cover their rebellion, he deserted them, and took up armes for the Royal interest'. Being defeated and taken prisoner, he suffered on the same scaffold with the Duke of Hamilton and Lord Capel, on the 9th of March, 1648. In the charge of his siding with the Parliament, Winstanley goes further than Dugdale, and those writers who copy from him ; the latter asserting only that the favours heaped on Holland by Charles made that Earl so fearful of the Parliament's enmity as to induce him not only to stand neutral himself, but also to persuade the Earl of Essex, his near kinsman, and Lord Chamberlain, to desert his Royal Master when forced to fly from Whitehall. De Larrey, a French historian, says of him that he possessed greater genius than his brother, Lord Warwick, who was 'a person of an agreeable wit, perhaps a little too much libertine, but knew very well how to dissemble, and imposed on the people by an affected devotion, and going regularly to sermons.'



sworne (named Rich. Gurney), being not in ye com'ission of Lieutenn'cy for London & liberties, it wilbe necessary that yt comiss'on be renewed & his Lop put into it, wch may soone be donne, if yor Matie please to signify yor pleasure to my Lo. Keeper to that purpose. The Bp of Chichester humbly desires yor Maties licence to be absent from P'liamt, for wch pu'pose I have (at his Lops request) herein sent a warrt for yor Maties signature, if you shall think fitt to signe it. It was ordered on Friday last by ye Com'ons that there should be heads pepared for a conference concerning a peton to be sent to yor Matie to stay ye making of ye new Bpps, but this hath not hitherto beene proceeded in any further, and some thinke it wilbe let fall.

Doe you it in my name.

I have signed it, but I will not haue you to make use of it but as my Wyfe shall direct you.

There is newes come to my Lo. Lieutenn't of Ireland of a rebellion in ye north of that kingdome, raysed (as it is said) by Papistes, whereof one Macguire<sup>a</sup> is one of ye chiefest; I have not seene ye lter concerning it, but ye Lods of yor Maties Privy Councell sate yesterday (when I was at Oatlands) in close Councell about it, & this day they were wth ye House of Com'ons to advise concerning it as I heare: I beleewe yor Matie hath before this receaved advertisemt of ye certeynty of this busines out of Ireland, & I doubt not but ye Lods of yor Privy Councell here, or my Lo. Lieutenant, will forthwth give yor Matie an account, what they have advised upon herein: if their Lopps doe it not speedily, I shall write further of it, as soone as I may see ye lter or know some certeynty of it, being unwilling to trouble yor Matie in an affayre of that nature, but upon good grounds, & knowledge of p'tic'lars.

If yor Matie could settle yor affaires well there, soe as you might be here ye next weeke, yor best servaunts here conceave it would then be in yor Maties power, by yor presence, to bring this P'liamt to a reasonable good conclusion, wch that it may be soe, is & shalbe ever ye earnest prayer of yor sacred Maties most humble and most obedient servaunt,

I hope this next weeke will put an end to this Parliament, so that ye may expect me by the 20: of this monthe.

EDW. NICHOLAS

WESTMINSTER, Munday 1<sup>o</sup> Nobris, 1641

EDEN: Satterday: 6.

'For yor Sacred Matie'.

'Yours apostyled'.

Apost: 6: 9bris.—Recd 11<sup>o</sup> 9bris. by Mr. Tho: Killebrew.

### *Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellnt Matie, since my ltr sent yesterday by Mr. Barclay, I have receaved by Mr. Wm Murray yor Mats com'aunds by apostile of ye 28th of Octobr & have delivered yor Maties to my Lo. Keeper, together wth a packet from Mr. Th'rer, conteyning ye exa'iac'ons of ye busines touching Marq. Hamilton, &c. All wch were this morning read at ye Councell Boorde whereupon their Lops resolved for ye pesent to make knowne in the generall, that they had received a faire dispatch concerning that business, & that it was like to have a speedy, & quyet conclusion; & their Lops, being then to goe to ye Parliamt House about ye Irishe busines, sealed upp ye examinac'ons, & appointed too morrow in the afternoone to consider further of ye same, & to advise in what manner to acquaint ye Parliamt therewth. I heare that my Lo. Lieuten't of Ireland hath by a dispatch this morning sent yor Matie an accompt of all ye partic'lars touching ye Rebellion in that kingdome<sup>b</sup>, wch ye Parliamt here takes to hart, & there is a Com'ittee of 12 Lods together wth some of ye House of Com'ons appointed this evening to goe into London to treat wth ye Lo. Mayor, Aldermen & Com'on Councell to borrow 50m.l. to be forthwth sent to Irland, to pay & encourage ye old Army & alsoe such new souldiers as are there lately

<sup>a</sup> He was brother to the Lord Macguire, who was afterwards tried by order of the Parliament, and hanged, drawn, and quartered, notwithstanding he pleaded his Irish Peerage.

<sup>b</sup> In vol. vi<sup>o</sup> of *Somers' Tracts*, p. 378, is the Report of the Lord Keeper to the House of Commons on the 1st of November, 1641; drawn up from the dispatches of the Lords Justices to the Lord Deputy, who was then in England.



taken up to make head to ye Rebells, for wch somes ye Citty is to be secured by Act of Parliamt, both for principall & interest.

It is said that one Owen Conelles<sup>a</sup> (a servant of Sr Jo. Clotworthies) for making ye first discovery of ye Rebellion & for some services donne against it, shalbe rewarded by ye P'liamt wth ye gift of 500li presently, & be recommended to yor Matie for a penc'on of 200l. There is a Com'ittee of ye Peers appointed to peruse all ltrs that are come out of Irland, to consider of ye pesent state of Irland, & to further examyne Owen Conelles touching that Rebellion upon interrogatories to be exhibited by ye Comons, who are to be pesent at ye examinac'on, & ye same Committee is further to consider of ye Recusants in Engl: that are of estate & quallity & not convicted: the Lo. Lieutt of Irland is desired by ye Parliamt (as I heare) to get together some Capts and Offers here of Englishe to send over forthwth into Irland, & his Lop himself is pressed to hasten over wth all possible dilligence. This day father Phelipps (one of ye Queenes priestes) was com'itted by ye Lods of Parliamt for refusing to be sworne vpon ye Bible, saying it was a false translac'on<sup>b</sup>. There is to be too morrow a conference between ye 2 Houses, vpon severall heads; 1. touching ye dissolving of ye Covent of Capuchins; 2. about ye list of ye Queenes priests; 3ly. about a list of ye Princes servaunts, to ye end that such as are suspected in religion or otherwise may be removed; 4ly. about ye governmt of ye Isle of Weight, that ye same may be sequestred<sup>c</sup>. If ye Houses of Parliamt were full it is conceaved it would be much for ye advantage of yor Matie, & ye good of the kingdome, & therefore

I belieue that I haue done this in a former dispatch, but in all euent I co'mand you to re-iterate to the Keeper in my name.

I humbly offer it to yor Maties considerac'on, whether it may not be fitt for yor Matie to write to my Lo: Keeper to cause a proclamac'on to be forthwth issued to require all ye members of both Houses respectively (all excuses set apart) to attend ye Parliamt in person to consider of such affaires as concerne ye peace & good of this kingdome & other yor Maties dominions.

Wee hope now shortly to heare of yor Maties speedy & certeyne returne from Scotland, & that it may be wth honr & safety shalbe ye dayly prayers of yor sacred Maties most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS

The Com'ons are preparing a declarac'on of ye state of ye kingdome, as it was when they first met in Parliamt.

WESTMINSTER, 2<sup>o</sup> Nobris, 1641

EDEN: 9.

'For yor sacred Matie'.

'Yours apostyled'.

Apost: 9<sup>o</sup> 9bris.—Recd 15<sup>o</sup> 9bris by Mr. Arth: Berkley.

<sup>a</sup> Conally's (Conelles) discovery arose from some accidental conversation, in a tavern, with Hugh Macmahon, grandson to the 'Great Earl of Tyrone', on the night before the intended seizure of Dublin Castle by the conspirators, and which was to have been followed by a general attempt upon all the fortresses in Ireland. Burton says that both the gift and the annuity were voted to him by Parliament, on the recommendation of the Lords Justices. He was also recommended to preferment. His master, Clotworthy, in 1640, was the seconder of Pym's first motion against the Earl of Strafford; he was also one of the great supporters of the Self-denying Ordinance.

<sup>b</sup> On the preceding day several resolutions had passed the Commons respecting the Capuchin House in the Strand. Orders were also given that the Foreign Ambassadors should be sent to, to deliver up such priests as were the King's subjects, then in their houses. Phillips was brought before the House as an evidence upon the business of Benson, the member for Knaresborough, charged with selling protections: first refusing the oath on pretence that it was too general, and might criminate himself; and, when the Bible was brought, saying, 'that the Bible used by them was not a true Bible, and therefore his oath would not bind him'. His committal, after repeating this, was on the principle that the words were used without any occasion given, to the scandal of the Protestant religion, and in the face of Parliament.

<sup>c</sup> The Parliament, soon after, removed the Earl of Portland from the government of the island, and appointed the Earl of Pembroke in his stead.



*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, by my letr of ye 2d of this moneth I advertised yor Matie of ye arrivall of Mr. Wm. Murrey, & since he brings no certeyne news when yor Matie intends to be here, but in generall that it wilbe shortly, I thought it my duty to put yor Matie in minde, that ye Lo. Mayor & Cittizens here doe much desire to have tymely notice what day yor Matie will come to this towne, that they may have ye honor to waite on yor Matie. There came l'trs yesterday from Irland wch confirme ye newes of ye Rebellion there, & say that the Rebels are come wthin 20 miles of Dublin, & are very cruell to ye Englishe Protestants, and have donne much mischeif alreddy in ye country. There is order here for sending pesently 2000 foote & 500 horse from hence into Irland : and Sr Ja. Ashley<sup>a</sup>, & Seriant Maior Merrick and other Officers are forthwth to goe away for that kingdome. The hast of this bearer, (who came even now to me from ye Queene for a post warrant) will not give me tyme to write more to yor Matie att pesent, but that I assure yor Matie yor presence here is now extreame necessary<sup>b</sup>, as well for yor affaires here, as in Irland : & I beseech God to send yor Matie a speedy & safe returne, wch none desires more then yor Maties most humble & most obedient servaunt,

By my last I bade you expect mee on the 20 : yet now I fynde that it will be the 24 before I can cum, but be asseured that I shall differ no longer, for by the grace of God, I shall sett out from hence on the 18 : without faile : & for warning my Lo. Maior, take directions from my Wyfe, when to doe it, for though she knowes when I shall meete her, yet I haue left to her the choice of the place, & when I shall cum to London.

EDW. NICHOLAS

WESTMINSTER, 3<sup>o</sup> Nobris 1641, att 9. at night.

EDEN. 9.

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, I wrote to yo'r Matie a few lynes yesterday by an expresse sent by ye Queene, & this morning I receaved yor Maties com'aunds by apostile of ye 30th of 8ber. I have herewth sent yor Matie a letr from my Lo. Keeper (& to Mr. Th'rer a Bill) for new Sheriffs for this next yeare, that yor Matie may be pleased to prick them there if you soe thinke fitt ; My Lo. Keeper desir'd me wthall to send to yor Matie ye informac'on inclos'd, wch his Lop receaved (for sparing of some vpon that Bill) since ye same was made vp, that yor Matie may be pleased to take them into considerac'on.

The Keeper will fynd by this inclosed to him that I meane not to pricke the Bill of Sherifs until my cuming home, so that for the present there is no neede of his information.

The Lodds of your Maties Privy Councell here have heard read all ye exaiac'cons concerning Mar: Hamiltons, and ye Earles of Arguile & Lannerick absenting themselves, & since they receaved noe direcc'ons to com'unicate those exa'iac'cons to any other then to yor Privy Councell, they thinke not fitt to publishe ye same, otherwise then by declaring (to such as they shall have occasion to speake wth about that business), that they finde nothing in all those exa'iac'ons, that in any sorte reflects vpon yor Maties honor. The exa'iac'ons, themselves are by their Lops left in my hands vnsealed, that any of ye Lods of yor Privy Councell may see & reade them, but I am to give noe coppies of ye same, & ye Lodds willed me to signify to Mr. Th'rer, that if yor Matie please that there shalbe any further publication thereof, they expect further direcc'ons therein. I have com'unicated to ye Lodds, & given them coppies of Mar: Hamiltons 3d letr to yor Matie, wch doth give great satisfacc'on here to all men, that nothing in that vnhappy business doth in ye least manner reflect on yor Maties honor.

They neede to doe no more, but as they haue & resolute to doe.

There neede no more.

<sup>a</sup> Sir Jacob Astley was Serjeant Major General of the King's Army-royal ; he distinguished himself much during the Civil Wars, and was created Lord Astley of Reading. Merrick was afterwards knighted by the King ; yet he joined the Parliament forces, was made Serjeant Major General by the Earl of Essex, and afterwards, at the siege of Reading, was appointed General of the Ordnance, being superseded in his former office by the famous Skippon, by order of the Parliament.

<sup>b</sup> It is a fact deserving notice that the leading party in the House of Commons were now as anxious for the King's coming back, as his friends could be ; for on this day it was ordered by the House that a letter should be sent to the King, pressing his return.



The Parliamt here takes to hart ye Rebellion in Irland, & hath expressed a great affec'con to yor Maties service in that partic'lar. They have resolved (as my Lo. Keeper desired me to signify to yor Matie) to send thither 6000 foote & 2000 horse; whereof 2000 foote & 500 horse presently; & they are borrowing of ye Citty 50 m.l., wch they hope wilbe sent, & in confidence, that they shall have ye same to supply other paymts, they are now sending away 20 m.l., wch they have reddy in cashe, & was designed for other affaires. My Lo. Keeper saith he hath sent yor Matie l'trs touching ye Irishe Rebellion to the Com'ittee of both Houses appointed to consider of & take care for all things that concerne that business, and will himself speedily give yor Matie an accompt of yor Maties comaunds, wch he received this day in ye packet of ye 30th of 8ber. I assure yor Matie I find that it is noe easie matter in these mallevolent tymes, for an honnest man (that hath anything to doe in affaires) to peserve himself & his reputac'on: but I hope yor Matie will protect yor faithfull servaunts, that shall wth integrity & dililgence endeavour to serve you, as will ever yor sacred Maties most humble & most obedient servaunt,

I shall not faile to protect you according to my Power, & (according to the owld Englishe compliment) I would it were better for your sake.

EDW. NICHOLAS

There is an Act passing for pressing of soldiours for Irland, wch hath bene twice read, and is now in ye Comittees hands.

WESTMINSTER 4<sup>o</sup> Nobris 1641

EDEN: 9.

'For yor sacred Matie'.

'Yours apostyled'.

Apost. 9<sup>o</sup> 9bris.—Recd 15<sup>o</sup> November by Mr. Arthur Berkley.

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, I wrote to yor Matie by packet ye 4th of this Novber, & this now is to convey ye inclosed from my Lo. Keeper: I hope it will meete yor Matie on ye way, for that I heare it said, that yor Matie will set forth on Munday next, but because I am not certeyne of it, I haue directed this packet to Mr. Thr'er, wch otherwise I should haue addressed (according to yor Maties com'aund) to my Lod Duke<sup>a</sup>. If yor Matie doe not hasten hither, I doubt ye peparations for Irland will goe on but slowly<sup>b</sup>, & soe may come too late to pevent great mischiefs there, notwithstanding ye care of our Parliamt.

I onlie now repeate what in a former I sayd, that you receaue order from my Wyfe for this, what day it shall be; with this addition, that you direct my Lord Chamberlaine (I meane Essex<sup>c</sup>) to wait on my Wyfe, who will giue him directions what Howses he shall prepare for my vse against my returne.

Here are besides (I assure yor Matie) other affaires that highly import yor Maties hast hither: If yor Maties please to give leave to my Lo. Mayor & ye Cittizens here to wayte on you into this towne, I beseech yor Matie to com'aund that timely notice may be given of ye day, that they may provide for it, for ye best of ye Cittizens expresse a great desire to shew their affec'on therein to yor Matie, wch I humbly conceive it will not be convenient to declayne.

I humbly pray for yor Maties happy and speedy returne, as being yor sacred Maties most humble & obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS

WESTMINSTER, 6<sup>o</sup> Nobris 1641

EDEN: 13.

Written on the reverse of the last Letter.

Since I wrote the other leter to yor Matie, happening wth ye opportunity of this messenger (who I hope will deliver my letr safe to yor Royall hands), I thought it my duty to make this addic'on to my former letr that yesterday in ye Comons

<sup>a</sup> Duke of Richmond.

<sup>b</sup> Yet the Parliament seems to have been very busy upon this subject; for not only was there a Declaration framed on the 4th, but letters were also sent to the Lords Justices, pressing the most energetic measures of defence.

<sup>c</sup> It is difficult to ascertain why the King should express himself as though there might be some doubt as to who held the office. Essex was Lord Chamberlain until 1642, when he was superseded by Edward, Earl of Dorset.

House, it was moved to send instruc'cons to ye Englishe Com'ittees, to let yor Matie know, that ye Parliamt here finds that ill counsellors have bene ye cause of all these troubles in Irland, and that vnlesse yor Matie wilbe pleased to discharge ye ill Councillors that are about you & to take such as ye kingdome can confide in, the Parliamt doth hold itself absolv'd from giving assistance for ye busines in Irland: Some that found fault wth this expression were chequed, but there was noe p'fect resoluc'on in this, but ye further considerac'on thereof was put off to a further day<sup>a</sup>.

I write this that yor Matie may see how extreameley necessary it is for you to hasten hither. I beseech yor Matie to keep to yorself this addic'on, & to burne this letr, wch is now sent you from yor sacred Maties most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS

WESTMINSTER, 6<sup>o</sup> Nobris 1641  
att 12 a clock at noone.

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, since myne of ye 6th pesent sent by Mr. Greene a servant of ye D: of Richmonds, I receaved ye same night here at Oatlands yor Maties apostile of ye 2d, and have sent yor Maties l're to ye Bpp of London together wth ye Bills signed for ye new Bpps. I shall carefully p'forme all yor Maties com'aunds by yor last, & render yor Matie a speedy account of ye same. My Lo: Keeper sent me this evening this letr to be conveyed to yor Matie wth all dililgence, wch is ye principall cause of this dispatch. I beseech yor Matie to be pleased to burne or returne to me all my lettrs, for I perceave by ye strict enquiry after the writer of Mr. Webbs letr, that there is a vigilant & prying eye after all that is written hence, & I would not willingly, that ye lyons should be made iudges of my eares. Wee hope yor Matie will set forth for these partes too morrow senight at farthest. I can say noe more to move yor Matie to hasten hither then hath bene advertised. I pray God to send yor Matie a speedy and safe returne. I am confident yor Matie was never more welcome to ye better sorte of Londoners than you will now be, & I beleeve ye whole kingdome will reioyce to heare of yor Maties happy returne, wch wilbe ye best newes that hath this yeare come to ye eares of yor sacred Maties most humble & most obedient servaunt,

I returne this onlie  
to show you that I  
am carefull to doe  
what you desyre.

EDW. NICHOLAS

OATLANDS, 7<sup>o</sup> Nobris 1641  
EDEN. 13.

*The Queen to Sir Edward Nicholas*

Maistre Nicholas havinge reseaued a letter from London to nitgh (night): that there is many of the Lords that ar gone of in the contree, and that the ar a fraid the shall want some for the businesse of the bishops: having heard that Carnaruen<sup>b</sup> is in is owne hous some twentie milles of I belive very fit you should writt to him from the King to have him come to London for that time this bearer will carry your letter to him and having nothing to say more I rest your assured friend,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

'For Maistre Nicholas'.

R. 8<sup>o</sup> Nobris 1641. The Queene to me.

<sup>a</sup> This is a remarkable fact, not stated in the *Parliamentary History*, nor in the other ordinary records. It is also worth notice that the Secretary does not mention the apology sent to the Lords on this day by the Queen, excusing Father Phillips, and praying forgiveness for him, 'if it shall appear unto you that he hath not maliciously done anything against the State, if, for my sake, you will pass by this present offence', &c. The Lords would have admitted him to bail, but the Commons refused.

<sup>b</sup> Robert Dormer, Earl of Carnarvon; slain in 1643 at the battle of Newbury. It is stated in *Bromley's Letters*, that his Countess was niece to Sir Richard Browne; but how, does not appear, for she was daughter of the Earl of Pembroke. When this nobleman was expiring in the field, he was asked if he had any suit to the King? He replied, that 'he would not die with a suit in his mouth, to any King, but the King of Heaven!'



*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King<sup>a</sup>*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, yesterday I sent yor Matie a l'ter from my Lo. Keeper by packet addressed to Mr. Th'rer. This day the Com'ons House considered of ye heads of ye instrucc'ons to be sent to ye Englishe Com'ittees, & after a long debate, they voted ye same in ye House, wch was thereupon divided,

You must see to  
cross this in the  
Lords House if it  
be possible.

& there were (as I heare) 110. votes against, & 151. for those instrucc'ons, amongst wch there is one head to ye effect, (but a little quallified), of what I wrote in my postscript by Mr. Greene. Those instrucc'ons (I am tould) are to be transmitted to ye Lords.

It is here reported by those who have ye speediest & certeynest advertisemts from Edinburg, that yor Matie will not be here till Christmas: what reason they have for it I know not. The warrts for ye new Bps are passing as fast as may be: I this day put ye Signet to those for Yorke & Lincolne<sup>b</sup>.

By the grace of God  
those will prove  
false Prophets.

I have signified yor Maties pleasure to my Lo: Keeper to issue a Proclamac'on that all Parliamt men attend in P'liamt, but his Lopp saith a Proclamac'on must issue in ye ordinary way, and be first signed by yor Matie, wherefore I have by his Lops advise this day sent a warrt accordingly to yor Maties Attorney, to pepare such a Proclamac'on for yor Maties signature, wch as soone as I can get from him shalbe speedily sent to yor Matie. The Ea. of Southton<sup>c</sup> hath bene in Northtonsh: this senight, but wilbe here Wensday next, when I shall not fayle to acquaint his Lop wth what yor Matie hath comaunded me. I heare there

You must needs  
speake with such  
of my servants that  
you may best trust,  
in my name, that  
by all meanes pos-  
sible this may bee  
stoped.

was this afternoone brought into ye Com'ons House, and there read, a Declarac'on of ye state of ye affaires of this kingdome, wch relates all ye misgovernment and vnpleasing things that have bene donne by ill Counsells (as they call it) since 3<sup>o</sup> of yor Maties raigne to this pesent, and it reflects soe much to ye peiudice of yor Maties government, as if yor Matie come not instantly away, I trouble to thinke what wilbe ye issue of it: for surely if there

had bene in this nothing but an intenc'on to have iustefyed the proceedings of this P'liamt, they would not have begun soe high as 3<sup>o</sup>. The further considerac'on of this Declarac'on is to be had too morrow in ye House of Com'ons.

I shall most care-  
fully.

If yor Matie shall not be pleased to keepe to yorself what I have written, and to burne this letr, I may be lost. Yor Matie cannot so much peiudice yorself, (if you come away & leave all things

there vnfinished), as you may now by delaying yor Maties returne one day: I pray God there be not a designe to deteyne you there against the wishes & advise of all yor best servaunts here: God send yor Matie a safe & speedy returne, so prayeth alwayes yor sacred Maties most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDEN. 13.

EDW. NICHOLAS

WESTMINSTER, 8. Nobris 1641

'For yor sacred Matie'.

'Yours apostyled'.

8<sup>o</sup> Nobris 1641. Apost. 13<sup>o</sup>. 9bris. Rec. 18. 9bris.

Sent by Sir H. Hungate<sup>d</sup>.

*The Queen to Sir Edward Nicholas*

Maister Nicholas, I am vere sory that my lettre did not come time enouf to go. I haue reseaued yours, and I haue writt to the King to hasten is coming. I send you the letter and if little Will Murray is well enouf I would haue him go backe againe: to scotland without comin yer for a would haue him go to marow

<sup>a</sup> This letter, and the following ones up to the 10th of November, serve to fill up omissions in the *Parliamentary History* of the period.

<sup>b</sup> These appointments did not take place.

<sup>c</sup> Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton. He died in 1667, without issue.

<sup>d</sup> Sir Philip Hungate, of Saxton, in Yorkshire, was the first Baronet, so created by Charles the First. No name of 'Sir H'. appears in the Baronetage; therefore the person alluded to, afterwards mentioned as Sir Henry, must have been one of the numerous Knights Bachelors of that reign.

morning : tel him from me : but if he wher not well then you must provide some bodie that will be sure for my letter must not be lost : and I would not trusted to and ordinaire poste : I am so ill provided whitt personnes that I dare truste that at this instant I have no living creature that I dare send : pray doe whatt you can to helpe me if little Vill Murray can not go to send this letter, and so I rest your assured friend,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

' For your selfe '.

R. 10<sup>o</sup> Nobris 1641. The Q: that I should send an expr: Mer w: her ler.

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, my last was by Sr Hen: Hungate, wch I hope will come safe to yor Royall hands ; & I now send this expresse by ye Queene's com'aund to convey her Maties l'tr, for her Matie saith she hath alreddy sent all those she can trust, wth expresses to yor Matie ; Wee hope that some of them will shortly bring ye much desired newes of yor Maties returne.

I have spoken with ye Bp of Lincolne about yor Maties pardon of ye 13 Bps for ye Premunire, & his Lop saith he wisheth that ye pardon to them may be generall for all things else aswell as for ye Premunire, whereof his Lop will consider better, & then I shall give yor Matie a further

With all my hart.

acompt of that partic'lar. My Lo. Keeper tells me that there are many precedents, that ye Peers in P'liam't have chosen their owne Speaker, & that vntill ye Lo. Burleighes later tyme, there is scarce any Record, that ye King hath by l'trs pattents appointed a Speaker for that House. Yor Matie (I beleeve) hath heard that both Houses of Parliamt made an Ordinance Satterday last, that ye Lo. Lieutenant of Irland shall forthwth rayse Volontiers here in Engl. to be transported for suppressing ye Rebellion in Irland : yesterday his Lopp acquainting some Parliamt men, that he doubted whether he might rayse men without warrt vnder ye Great Seale, his Lops doubt was made knowne in ye Com'ons House, and thereupon it was in that House declared, that an Ordinance of both Houses was a sufficyent warrt for his Lops levying of Volontiers by beating of the drum &c. & an entry of such their Declarac'on was accordingly made in the register of that House. I heare that it is written from Irland, that ye Rebells there giue forth, that they expect yor Matie every day att Don Luce<sup>a</sup>, wch is a calumny raysed by them much to yor Maties dishonor & disadvantage, only to iustify their Rebellion, & were fitt to be vindicated. The Declarac'on remo'strating ye effects of yor Maties ill Councells, was yesterday by ye Com'ons House taken againe into considerac'on, & a 4th parte thereof gonne thorow wthall & voted there, & ye rest of it wilbe passed there, as fast as may be, & then it is to be transmitted to ye Lodds. There was yesterday a considerac'on in ye Upper House concerning excluding ye Papists Lodes, & after a long debate that business was let fall, only there was an Order made that ye lawes against Recusants should forthwth be put in execuc'on. Mr. Attorney<sup>b</sup> (according yor Maties pleasure signified to him) hath drawne a Proclamac'on, to comaund all Parliamt men to attend in Parliamt', & having shewed it to my Lo. Keeper, his Lop (as Mr. Attorney tells me) likes ye draught, but saith he conceaveth it not fitt to issue any such Proclamac'on, & that he will shortly satisfie yor Matie therein. I beseech God to send yor Matie a speedy & happy returne, wherein all yor Maties best servaunts here ioine in prayer wth yor sacred Maties most humble & most obedient servaunt,

Com'and the Keeper in my name that he warne all my servaunts to oppose it in the Lords House.

This bearer will fully satisfie you in that.

EDW. NICHOLAS

The cause concerning ye 13 Bps, and the Bill touching Bpps, is to be considered of, Friday next.

WESTMINSTER : 10<sup>o</sup> Nobris 1641, at 12: at noone.

EDEN: 15.

' For yor sacred Matie '.

' Yours apostyled '.

10: 9bris 1641. Apost. 15<sup>o</sup>. Ret. by Sir H. Hungate, 20<sup>o</sup> at one o'clock afternoone. This was sent by Smith the Messenger.

<sup>a</sup> Dunluce Castle, near the Giant's Causeway, in the county of Antrim, the seat of the Earls of Antrim ; now in ruins.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Edward Herbert, Knt.



*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, by the Queenes com'aund I sent yesterday one Smith expressly wth her Maties letr, wch I hope he will pesent safe, & wth dilligence to your Royall hands. Wensday last there was a very greate debate in ye Lodes House, touching instrucc'ons prepared by ye Com'ons to be sent to ye Englishe Com'ittees att Edenburg; six of those instrucc'ons concerne ye Rebellion in Irland, wch ye Lodes passed & approoved of, the 7th was concerning ill Councillors & Councells<sup>a</sup>, wch held a very long debate, wherein I may not forbear to advertise yor Matie: that ye Ea: of Bristoll & his sonne ye (Lo: Digby) did argue wth soe much reason<sup>b</sup> & iudgm't, as they got ye 7th instrucc'on

Thanke them from me.

to be fairely laid aside, & yesterday att a conference of both Houses, the Lodes tould ye Com'ons that they agreed to 6 of ye said instrucc'ons, but ye seventh was of soe great consequence, as they thought fit to leave it to a further tyme: Yor Matie may be pleased to take notice of ye

By the grace of God I will do it shortlie myselfe.

singular good service that was in that busines donne by those 2 noblemen, & especially by the sonne, who (I heare) did beyond admirac'on.

My Lo: Keeper & Mr. Attor: Gen'rall have deferred the issuing of ye Proclamac'on to require all Parliament-mens attendaunce, as conceaving it to be vnseasonable att this tyme, & my Lo: Keeper hath promised that he will give yor Matie satisfacc'on therein.

I have herewith sent yor Matie a speech published here in the name of Mar:

It is a poor one.

Hamilton, that yor Matie may see what artifice is here vsed by his friends to insinuate into ye people a good opinion of his Lops piety and integrity. The House of Com'ons was yesterday soe imployed about Irishe affaires, as they meddled not wth their Declarac'on, remonstrating ye ill effects of bad Councells. It is advertised out of Irland that ye rebels are 30. thousand strong, in severall places of that kingdome, & that they approche towards Tredaw<sup>c</sup>, for defence whereof, ye Lods Justices have sent 1000 foote, and 2 troopes of horse: if ye rebels shall defeate those forces, it is thought they wilbe soone for Dublin. The Lods Justices write, that vnlesse there be pesently sent over 10,000 men, & 100 m.l. in monny, that kingdom wilbe lost: whereupon ye Parliamt hath ordered to increase ye 6,000 foote (formerly directed to be raised) to 10,000: & they intend forthwth to passe an Act for raysing of 200 m.l. for the service of Irland: And where they formerly desired to have only 1000 Scots, now they will desire to have 10,000 Scots to be sent into Irland in such numbers as ye Parliamt shall give direcc'ons.

Yor Matie may by these relac'ons perceave of what extreame necessity & importaunce yor Maties speedy returne is, wch I beseech yor Matie by all meanes to hasten, for notwthstanding all the discourses in Parliamt, I see nothing put into acc'on. That yor Matie may have a speedy, safe, & honble returne shalbe ever ye earnest prayers of yor Maties most humble and most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS

The last night att 10. a clock, after I had closed this letr, I received by Mr. Tho: Killebrew yor Maties comands by 2 apostiles, & am now going to Oatlands wth yor Maties letr to ye Queene, having sent that to my Lo: Keeper:

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Prynne it was who undertook to enlighten the Lords upon the subject of Evil Counsellis. His reasoning was founded upon the anatomy of the human body. He also prophesied great advantages from a change, particularly if the King should not be permitted to select any servants except those approved by Parliament. See *Parliamentary History*, vol. x, p. 33, *et seq.*

<sup>b</sup> Lord Digby had been an active enemy of Lord Strafford; but in a speech made to the House of Commons on the 21st of April, 1641, he recanted his former opinions respecting that Earl, even while still describing him as 'a dangerous and insupportable minister to free subjects'. His apparent objects were to preserve his own consistency, yet to save Lord Strafford's life; and an abler man would have found it difficult to reconcile them. His speech closed with a solemn protestation against any sentence of death: 'and I do, with a clear conscience, wash my hands of this man's blood'.

<sup>c</sup> Tredagh—the Irish name for Drogheda.

I shalbe carefull to p'forme what yor Matie by that dispatch hath comaunded me All honnest men will reioyce at ye welcome newes of yor Maties returne.

WESTMINSTER, 12° Nobris, 1641

EDEN. 18.

'For yor sacred Matie'.

'Yours apostyled'.

12° Nobris. Apost. 18°. Ret: by Mr. Proger<sup>a</sup> 22° at 9. morning.

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, I sent a letr this morning to yor Matie by Mr. Jo. Digby<sup>b</sup>, since my wrighting whereof I receaved yor Maties by Mr. Killegrew, & shall carefully obey yor Maties comaunds. This is only to conuey to yor Royall hands a Pardon for ye 13 Bpps<sup>c</sup>, pepared by ye Bp of Lincolne, who (it seemes) thought not fitt to trust any of yor Maties learned Councell wth ye drawing of it; his Lop sent me word that I sould hasten it to yor Matie (albeit you might be on yor way home) as I tendred ye good of yor Maties service, wch made me send it now, notwithstanding my owne humble opinion is, that since ye hearing of ye busines against these 13 Bpps was appointed to be this day, & in all likelihoode will not be put off to a day much farther, that it were better to deferre ye passing of this Pardon till it shalbe seene what wilbe determynd concerning them, for if they shalbe sentenced by ye Parliamt, this pardon coming afterwards, and not menc'on- ing their being sentenced, will not be sufficyent, & if they shalbe quitted it wilbe needlesse; Nay if it shall not be kept very secreat, it may be to their peiudice; but yor Matie com'aunding me in this busines to pursue ye direcc'ons of that able & experienced Bpp, I held it my duty to obey wthout disputing: If yor Matie shall passe this pardon att this tyme, you may be pleased to signe it as well on ye back, that it may passe by imediat warrt as on ye fore part of it, & to send it sealed up, wth an expresse com'aund to my Lo. Keeper to seale, who will otherwise I beleewe make some scruple to put ye Great Seale to it.

He cam yesterday.

The returning of w'ch is the onlie cause of apostyling this.

But if [it] bee dated before (& therefor I haue not filled the date) I suppose it may doe some good.

thinke fitt to

So I haue.

Doe you that in my name.

Yor Maties of ye 6th of this moneth giues me good hope that this packet will meete yor Matie on ye way, & therefore I have addressed it (as yor Matie comanded) to ye D. of Richmonde. God of his mercy peserve & protect yor Matie, and send you a safe and happy returne, wch is ye prayer of all yor Maties best affected servaunts, as well as of yor Maties most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS

As I was closing this letr my Lo: of Bristoll sent me word that his sonne Mr. Jo: Digby goes not for Scotland, and therefore I have sent that letr wth this to yor Matie.

WESTMINSTER, 12° Nobris 1641

EDEN: 17:

*The Queen to Sir Edward Nicholas*

Maistre Nicholas, I have receaved your lettre. I am sory you ar not well for I would haue ben glad to speake to you but it is of no haste therefore donat hastend your selfe for feare of being sick; I send you a lettre for Milord Keeper

<sup>a</sup> Some notice of this Mr. Proger may be seen in the *Mémoires de Grammont*, where he is spoken of as about the person of Charles the Second, and said to be 'confident des menues plaisirs'. He is the same person who, with five other Englishmen, were concerned in the foul murder at Madrid of the Envoy from the English Parliament to Spain in 1651. Proger (or Progers) was at that time in the service of Hyde's Spanish Embassy.

<sup>b</sup> Son to the Earl of Bristol.

<sup>c</sup> In a subsequent letter, Nicholas again refers to the case of the Bishops, and to the fact of their demurring to the impeachment before the Lords, with the exception of Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester, who pleaded Not Guilty. This was notified to the Commons by a message from the Lords on the 12th.



that the King ded send to me to deliuer it if I though it fit. the subject of it is to make a Derclaration against the ordres of Parliamant which ar made withoutt the King. If you beleue a fit time giue it him if not you may keepest till I see you.

the King will bee here sertaineleye the 20 of this monthe therefore you may aduertice the Maior of London. Your lettre that you did writt to Carnaruen is comme bak to mee and I burnt it. he was not at is hows it should be vere nessessairie that you should inquaire where (he) is and writt to him and send to milord Cotinton for is proxies for I heer he as to (two) and is owne. and send to milord Southampton and Dunsemoure<sup>a</sup> to send their proxies till the comme them selues; the are in Warwicshier. hauing no more to say I reeste this 12 Novembre your assured friend,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

'For your selfe'.

12<sup>o</sup> Nobris 1641. The Queene to me.

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, this is ye first day since my falling sick, that I have bene able to sit vp to write: & albeit I shall doe it wth some difficulty, yet my duty will not suffer me to forbear any longer to give yor Matie an accompt, that by Mr. Barkley I receaued on Sunday night last yor Maties comaunds in 3 apostiles dated ye 9th of this moneth: All wch I have alreddy p'form'd, excepting that concerning giving notice to my Lord Mayor of ye day of yor Maties entring into London, whereof (I beleeeve) I shall this afternoone have certeynty from the Queene.

Herewth yor Matie will receave a proclamac'on for ye attendance of ye Parliamt men, wch my Lo: Keeper & mr. Attorney conceaved would have bene better to have bene forborne to be published till yor Maties returne, wch is now so neere in expectac'on. The House of Com'ons hastens by all meanes ye finishing of ye Declarac'on or Remonstrance, & for ye more speedy expediting of it, they have att ye Com'ittee passed by many p'ticlars to avoide ye delay of long debate.

The order of ye House of Com'ons for ye number of Scots to be sent into Irland, was altered from 1000. to 5000. vpon Saturday last in ye afternoone, & thoughe (wee heare) that ye imploymt of soe many Scots wilbe very acceptable to that nac'on, yet it is here apprehended by wise men, that ye same will exasperate ye Irishe, & make them buckle more resolutely to a warre of rebellion, then otherwise they would doe. Since ye plot in delivering to Mr. Pym<sup>b</sup> a letr wth a plaster and a threatening in it, there was on Munday last in ye evening, another as desperate and dangerous a conspiracy against him, & diverse members of both Houses, discovered by a poore zealous taylor, who, being in ye fields mending ye notes he had taken of a sermon, there happened to come (as he relates it) 2. souldier-like men, soe neere him, as he overheard them telling each other, how many of their acquaintance were to be forthwth employed to murther diverse members both of ye Upper and Lower House, & this taylor<sup>c</sup> had ye oppor-

<sup>a</sup> Francis Leigh, Lord Dunsmore; afterwards Earl of Chichester.

<sup>b</sup> Plots against the life of Pym were rife at this time. Among the parliamentary chiefs he was the most prominent mark for such attempts, and many appear to have been undertaken. 'He seemed to all men', says Clarendon, 'to have the greatest influence upon the House of Commons of any man; and, in truth, I think he was the most popular man, and the most able to do hurt, that hath lived in any time.' The first of the plots referred to by Nicholas was a strange one. The plague still lingered in various places in and near London; and it would seem that as the popular leader entered the House of Commons one day, the porter of the House delivered to him a letter (received from 'a gentleman on horseback, in a grey coat, who gave him twelve pence for the speedy delivery of it'), from which, on his opening it, there dropped a covering which had come from a plague wound; the letter itself containing 'many menaces and much railing against him'.

<sup>c</sup> His name was Beale: but the House could procure no further intelligence of a satisfactory kind upon the subject; and whether the alleged conspiracy may not have been a piece of folly or of roguery on the part of the informer, is by no means clear.



tunity to take from those 2. mens mouthes ye names both of ye murtherers, & of ye p'sons to be murthered : the reward to him that kil'd a member of ye Lower House was to be 40s. & to him that murthered one of ye Upper House 10l. This discovery makes a great noyse in & about ye Parliamt House, & (however many wise men give no creditt at all to it, yet) it hath produced severall orders for securing of ye Parliamt, & Parliament-men, the coppies of some of wch I have here inclosed sent yor Matie. The order of ye 16th p'sent<sup>a</sup>, wch requires that ye rigour of ye law be put in excuc'on against all Papists, that shalbe founde in London or Westminster after this night, is not (I heare) thought by some of ye Com'ons to be severe enoughe, soe as it is conceaved there wilbe some more sharpnes added to that order this day : all ye Papists Lodes are alreddy removing out of this Towne vpon this order. ffriday last (wch was ye first day of my falling into extremity) the Venetian Amb'dor complained att ye Councell Boorde, that his l'rs had bene opened by ye Com'ittees of Parliamt, & he was soe much incensed at it, as he there made his protest, & declared, that he would treat no further, & thereupon withdrew himselfe (as I heare) to Greenewch, till such tyme as he shall advertise that Republique wth that affront as he termed it. The agent of ye D. of Florence is as highly distasted wth some violence that hath been vsed in serching his house by some officers or warrnt of Parliamt : these distasts given to those Ministers will (it is thought) light very heavy on yor Maties subts trading [to] those partes, and will proove a very great peiudice & interrupc'on to ye trade of this yor Maties kingdome.

I heare from a very good hand, that there are diverse principall gent of Hertfordsh: who are desirous to tender their duty to yor Matie att Ware, & to wayte on you into that towne if yor Matie shall make any stop there, & they will bring wth them diverse of their neighbours & friends, who are desirous to shew how welcome yor Maties returne is into that country, whereof I thought good to give yor Matie this tymely notice, for that I humbly conceaue it would not be amisse for yor Matie in these tymes to accept grac'ously ye affecc'ons of yor sub'ts in that kinde, whereby you will have opportunity to shew yourself grac'ous to yor people as yor Matie passeth, & to speake a few good words to them, wch will gaine ye aff'ons (especially of ye vulgar) more then any thing that hath bene donne for them this Parliamt. This day ye examinac'ons against O'Neale were read in ye Com'ons House, wherein were menc'oned some l'rs & papers signed C. R., the effect of one of wch (sent to Capt: Leg<sup>b</sup>) was (as I heare), that he should speake with Sr Ja: Ashley according to instrucc'ons wch he had from yor Matie, & let none see that letr but only Sr Ja: Ashley, who, together wth Si Jo. Conyers<sup>c</sup> (as I am tould, but I beseech yor Matie to take noe notice thereof from me) have been very large & partic'lar in their examinac'ons, wch (I heare) reflect vpon yor Maties person : it is thought that ye Parliamt will condempne O'Neale, but they are not yet resolved where or how to trye him : they doubt ye testimony against him will not be soe full, as in a legal way to condempne him at the King's Bench barre, & they resolve not (as yet) whether it wilbe fit to doe it by a Bill, according to their legislative power.

I have (as yor Matie com'anded) given wart to my Lo: Keeper to renew ye Com'ission of Lieutenn'cy for London, & to put in ye new Lo: Mayor, who is a very well affted servaunt of yor Maties.

There is a Com'ittee of both Houses appointed to pepare instrucc'ons for ye Lo: Lieutenant of Irland, wherewth they are now in hand. The 13 Bpps did demurre to ye busines agt them, but ye Com'ons have in their House overruled ye demurrer & voted that those Bps shall answere in cheif. I dispatched ye Bills for ye new Bps wth all expedic'on, & that busines is now in as good forwardnes as may be. I hope by that tyme yor Matie shall returne hither, to be able to goe abroade, in ye meane tyme, I will to ye best of my strength & abillity p'forme ye duty of yor sacred Maties most humble & obedient servaunt,

WESTMINSTER, 18: Nobris, 1641

EDW. NICHOLAS

<sup>a</sup> Not recorded in the *Parliamentary History*.

<sup>b</sup> Captain Leg, otherwise Colonel; but better known as 'honest Will Leg'; and ancestor of the Earls of Dartmouth.

<sup>c</sup> This Conyers was afterwards, in 1643, nominated by the Parliament to the Lieutenancy of the Tower, on the King being compelled to dismiss Sir John Byron from that office.



*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, yesterday I wrote to yor Matie, & addressed it by packet to ye D. of Richmond, as yor Matie co'manded me when you should be on yor returne : since that, I have receaved from ye Queene 3 of my l'trs, all of them apostiled by yor Matie ye 13th of this moneth, & I humbly acknowledge myself infinitely obliged to yor Matie for yor grac'ous goodnes in returning and burning my l'trs. I shall carefully obey all yor Maties com'aunds in those l'trs. I have herewth sent for yor Maties signature a draught for yor Royall assent for ye Bpp of Lincolne<sup>a</sup> to be Archbp of Yorke : this was brought to me this day, & there is noe returne as yet made vpon ye *Congé d'eslives* for any of ye other Bpps. I have herewth alsoe sent yor Matie a Bill conteyning a Com'ission to appoint ye Ea. of Holland to be Lo. G'rall of all yor Maties forces beyonde the Trent, wch com'ission yor Matie gave order for, before yor iourney into Scotland, but it seemes by Mr. Attorney (who now brought me this by direcc'on from ye Parliamt to be sent wth speede to yor Matie) that vpon ye mistake of some great name in ye former draught it passed not ye Greate Seale : I tould Mr. Attorney I did beleewe yor Matie would not thinke fitte to signe it now before yor returne ; but howsoever he wished me to send it away to yor Matie wth ye first, because he had promised soe much to ye Lodds in P'liamt : this is all I know of this busines, and yor Maties wisdome can best direct you what to doe in it.

The business against O'Neale is referred to a select Com'ittee to be pepared redy for ye House against Munday next, & some thinke it wilbe hardly heard then, for albeit ye Com'ons haue a very good minde to proceede roundly against him, yet (I heare) ye proofes are soe broken, as they will not make a full & cleere evidence : the worst in all that busines is, that it reflects on yor Matie, as if you had giuen some instrucc'ons concerning ye stirring up ye army to peton ye Parliamt : I hope it will appeare that yor Maties intenc'ons were only to reteyne ye army in their duty & dependance on yor Matie. The House of Com'ons hath pressed ye Lodes very earnestly for removall of ye Ea. of Portland from his gov'ment of ye Isle of Weight, but ye Lodes yesterday, upon his Lops profession to liue & dye in ye Protestant religion, let fall that busines as by ye inclosed yor Matie will perceave. There hath bene nothing donne these 2. dayes by ye Com'ons touching ye Declarac'on remonstrating ye bad effects of ill counsell, but it is thought that ye same wilbe finished this weeke : there are diverse well affted servants of yor Maties in that House, that oppose that remonstrance wth vnanswerable argumts, but it is veryly thought that it will passe notwithstanding<sup>b</sup>, & that it wilbe ordered to be printed wthout transmission to ye Lodes. The Com'ons (I heare) haue intercepted some letrs that passed betweene Mr. Crofts<sup>c</sup> & ye Dutchess of Chevereux<sup>d</sup>, and gotten the key of their

<sup>a</sup> John Williams, D.D., Dean of Westminster and formerly Lord Keeper. To this draught the royal signature was given.

<sup>b</sup> The motion was carried by 159 to 148, on the 22nd of this month.

<sup>c</sup> Mr. Crofts and Mr. William Murray, already mentioned, were two of those whom the Committee of Parliament, sitting at Grocers' Hall, declared to be persons of vile character, and enemies to liberty ; passing at the same time a resolution that the King should be called on to dismiss them from his service. Crofts had married the aunt of the Earl of Warwick ; and she had also been very active in Court intrigue previous to this, as appears by a reference to *Bromley's Royal Letters*, page 85.

<sup>d</sup> This lady was at the Court of England for the first time, in 1638 ; and is mentioned by Pennant, in his Journey to the Isle of Wight, as having, in a frolic, swam across the Thames ; somewhere, as he supposes, in the vicinity of Windsor. He also preserves an extract from a copy of *Verses* made on the occasion by a Sir J. M. (probably Sir John Mennes, author of the *Musarum Deliciæ*), whose opinion of the lady's frigid chastity is matter of vast amusement to Pennant. Sir J. M. exclaims, in his poetic rapture :

' But her chaste breast, cold as the cloyster'd nun,  
Whose frost to chrystal might congeal the sun,  
So glaz'd the stream, that pilots, there afloat,  
Thought they might safely land without a boat ;  
July had seen the Thames in ice involved,  
Had it not been by her own beams dissolved '.



*caraches*, whereupon Mr. Crofts hath this day bene exa'ied : as alsoe touching his soe frequent vissitting of Col: Goring at Portsmouth, and ye Coll: is also come up by com'and of ye Com'ons, & suspected, for that it hath bene informed, that he hath fortified that garrison to ye land, & put forth some ould soldiers & put in new ; whereby yor Matie may see that euery small matter ministers feare here amongst us. I dare not as yet stirre out of my chamber, being still weake, but (if I shalbe able) I intend (God willing) to wayte on yor Matie at Theobalds on Wensday next, & in ye meane tyme I humbly rest yor sacred Maties most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS

WESTMINSTER: 19<sup>o</sup> Nobris 1641

'For yor Sacred Matie'.

*The Queen to Sir E. Nicholas*

Maistre Nicholas, I did desire you not to acquainte mi lord of essex of what the King commanded you touching his commin : now you may doe it and tell him that the King will be at Tibols vendnesday and shall lye there and upond thursday he shall dine at my lord Maiors and lye at Whitthall onlye for one nitgh and upon friday will goe to hampton-court where he maenes to stay this vinter : the King commanded me to tell this to my lord of essex but you may doe it, for there Lords ships are to great prinsees now to receaued anye direction from mee : beeng all that I haue to say I shall rest your assured frand,

'For Maistre Nicholas'.

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

R: 20<sup>o</sup> Nobris 1641.

The Q: for me to signify to Lo: Chamb'lan.

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, I receaved yor Maties com'aunds yesterday by Sr Hen: Hungate<sup>a</sup>, & this day by Mr. Proger, & shalbe carefull to observe ye same, as I hope I shalbe able on Wensday next to give yor Matie an accompt att Theobalds.

I have now againe receaved assurance, that (as I formerly acquainted yor Matie) ye Gent: & diverse of ye best of ye freeholders of Hertfordshire will wayte on yor Matie a myle before you come to Ware, & if yor Matie please to make a little stop in that towne, that ye better sorte may there kisse yor Royall hand, & ye rest be spoken to by yor Matie, it will give them very great contentmt. If yor Matie please to come softly from Ware, ye most of those will wayte on yor Matie as farre as Theobalds, & if yor Matie thinke not that convenyent, they will wayte on yor Matie only a mile or two out of Ware, & soe receive yor Maties grac'ous dismission. I am ye more dilligent to give yor Matie this advertisemt, because I know those gent: will not fayle in this manner to shew their affecc'ons & duty to you, & that county being soe neere a neighbour to London, it wilbe a good encouragment & comfort to yor well affected people here, to vnderstand, that they have neighbours that have ye like dutifull affecc'ons to yor Maties person and governmt, as these Cittizens here, who are constantly resolved to giue yor Matie a magnificent recepc'on, notwithstanding (I heare) there have been some practises vnderhand to divert them from that their settled pu'pose.

By ye Queenes direcc'ons I signified to my Lo: Chamb'layne on Satterday last, that yor Matie intends to lye at Theobalds Wensday next, to dyne Thursday att ye Guildhall, & that night to lye att Whitehall, & Friday to goe to Hampton Court. Coll. Goring gaue ye House of Com'ons good satisfac'con Satterday last touching his fidellity & good affec'cons, and was thereupon dismissed<sup>b</sup>. The

<sup>a</sup> See *ante*, pp. 786, 787.

<sup>b</sup> Goring, in some subsequent transactions, underwent the imputation of having acted a double part with the King and the Parliament. When the war broke out, Goring, as Governor of Portsmouth, declared for the King ; but that town, being unable to sustain a siege, was soon lost to the Royal Cause. Goring then went to France, as Bulstrode says, with the money he had received on both sides, 'without making good his promises to either'. That Author adds, that 'if his conscience and integrity had equalled his wit and courage, he had been one of the most eminent men of the age he



Com'ons have bene in debate about their Declarac'on touching ye ill effects of bad counsellis euer since 12 at noone, & are at it still, it being now neere 12 at midnight<sup>a</sup>. I staid this dispatch in hope to have sent yor Matie ye result of that debate, but it is soe late, as I dare not (after my sicknes) adventure to watch any longer to see ye issue of it ; only I assure yor Matie there are diverse in ye Com'ons House, that are resolved to stand very stiff for reiecting that Declarac'on, and if they pevayle not then to protest against it. That yor Matie may have a happy & safe returne<sup>b</sup> shalbe euer ye prayer of yor sacred Maties most humble & most obedient servaunt,

EDW. NICHOLAS

WESTMINSTER, 22<sup>o</sup> Nobris, 1641

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

OXFORD, 30 Jan : 1644<sup>c</sup>

Nicholas, I shall ad nothing to the seuerall good newes you will receaue by your fellow Secretairs letter, but the surpryse of Compton House by Sr W. Compton<sup>d</sup> : & to bid you tell your fellow Comissioners<sup>e</sup>, that if there be any

lived in ; but he could not resist temptations, and was a man without scruple, and loved no man so well, but he would cozen him, and afterwards laugh at him'. Goring's high command in the army, and subsequent court-favour, are supposed to have been occasioned in a great measure by the very active assistance he afforded to the Queen, whilst in France, in procuring both money and arms.

<sup>a</sup> It was a little after twelve when the 'Great Remonstrance' was carried, by a majority of eleven. Hampden then moved that it should be printed, which Hyde met by a counter-motion, in which he claimed the right for the minority to be allowed to enter a formal protest against the decision of the House. It appears by the above letter that Nicholas had been informed of Hyde's intention to make this attempt. Hampden's motion was not carried till two o'clock, and after a scene of extraordinary excitement (in which bloodshed was only prevented, according to Sir Philip Warwick, 'by the sagacity and great calmness of Mr. Hampden') the House adjourned at three o'clock. Sir Benjamin Rudyard compared the result to 'the verdict of a starved jury'.

<sup>b</sup> The King did return on the 25th ; which closed this portion of the Correspondence. On the next day, the 26th of November, 1641, the loyal diligence of Mr. Secretary Nicholas was acknowledged and rewarded by the honour of Knighthood conferred on him at Whitehall, as appears from a MS. List of Knights of that reign in the Harleian Collection, No. 6832. In some old Tracts of that period we find also recorded 'Five most noble Speeches' spoken to his Majesty by the mayors of several cities on his route homeward. The mayor of York assured him : 'Our well-tuned bells at this present time, to congratulate the welcome of so great a Prince, turne themselves, and doe willingly stand, as if Time commanded them soe to doe'; to which this ultra-royal magistrate added : 'our wives conceive with joye, our children's tongues are untied with alacrity, and each one doth strive to cry welcome home to so indulgent a Sovereigne, our fields do seeme triumphing in their gay diapry to welcome home your Sacred Majesty, the woods doe seeme to contemne a falling Autumne or a nipping Winter, and assume unto themselves their Spring liveries, and all to welcome home your most Sacred Majesty'. The Mayor of Stamford, after describing himself as the King's 'abject Lieutenant', enlarged upon the loyalty of his fellow citizens, and said that 'each would have bin glad to have entertained the place of a speaker'; whilst Huntingdon's worshipful magistrate boasted, 'that although Rome's Hens should daily hatch of its preposterous eggs, crocodilicall chickens, yet under the shield of Faith, by you our most Royal Sovereigne defended, and by the King of Heavens as I stand and your most medicable councill, would we not be fearful to withstand them.'

<sup>c</sup> A long interval here occurs in the Correspondence, arising from the King's return. Nicholas appears to have been constantly attached to his Majesty's person, until his appointment as one of the Commissioners pending this well-known Treaty. The 'good news' to which the King refers, may have been the entrance of the Scottish army into England, which took place on the 16th.

<sup>d</sup> Sir William Compton was third son of the Earl of Northampton. His two elder brothers were also active in the King's service.

<sup>e</sup> These were, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hertford ; the Earls of Southampton, Kingston, Chichester ; Lords Capel, Seymour, Hatton, Culpepper ; Sirs Edward Nicholas, Edward Hyde, Richard Lane, Thomas Gardiner, Orlando Bridgman ; and Messrs. John Ashburnham, Jeffery Palmer, and Dr. Stewart.



Treaty proposed concerning Scotland (of wch I forgott to speake to them at parting) theire answer must be, to demand a passeport for a gentleman to goe from me to see what stat the Marquis of Muntrose<sup>a</sup> is in, there being noe reason, that I should treate blyndefolde in so important a business, nor without the knowledg of him whom I haue now cheefly employed in that Kingdome & who hath undertaken my seruice there, with so much galantry, when no boddy else would : so I rest your asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

R 31<sup>o</sup> Jani. 1644

His Maties letr to me by Mr. Skipw<sup>th</sup><sup>b</sup> concerning Scotland during ye Treaty at Uxbridge.

*Sir Edward Nicholas to the King*

May it please yor sacred Matie, I have herewth sent to yor Matie coppies<sup>c</sup> of such papers as passed betweene yor Maties Comissionrs here yesterday, & ye Londoners touching ye Militia, wch this after-noone yor Maties Com'issionrs are to make appeare to be a power most naturally & legally in yor Matie : this morning wee are to observe ye fast according to yor Maties Proclamac'on<sup>d</sup>, but it must be donne here in ye Inne, for wee cannot be permitted to have ye Booke of Com'on Prayer read in ye church here, & wee resolve not to goe to any church where the Divine service established by law may not be celebrated.

I have made redde the dispatch to ye King of Portugall, wch wilbe tendred to yor Matie under my hand. I hope yor Matie upon ye advertisment I sent to yor Matie & P. Rupert yesterday, hath before this taken order to pevent that Woodstock be not garrison'd as those of London, have com'aunded. The Comissionrs from London say, that Sr Wm Waller<sup>e</sup> is marching westward as farre as Winchester, & those partes, wth 6000 men ; and that there is an army of about 26,000 Scots to come into England att the opening of ye spring. They vapour much att London, but I heare they are much devided amongst themselves. 276. 352. 574. 662. hath 123. 63. 21. 25. 290. 657. 116. 276. 352. 225. 276. 428. offering

Oxford 6 Feb.

Heerafter you shall doe well to marke their orders to saue us the labor to fynde out, w'che answers w'ch, as well as to send the Papers themselves

You have done well, but they barbarously.

Settle the Weekly dispatches for France with the Portugall Agent, & send me word how.

I haue.

No Braggies must stager, much less alter you in the way you ar, in constantly adhering to Conscience, Justice, & Honnor.

<sup>a</sup> Montrose is represented by those who take the more favourable view of his character to have been secretly attached and faithful to the King's cause some time before he so declared himself, though the King had been kept ignorant of it by the artifices of the Marquis of Hamilton ; for though in the beginning of the troubles in Scotland Montrose had joined the Presbyterian party, and was the first to sign the Covenant, yet seeing reason to change his views, and trusting to the weight of his family alliances, he is alleged to have come to England with the intention of rendering all the service in his power to the King. On his arrival, however, Hamilton, who had often been accused of deceiving Charles with respect to Scottish affairs, contrived so artfully to throw slights upon Montrose, that the latter returned to the Covenanters ; with whom being again disgusted, he wrote shortly after to the King, expressing his loyalty and desire of serving him in the strongest terms ; which letter, it is asserted, Hamilton took out of His Majesty's pocket in the night, and sent it secretly to the Covenanters.

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps Fulmar Skipwith, of Newbold Hall, afterwards created a Baronet by Charles II.

<sup>c</sup> The King's military affairs at this moment were beginning to decline ; for both the armies of Essex and Waller had now been greatly augmented by recruits from the Metropolis and its neighbourhood, as well as from the associated counties. Thus reinforced, these two Parliamentary Generals carried everything before them. They had recently advanced into Oxfordshire, where they hovered about the King's headquarters, and kept the Royal Army in constant alarm.

<sup>d</sup> This fast was appointed by the King, for a blessing on the Treaty then pending at Uxbridge. In the *Mercurius Rusticus* is a copy of the prayer ordered for the occasion ; but as it spoke of the 'unnatural War', and prayed the Almighty to 'let the truth clearly appear, who those are, which under pretence of the public good do pursue their own private ends', it is not surprizing that obstacles were thrown in the way of its celebration.

<sup>e</sup> Waller was not a very fortunate General. Walker says of him, in the *History of Independency*, 'that he lost two armies, yet was a gainer by the employment'.



163. 300. since 173. 276. 340. 225. 276. Militia, soe as 276. 10. 26. 198. 166. satisfac'on. 278. 225. 626. but I know not ye p'ticlars, having not had tyme to speake wth them concerning their discourse, & when I know it, I shall not rely much upon it. God preserve yor Maties person & prosper yor designes, soe prayes yor sacred Maties most humble & most obedient servaunt,

In this, free dealing is the best. Conscience is not to be solud at any rate : but if they will helpe me in the Militia to purpose, I will assist them for theire Arears.

EDW. NICHOLAS

UXBRIDGE, 5<sup>o</sup> febr. 1644

In the King's hand at the bottom of this Letter : ' I should thinke, if in your priuat discourses, (I nowais meane in your publique meetings,) with the London Commissioners, you would put them in mynde that they were arrant Rebelles & that their end must be damnation, ruine, and infamy, except they repented, & founde some way to free themselves from the damnable way they ar in (this Treaty being the aptest) it might doe good ; & cheefly, if Hertford or Southampton would doe it, though I belieue it will haue the owen operation by any of you, well strenthened with arguments : but the more of you that speakes in this dialect the better : This is written not as your Master but your friend,

C. R.

Owld Vulpone is not of my opinion, therfor I am not confident concerning this postcrip, but refer my selfe to your

353 : 116 : 276 [the] : 352 [Sh.] : 225 [of] : 276 [the] : 428 [Exche :] : 560 [Office.].

' For yor sacred Matie '.

' Yours apostyled '.

5-6 febr. 1644.

My Ler to ye King apostyled concerning or proceedings in ye Treaty at Uxbridge.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

OXFORD 8. Feb. 1644<sup>a</sup>

Nicholas, as I haue hitherto approued of your proceedings, so I will nott now censure them : since upon the place, you may have founde such reasons as you haue not fully expressed to me : but, to deale freely, I could haue wished, that ye had used more reseruatiou concerning the Militia : for though I could be content to buy Peace at the rate ye haue sett downe, yet ye might haue reserued something to haue beene drawn on by degrees upon debates, wch me thinkes is a more popular way, then coming at first to the height of your concessions, to leaue your selves nothing but negatiues, in case they should make any aproaches to you : And for the tyme, I should thinke a much shorter tyme than three years were sufficient, to secure the performance of conditions, whereas one cannot tell how any men may be tempted, being so long settled in a manner in the Regall Power, to fynde excuses & delayes for the parting with it, besydes the people being once inewred to that way of gouernement may not be so willing to returne to the owld way, as beliuing it of less subjection than Monarchicall : So I rest your assured frend,

CHARLES R.

If you be pressed to giue a positieue answer concerning Scotland, remember to follow the directions I gaue you in that particular.

Indorsed : R. 9<sup>o</sup> febr. 1644.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

OXFORD 11 Feb. 1644

Nicholas, the directions I gaue you concerning sending to Muntrose, I meane only should extend to those things wch meerly concerne Scotland, so if that wer the only case, it would be no hinderance to you for what concernes the Militia : but I doe not yet conceaue, how I can giue way, that ether of my Kingdomes should haue a hand in the gouernement of the other, without breache of trust to eather : yet in this I doe not so restraine you (so that ye still keepe the number,

<sup>a</sup> The points referred to in this letter require no historical illustration ; but the letter itself is a remarkable document in regard to the private history of the negotiations at Uxbridge, and is an important illustration of the views and spirit of the King at this juncture.

that I shall nominat, at least equall to the other, & enlarge upon no other points) but leaue it to your discretions what to doe, in case you shall fynde a Peace may be gotten by it : But as for those things wch meerly concerne Scotland, I sticke close to my former order of sending to Muntrose, not being ashamed to avow that I shall be much guyded by what I shall heare from him, & should be much more ashamed to treate in those things, without at least communicating with him, who hath hazarded so freely and generously for me, your asseured friend,

CHARLES R.

Indorsed : 11<sup>o</sup> febr. 1644. R. 12.  
His Maties concerning Scotland.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

Nicholas, concerning the answers to the King of Denmarke & D: of Courland, Digby shall giue you my directions. As for the draught of the paper for Mondayes conference, I like it well, & for the critesisme I haue made upon it for the change of the tence, is only that ye should seeme to agree concerning the Militia of Scotland, before that of England were settled : lyking so well what ye haue alreddy done touching that article, that I com'and you not to vary a jott from the substance of it, unlesse it (be) to enlarge my power, or shorten the tyme : as concerning a safe-conduct for a messenger to Scotland, I meerly intend it for those things, wch only concerns that kingdome : to wch I am still constant, leauing you to your Christian liberty, to what shall reciprocally concerne both ; but, by your fauors, I understand not, how any demand can breake off a treaty, indeed insisting upon some, may doe prittely that way. At this tyme I haue no more to say : but, goe not a tittle lesse concerning Religion & Churche-gouernement, & soe I rest your asseured friend,

CHARLES R.

OXFORD 15 febr: 1644

Indorsed : R : 16<sup>o</sup> febr. 1644.

The King concerning the Scots being [included] for the Militia of England.

(A FRAGMENT)

OXFORD 17 Feb. 1644

Memoriall for Se: Nicholas concerning the Treaty at Vxbridge.

1. First for Religion & Churche Gouernement, I will not goe one jott further, than what is offered by you alreddy.

2. And so for the Militia, more then what ye haue alowed by me : but, euen in that, ye must observe, that I must haue free nomination of the full halfe ; as, if the totall number Scots and all, bee Thirty, I name Fiuteene ; yet if they (I meane the Englishe Rebelles) will be so base as to admitt of Ten Scots, to Twenty Englishe, I am content to name Fiue Scots and Tenn English : and so proportionably to any number that shall be agreeede on.

3. As for gaining of particular Persons : besydes Securitie, I giue you power to promis them Rewards for performed seruices, not sparing to egage (engage) for places, so they be not of great trust, or to be taken away from honnest men in possession : but as much profit as you will : with this last, you ar only to acquaint Richemond, Southampton, Culpeper, & Hyde.

Indorsed : ' R. 17<sup>o</sup> febr: 1644. The Kings Memoriall concerning Religion and Militia during ye Treaty at Uxbridge '.

*The King to Prince Rupert*

TICKNILL<sup>a</sup> 14 June 1644

Nepueu, first I must congratulate with you, for yor good successes, assuring you, that the things themselues are no more welcom to me, then that you are the

<sup>a</sup> Tickenhall, near Bewdley. Whilst Charles was here, he paid a formal visit to Bewdley, the Corporation having previously met to determine upon the mode of receiving the Royal visit. The charges are entered upon the Town Books ; and it appears that the sum of two shillings was expended in repairing the Corporation Pew in the Church,



meanes. I know the importance of supplying you with powder, for wch I haue taken all possible wayes, have sent both to Ireland & Bristoll. As from Oxford this bearer is well satisfied that it is impossible to haue at present, but if he tell you that I may spare them from hence, I leaue you to iudge, hauing but 36 left : but what I can get from Bristoll (of wch there is not much certainty, it being threatned to be besieged) you shall haue.

But now I must giue you the trew state of my affaires, wch if their condic'on be such as enforces me to giue you more peremptory com'ands then I would willingly doe, you must not take it ill. If York be lost, I shall esteeme my Crowne little lesse, vnless supported by yor suddain march to mee, & a miraculous conquest in the south, before the effects of the northern power can be found here : but if York be relieved, and you beat the Rebels armies of both kingdomes wch are before it ; then, but otherwise not, I may possibly make a shift (vpon the defensive) to spin out time, vntill you come to assist me : Wherefore I command and coniure you by the duety & affecc'on wch I know you beare me, that (all new enterprises layd aside) you immediatly march (according to yor first intention) with all yor force to the reliefe of York : but if that be either lost, or haue freed themselves from the besiegers, or that for want of powder you cannot vndertake that work : that you immediately march with your whole strength to Worster, to assist me and my army, without wch, or yor having releived York by beating the Scots, all the successes you can afterwards haue, most infallibly wilbe vselesse vnto me. You may believe that nothing but an extreme necessity could make me write thus vnto you, wherefore, in this case, I can no wayes

and sixpence for sweeping out that sacred edifice ; making in all the grand total of two shillings and sixpence sterling.

In a very minute account of the King's affairs at this period, written by Sir Edward Walker, Garter King at Arms, and preserved in the Harleian Collection, No. 4229, it is stated that the King arrived at Bewdley on the 12th ; after having made that very arduous and judicious retreat from Oxfordshire, in which he evaded the pursuit of both Essex and Waller, by forced marches over the country between Witney and Worcester, along what was afterwards the Cheltenham road. The march upon Bewdley is said by Sir Edward to have been made with the intent of saving Worcester from a siege, of drawing Waller further from London, and also of enticing him into a difficult country, where the King's army, then without artillery or heavy baggage, might obtain considerable advantage over him. Waller, however, avoided the western side of the Severn, and fixed his head-quarters at Bromsgrove, contenting himself with advancing a small body of horse to Kidderminster, the ' Foreign ' of which town, as it is called, reaches to the eastern end of Bewdley Bridge. The King's foot were all in Bewdley on the 14th, and the horse quartered along the Severn towards Bridgenorth.

The King was so much aware of the delicacy of his situation at this moment, that on the day preceding the date of the letter in the text, he had formed a Council of War, directing them to meet every day and report their proceedings in respect to forming a plan of retreat, either into Wales or upon Shrewsbury ; and on this day the Council and King determined to retreat back to Worcester, and so on to Evesham. He was closely followed by Waller ; but, immediately after this date, eluded him so far as to reach Daventry before him, and finally he defeated Waller at Cropredy bridge, on the 29th of June.

At the date of his letter the King had got intelligence that York was besieged by the Scottish army (just before the battle of Marston Moor), and that the Scots had been also joined by Fairfax and Lord Manchester. This fact explains the military orders given in it, which are perfectly in consonance with the existing accounts of Prince Rupert's conduct previous to that battle. It may be remarked, however, that Bulstrode, as well as others, brings an accusation against Rupert for fighting the Parliamentary forces after raising the siege ; but the express words of the King imply a desire not only for the relief of York, but also for a battle with the enemy ; else why did he allude to ' beating the Rebel armies ' as a means of enabling him to spin out time ? This is a most important fact in the history of the Civil Wars ; for the Marquis of Newcastle, and other general officers, were so disgusted with the Prince for fighting against or without orders, as they supposed, that they left England immediately, going to Hamburg, and thereby the whole of the north was lost to the King's cause. The letter in the text is a copy, but it presents no material discrepancy from the original, which has since been printed in Mr. Foster's *Statesmen of the Commonwealth*, vol. iv, pp. 129, 130.



doubt of your punctuall compliance with yor loving Oncle & most faithfull friend,  
 CHARLES R.

I commanded this bearer to speake to you concerning Vauasor.

(Copy)

At a Councell at Oxford, 5<sup>o</sup> December 1644. Present

The Kings most excellent Matie,

Prince Rupert	Lo: Chamberlaine
Prince Maurice	Ea: of Berks
Lord Keeper	Ea: of Sussex
Lord Treasurer	Ea: of Chichester
Lo: Duke of Richmond	Lo: Digby
Lo: Marqs Hertford	Lo: Seymour
Lo: Great Chamb'laine	Lo: Culpeper
Ea: of South'ton	Mr. Secretary Nicholas.

Mr. Chancr of ye Excheqr.

A Letter being then read written by ye Earle of Essex to his Highness Prince Rupert Generall of his Mat's Armyes in these words

'Sr, there being a message sent from his Matie by ye Committees of both kingdomes that were lately at Oxon concerning a safe-conduct for ye Duke of Richmond & E. of South'ton without any direc'con : I am commanded by both Houses of Parliament to give yor Highnesse notice, That if ye King bee pleased to desire a safe conduct for ye Duke of Richmond & ye Ea: of South'ton wth their attendants from ye Lords and Commons assembled in ye Parliamt of England at Westminster, to bring to ye Lords and Commons assembled in ye Parliament of England, and ye Commissionrs of ye kingdome of Scotland now at London, an answer to the Propositions presented to his Matie for a safe and well grounded peace, it shalbee graunted.—This is all I haue at present to trouble youre Highnesse, being yor Highness humble Servant,

Essex'

3<sup>o</sup> Decemb. 1644

Which Letter and ye expressions therein being fully considered & debated, it was by the whole Councell vnanimously resolved, That his Maties desire of a safe-conduct in ye termes expressed in that Letter, would not bee any acknowledgment or concession of ye members of ye two Houses sitting at Westminster to bee a Parliament, nor any wayes prejudice his Majesties cause,

Whereupon his Matie declaring openly at ye Board, that since such was their Lops opinion, that hee did therefore and (*eo animo*) consent thereunto. And accordingly his Matie desired his Highnesse Prince Rupert, as his Maties Generall, to retorne this answer :

'My Lord, I am commanded by his Matie to desire of yor Lop a safe-conduct for the Duke of Richmond and the Ea: of South'ton wth their attendants, coaches and horses, and other accomodac'ons for their journey in their coming to London, during their stay, and in their returne when they shall thinke fit from ye Lords and Com'ons assembled in ye Parliament of England at Westminster, to bring to ye Lords and Commons assembled in ye Parliament of England and ye Commissionrs of ye Parliament of Scotland now at London an answer to ye propositions presented to his Matie for a safe and well-grounded peace. Resting yor Lops Servant,

RUPERT'

Oxon. 5th Decembr, 1644

Which said answer was accordingly sent to London by a Trumpeter.

EDW. NICHOLAS

The following is in the hand of Sir E. N.

Memorandum : that the King and myself of all the Councell Boorde were the only persons that concurred not in opinion ; that it was fitt to call those sitting at Westmr a Parliamt. P. Rupert thoughte he were pesent did not vote, because he was to execute what should be resolved on by this Councell ; but by the orderr & practice of the Councell Boorde, if the maior part agree to any act or order, all the Councillors that were pesent att the debate, albeit they dissented are involved, and are to be named as if they consented.

E. N.



*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*HEMLEY HALL<sup>a</sup>, 16 May, 1645

Nicholas, I haue receaued, & thanke you for your seuerall dispatches, but haue no newes to send you in recompence to yours, nor expect to sende you any untill we shall come to 488 [sum'on] : 338 [Chester] : wch is our first 361 [designe] : being not yet resolued whether to goe afterward<sup>b</sup> : I am glad you goe so well on wth your 448 [provisions] : 54 : 74 : & hope you will take as great care that you be not disturbed by mutinous people : this is all at this tyme from your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

Let henceforthe 337 [Crown Ls:] . signefy 1 [c] : 40 [o] : 30 [n] : 70 [t] : 33 [r] : 23 [i] : 50 [b] : 71 [u] : 24 [t] : 40 [i] : 31 [o] : 73 [n] : & 447 [Portland] : 74 : 47 [p] : 10 [a] : 48 [p] : 25 [i] : 53 [s] : 72 [t] : 75.

Being newly come hither to Bisberry<sup>c</sup>, I haue certaine intelligence that Sr John Pryce, being Gouvernor & in Mungomery Castel, is declared, & houlds it for me.

16<sup>o</sup> Maij 1645. R: 21<sup>o</sup>.

The King to me.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

CHETWIN, 18 May 1645

Nicholas, I receaued yours of the 16. this morning, to wch I haue little to answer but to thanke you for your often aduerticements<sup>d</sup>, & to tell the Marquis Winchester that he recompence his woode losse out of Wallops<sup>e</sup> : for newes I refer you to your fellow Secretair & frend, the generall being, that we are (God be thanked) all well & in hart, the Rebelles hauing twyce offered to beate up some of our quarters, but wth losse to themselues : I desyre to know how you goe on in your recuting [recruiting] & fortifications, as well as you haue satisfied me concerning your prouisions : So desyring you to send thease inclosed to 454 : I rest your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

(Address) 'for your selfe'.

Indorsed : 18<sup>o</sup> Maij. 1645. R. 21<sup>o</sup>. The King to me.*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*WISTON<sup>f</sup>, 4 June 1645

Nicholas, I haue receaued yours, of the 30 : May, this morning, none of yours hauing yet miscarried : but I would not answer any of them myselfe 292 [untill] : 287 : 177 [I] : 307 [were] : 222 : 182 [marching] : 273 [towards] : 36 : 10 : 33 : 20 : 53 : 73 [you] : 313 : 75 : 298 [wthout] : 232 : thinking of 92 [any] : 285 [thing] : 74 : 44 [else] : 4 : 54 : 45 : 76 [before] : 105 : 134 : 46 : 77 [I] : 177 [hau] : 157 relieu 133 [ed] : 78 : 313 [you] : 312 [yet] : 177 [I] : 212 [must] : deale 376 : 203 [freely] : 79 : 298 [wth] : 313 [you] : 283 [that] : 17 [my] : 84 : 83 : [army] 325 : is so weake 105 : 182 [being not] : 226 : 70 : 80 : 143 [4000] : 497 [foote] : 375 : 93 [&] : 81 : 55 [scarce] : 112 : 53 : 45 : 82 : 3500 : 174 [horse] : 73) : 95 [as] :

<sup>a</sup> In Staffordshire, the seat of Lord Dudley.<sup>b</sup> On the day following the date of this Letter measures were taken by the Parliament for the siege of Oxford ; the Commons, on the 17th of May, sending a message to the Upper House, to let their Lordships know 'that the House of Commons, out of a desire to put an end to this miserable war, do think it fit that siege be laid to the City of Oxford, for the taking it, it being the centre of our troubles.'<sup>c</sup> Bibury in Oxfordshire.<sup>d</sup> It would seem to have been also the King's intention about this time to have done more for his secretary than mere thanks ; for in a letter to the Queen, dated on the 27th of March, intercepted and published by the Parliament, he says, 'As for Jack Barclay, I do not remember that I gave thee any hope of making him Master of the Wards ; for Cottington had it long before thou went hence, and I intended it to Secr. Nich. if he then would have received it ; and I am deceived if I did not tell thee of it.'<sup>e</sup> Evidently in reference to the sequestrations inflicted upon that nobleman.<sup>f</sup> There are several places of this name ; but it seems probable that the Wiston here meant is in Nottinghamshire.

177 [I] : 74 : 54 : 14 : 11 : 4 [shall] : 6 : 73 : 292 [vn] : willingly hazard 273 [to] : 33 [reliue] : 46 : 5 : 23 : 60 : 57 : 436 [Oxon] : 105 [before] : 134 : 382 [Lo.] : 234 [Garinga] : 75 : 7 [or] : 12 : 34 [Garrarde] : 33 : 44 : 105 [be] : 76 : 184 [joyned] : 31 : 45 : 21 [to] : 273 : 221 [me] : except such 13 [an] : 32 : 77 [absolute] : 10 : 50 : 53 : 40 : 4 : 61 : 70 : 46 : 78 : 32 [necessity] : 57 : 1 : 44 : 54 : 55 : 45 : 71 : 85 : 283 [that] : 436 [Oxon] : 305 [wilbe] : 105 : 79 : 4 [lost] : 42 : 53 : 72 : 183 [if] : 226 [not] : 70 : 78 : reliued 106 [by] : 267 [such] : 11 [a] : 123 [day] : 302 [where fore] : 134 : 97 [as] : 313 [you] : 5 : 43 [love] : 63 : 44 : 80 [my] : 18 : 86 : 81 : 243 : 54 [peservation] : 45 : 33 : 62 : 11 : 70 : 185 : 82 : 291 [use] : 46 : 83 : all possible meanes 233 [of] : 244 [prolonging] : 196 : 182 : 314 [yor] : 448 [provisions] : 55 : 77 : 286 [though] : 178 [it] : 105 [be] : 106 [by] : 78 : 2 : [chasing] 14 : 13 : 54 : 182 : 232 [out] : 90 [all] : unnecessary 47 : 44 [people] : 40 : 48 : 6 : 45 [who] : 304 : 157 [haue] : 226 [not] : 71 : 79 : 448 [prouision] : 134 : 281 [for] : 19 [them-selves] : 53 : 46 : 5 : 57 : 54 : 74 [&] : 93 : 75 : [stinting] 55 : 70 : 24 : 30 : 71 : 182 : euery one (117 [D.]) : 233 [of] : 512 : 226 [Yorke not] : 72 : except 133 [ed] 273 [to] : 73 : 10 [a] : 74 : 53 [small] : 17 : 11 : 4 : 44 : 77 [proportion] : 244 : 47 : 40 : 33 : 70 : 185 : 78 [of] : 233 : 221 [meate] : 12 : 71 : 45 : 79 : 129 [euery] : 86 : 80 : 123 [day] : 93 [&] : 118 [doe] : 45 : 226 [not] : 72 : 81 : hasten 221 [me] : 273 [to] : 313 [you] : 298 [wthout] : 232 : 294 [very] : 74 : 60 : 44 [very] : 33 : 84 : 74 : absolute 30 : 46 [necessity] : 3 : 45 : 53 : 55 : 23 : 70 : 85 : 83 : 73 [for] : 134 : 293 [upon] : 235 : 281 [the] : 137 [faith] : 233 : 75 [of] : 10 [a] : 76 : 1 : 14 [Christian] : 33 : 23 : 53 : 70 : 24 : 11 : 30 : 77 [noe] : 226 [tyme] : 498 : shall 105 [be] : 78 [lost] : 5 : 40 : 54 : 72 [for] : 134 : 314 [yor] : 488 [succour] : 78 : 16 : 41 [how] : 36 [soone] : 266 : 235 : 45 : 79 [it] : 178 : 209 [may] : 105 [be] : 121 [donne wh] : 298 : 92 [any] : probability 233 [of] : 226 [not] : 71 : 73 : 16 : 12 [hazarding] : 56 : 13 : 34 : 20 : 182 : 199 [like] : 77 : mad men ; which 177 [I] : shall 55 [stay] : 72 : 10 : 86 [at] : 94 : 74 : 15 [Harboro] : 11 : 34 : 50 : 43 : 35 : 39 : (299 [wch] : 178 [is] : 17 [my] : 84 : 216 [morrowes] : 41 : 38 : 55 [march] : 222 : 262 [some] : 498 [tyme] : 273 [to] : 75 : 8 : 12 : 281 [gather] : 34 : 293 [up] : straglers 93 [&] : 273 [to] : 219 [make] : 448 [provision] : 273 : 486 [to] : 313 [supply] : 134 [you] : 90 [for] : 282 [this] : 318 [service] : & then wee shall 222 [march] : 76 : 64 : 11 [faster] : 53 : 70 : 44 : 33 : 234 [or] : 77 : 54 [slower] : 5 : 42 : 307 : according to intelligence. So I rest your most asseured frend,

Indorsed : 4<sup>o</sup> Junij 1645, 'the Kg to me'.

CHARLES R.

\* \* The decyphering is in the hand-writing of Sir Edward Nicholas.

### *The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

DAINTRY, 9 June 1645

Nicholas, I have receaued so many letters from you, that I belieue none of them ar miscaried<sup>b</sup>, & this morning one from you of the 7. & wth it one of the same date from all my Comissioners except Southampton and Dorset by wch I perceauue they were not so much stressed by the siege as the rest : but the cheefe end of this is, by you to send this inclosed to 454 : tell 394 : that I have receaued 165 [his] of the  $\frac{1}{2}$  of May but would not stay this messenger untill it was desyfered : I will say no more now, but if we peripatetiques get no more mischances then you Oxfordians<sup>c</sup> ar lyke to haue

<sup>a</sup> Goring at this time was engaged in the siege of Taunton, and had been ordered, as Bulstrode asserts, by letters from the King, to quit that place and join his Majesty, who was afraid, shortly before the battle of Naseby, that the enemy might prove too powerful for him. Bulstrode says that he wrote the General's reply, in which Charles was urged to act upon the defensive until Taunton should be taken ; but he hints some strong suspicions of Goring being actuated by sinister views. The whole passage is curious. See Bulstrode's *Memoirs*, p. 124. Edit. 1721.

<sup>b</sup> The fact is, however, that Charles's general correspondence was, at this time, much interrupted ; for the letter of Goring, already alluded to, was intercepted by Fairfax, and it was this which induced the parliamentary commanders to bring the King to action at Naseby, before he could be joined by the army from the West.

<sup>c</sup> A letter written by Charles, on this day, to the Queen, was intercepted by the Parliament. In it he assured her that the rebels had been forced to raise the siege of Oxford, in consequence of his march after the taking of Leicester ; and that quarrels



this somer, we may all expect probably a merry winter. So I rest your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

'For your selfe'.

9° Junij. 1645. R. 10°. His Matie l'tr to me.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

DAINTRY, 11 June, 1645

Nicholas, As I thanke you for aduerticing me, so I much wonder 94 [at] : 281 [the] : 204 [letter] : 93 : 221 [& message] : 53 : 55 : 10 : 7 : 44 : 73 : 299 [wch] : 281 [the] : 406 [Lords] : 54 : 74 : 50 [brought] : 33 : 40 : 60 : 8 : 14 : 70 : 75 [me] : 221 : for you know 283 [that] : 281 [the] : 351 : 76 [Councell] : 36 : 11 [was] : 53 : 77 : 30 : 129 [neuer] : 78 : 37 [wont] : 40 : 31 : 71 : 79 : 273 [to] : 80 [debaite] : 20 : 45 : 51 : 12 : 12 : 23 : 72 : 46 : upon any matter : 226 [not] : 70 : 81 : 244 [pounded] : 249 : 133 : 273 [to] : 281 [them] : 17 : 82 [by] : 106 : ye 398 [King] : & certainly 178 [it] : 307 [were] : a strange 285 [thing] : 183 [if] : 83 [my] : 18 : 84 : 222 [marching] : 182 : 325 [Army] (espetially I being 94 [at] : 281 [the] : 173 [head] : 233 [of] : 281 [them] : 19 : and) should be gouerned 106 [by] : 73 : 17 [my] : 85 : 74 : 53 : 24 [sitting] : 70 : 122 : 351 [Councell] : 94 : 436 [at Oxon] : the 303 [when] : it is scarce fitt for my selfe 94 [at] : 267 [such] : 11 : 124 [a] : 71 : 12 [distance] : 31 : 1 : 45 : to give any 47 : 43 [positiue] : 53 : 26 : 70 : 25 : 63 : 57 : 439 [order] : & indeed it added to my 39 : 42 [wonder] : 30 : 20 : 44 : 33 : 283 [that] : Vulpone 109 [could] : 226 : 72 [not] : 73 : 14 : 23 [hinder] : 30 : 21 : 45 : 34 : 282 [this] : as the Gouernor tould me he did such an other 181 [indiscreete] : 124 : 2 : 35 : 25 : 71 : 46 : 74 : 17 : 41 : 72 [motion] : 185 : but few dayes agoe : howeuer I desyre you to take the best care you may that 281 [the] : 199 [like of] : 233 : 282 [this : 105 : 226 [be] : 71 [not] : 77 : 121 [done] : with heerafter ; of wch I will say no more, hauing freely & fully spoken of it to 406 : 16 : 13 [Lord] : 70 : 72 [Hatton] : 43 : 32 : to whom I refer you, & rest your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

The Gouernor hathe earnestly desyred me to thank Vulpone and your selfe for the great assistance ye haue giuen him in my absence, wch I hartely doe, desyryng you to continew so ; for I fynde he will haue need of all helpes.

R: 14° Junii. 1645. The King to me concerning the l'tres sent his Matie by the Council when he was at Daintree.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

LUBNAM<sup>a</sup>, 13 June 1645

Nicholas, this is first to send this inclosed by your meanes to 70 [the] : 4n4 [Queene] : 240 : then to lett you know you ar like to heare of me tomorrow<sup>b</sup>. I marche to 4 : 10 [Land] : 30 : 20 : 11 : 50 : 12 [Abay] : 84 : 82 : after that to 17 : 44 : 5 [Melton] : 70 : 40 : 31 : & so to 51 : 45 : 6 [Belvoir] : 60 : 42 : 23 : 33 : but I assure you that I shall looke before I leape farther 32 : 43 : 34 [North] : 72 : 14 : 73 : but I am going to supper, so I rest your most assured frend,

WOLUERHAMPTON, 17 June

CHARLES R.

This was written befor the Bataile.

'For your selfe'.

17° Junii 1645. The King to me before ye Battaile of Naisby.

were then very frequent between Fairfax's and Cromwell's soldiers. He also observed that his affairs never were in so hopeful and so fair a way ; adding, that all he wished for, in case of ultimate success, was the undisturbed enjoyment of her society.

<sup>a</sup> In Leicestershire. This letter, as noted by Nicholas, was written on the very day before the battle of Naseby.

<sup>b</sup> The 'inclosed' letter is not preserved ; but, on a comparison of dates and facts, it appears to have contained the news of the capture of Leicester. It was at midnight, after the letter in the text was written, that a Council was held in the King's tent, and a resolution taken to give battle ; but it also appears, by this remarkable letter, that when Charles went to supper on that memorable night he had no intention of adopting the course which, so recommended by his midnight Council, ended in his entire ruin. So little had he been conscious of the approach of the enemy, that on the previous day he had been hunting, and what he designed for the morrow (the fatal day of Naseby) we observe by the letter in the text.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas<sup>a</sup>*

Nicholas, I thanke you for the freedom you haue used in your letters to me, & as for 281 [the] : 23 : 4 [ill] : 6 : 395 [intelligence] : 105 : 70 : 36 [betwixt] : 24 : 87 : 71 : 73 [my] : 17 [Soldiers] : 84 : 484 : 53 : I belue I haue found the bottom of it, & haue put such a remedy to it, as hope heereafter to haue little troble that way : and am confident, that there is 226 : 288 : 113 : 233 : 487 : with 10 : 153 : 55 : 72 : 382 : 93 : 414 : 104 : 477 : 165 : 295 : 76 : 64 : 11 [fancies] : 30 : 1 : 26 : 44 : 54 : for this I haue very good ground ; but now I desyre to know who ar the melancolly men amongst you, that is to say if any dispare of our business, (for we heere thinke that we had so much the better, as we might spare them thus much & yet be upon equall termes), & in particular what 478 : 421 : 385 [Southampton] : 93 : 406 : 54 : 45 : 18 : 46 : 34 : thinkes of my present affaires : I haue so good hopes of my Welshe leauies that I dout not but (by the grace of God) to be in the head of a greater Army within this two monthes, than any I haue seene this yeare, & so I rest your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

This is in my owld cyfer to show I haue not lost it ; send this inclosed where you use to doe.

‘ For your selfe ’.

8<sup>o</sup> July 1645. The Kg to me.

*Prince Rupert to Sir Edward Nicholas*

Sir, I sent you word by Coll Terringham that I had receaved your letter by this woman, so alsoe the unfortunat losse of brige Watter, sence wch I heare noe sertay'ty of the Enemy's motions. there is a shippe landed at dartmouth laden with 200 barl of powder and store of arms. 209 [If] : 474 [Fairfax] : 53 [advance] : 76 : 33 : 99 : 10 : 40 : 343 [speedily] : 40 : 225 : 347 [to] : 363 [us] : 369 [Wee] : 28 : 87 [shall] : 97 : 110 [bee] : forced 76 : 347 [to] : 308 [quit] : 437 [Bath] : for 13 [want] : 54 : 81 : 50 : 278 [of] : 248 [men] : 100 [and] : 616 [victualls] : 30 : 527 : but if 604 : 91 : 183 [hee] : 174 [give] : 363 [us] : 20 : 51 [time] : 17 : 38 : 43 : 369 [wee] : shall 125 [doe] : 373 [well] : 273 : 158 : I heare but little from Gll Goring<sup>b</sup>. 544 [Prince] : 280 [Charles] : 207 [is] : 101 [at] : 4 [Pendennis] : 140 : 40 : 79 : 207 : 96 [Castle] : 452 : it is reported 354 [that] 431 [Sr]. 190. [Jo:] 174. [Berkly] 81. [hath] 153 [giuen] 204 [five] 158. [hundred] 347. [to] 328. [some] body 205 [I]. 218. [know] 148. [for] 347. [to] 30. [stop] 50. 27. 6. [Prince] 40. [Charles<sup>c</sup>] 544. 160. 119. [from coming] 208. 66. 347. [to] 470. [Exeter].

<sup>a</sup> This letter is without date of place ; but by means of it, and several of the subsequent ones, we mark the King's route between the battle of Naseby and his arrival at Newark ; a space of time during which Bulstrode describes him as ‘ flying from place to place, not well knowing which way to turn himself ’. It is evident, notwithstanding, that he had specific plans in view ; on account of which he visited Wales, Shropshire, and afterwards Huntingdon and Yorkshire, before he proceeded to Newark.

<sup>b</sup> Goring had been defeated by Fairfax, on the 10th of this month, at Suttonfield, near Bridgwater, which town surrendered to the Parliament on the 23rd. Colonel Windham, the Governor, made a gallant defence. It was he who, some years afterwards, when he assisted Charles the Second in his escape, told the King that Sir Thomas his father, in the year 1636, a few days before his death, had called to him his five sons, and thus addressed them : ‘ My children, we have seen hitherto serene and quiet times under our three last Sovereigns ; but I must now warn you to prepare for clouds and storms. Factions arise on every side, and threaten the tranquillity of your native country. But whatever happen, do you faithfully honour and obey your Prince, and adhere to the Crown. I charge you never to forsake the Crown, though it should hang upon a bush.’

<sup>c</sup> Charles (the Prince) had first been under the tuition of the Marquis of Newcastle, afterwards of the Marquis of Hertford ; also of Dr. Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury. His education, latterly, was at Oxford, of which University the Marquis of Hertford was Chancellor.



I doubt we shall shortly see the mistery of this<sup>a</sup>. 482. [Sir] 353 [R. Grenville<sup>b</sup>] 282. 225. [ye only] 594. [souldier in] 208. 353. [the] 371. [West] 207 [is] 76. discontented 78. 40. 77. 90. 100. [&] 207. [is] 101. [at] 184. [his] 284. [owne] 85 [house] 24. 33. 28. 43. wch he will defend. What 499. [ye King] 371. [will] 125. [doe] 205. [I know] 218. [not.] 267 [Lo:] 456. [Digby] send. 28. [s] 13. [word] 76 [part erased] 40. or 205. [I] 30. [shall] 85. 97. 108. 102. [as] so 2. [on] 82. 90. 102. [as] 328 [some] speculation 30. [s] 20. 31. 98. [are] 71. 44. [brought] 24. 36. 66. 87. 50. 20. 347 [to] 301. 16. [40. proiection] 10. 50. 211. 604. 341. Pray god this prove well. Just as I am writing I heare that 280. 353. [the] 592. [Scots] 427 [Army] 207. [is] 4. [past] 102. 50. 20. 110. 50. [betweene] 369. 80. 40. 37. 24. [Monmouth] 81. 39. 27. 36. 51. 87. 90 [&] 97. 53. 61. [Abergainy] 44. 177. 41. 94. 31. this inclosed is concerning the commissioners of asseise, whoe are soe bond up by the members at Oxford that noe thing can be issued without their consent; if they were but soe farr trusted as that, in such case as now we are in, (when we need powder and provisions) monys might be issued from thence to such uses as shall be most necessary for his Maties service in the gaurison, I shall be accountable that none shall be desired by me without there be a great necessity. I pray lett me have a speedy answer, wch will infenety oblige your most faithfull frend,

RUPERT

BRISTOL, 27 of July

27<sup>o</sup> July 1645. Rec. 31. Price Rupert to me.

*Prince Rupert to Sir Edward Nicholas*

Sir, as I told you our resolution in my last by the woman 369 [we] : 98 [are]. for-138. [ced] 347. [to] 308. [quit] 437. Bath.] 499. [The King] intends 148. [for] 592. a fine 459. [designe:] you may be sure that I have hand in it, for I have this from others : this is alle our news : pray write often to us ; I have receaved but one expresse from you, the rest were by messengers of my owne. So I rest yor most faithfull frend,

RUPERT

BRISTOLL 29th of July

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

CARDIFFE 4 Aug. 1645

Nicholas, hauing comanded your fellow Secretary<sup>c</sup> to giue you a full accout as well of our proceedings heree, as resolutions : I will neither trouble you nor my selfe with repetitions : only for my selfe I must desyre you to lett euery one know, that no distresse of fortune whatsoever shall euer make me (by the grace of God) in any thing receade from those grounds I layed doune to you, who were my Comissioners at Uxbridge ; & wch (I thanke them) the Rebelles haue published in print : & though I could haue wished that paines had beene spaired, yet I will nether deny that those things ar myne, wch they haue sett out in my name, (only some words heere & there mistaken, & some com'as misplaced, but not much materiall) nor, as a good Protestant, or honest man, blushe for any of those papers ; indeed, as a discreet man, I will not justefy my selfe : & yet I would faine know him, who would be willing that the freedome of all his priuat letters were publicly seene, as myne haue now beene ; howsoever, so that one clause be rightly understood, I care not much though the rest take their fortunes ;

<sup>a</sup> Berkeley was high in the Prince of Wales's confidence about the time of this 'mystery'; for when Goring complained of the proceedings of the Prince's Council, Berkeley was sent, along with Sir Hugh Pollard and Colonel Ashburnham, to hold a private conference with him on the subject.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Richard Grenville was soon after proposed to command the foot in the army of the West, when the insubordination of the troops, through the misconduct of Lord Wentworth, rendered new arrangements absolutely necessary. But Grenville, contrary to expectation, refused to act ; and he was therefore sent prisoner to the Castle in Mount's Bay, where he remained until the successes of the Parliament army in that quarter induced the Prince, lest he should fall into their hands, to permit him to transport himself to the Continent.

<sup>c</sup> Lord Digby.

it is, concerning the Mungrill Parliament : the trewth is, that Sussex<sup>a</sup> factiousness, at that tyme, put me somewhat out of patience, wch made me freely vent my displeasure against those of his party to my Wyfe, & the intention of that phrase was, that his faction did what they could to make it come to that, by theire raising and fomenting of basse propositions : this is cleerely evidenced by my following excuse to her for suffering those people to trouble her, the reason being, to eschew those greater inconueniences wch they had & wer more lykly to cause heere, then there. I am going to supper, so I rest your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

I haue reaued (received) your new cyfer as for example, 224 [my] : 302 [erased] : 181 : 176 [in] : 276 [that] : 14 : 54 : 11 : 308 : 216 : 17 : 1 : 181 : 72 : 232 : 18 : 35 : 2 : 50 : 151 : 51 : 60 : 316 : 110 : 168 : Husbands 346 : 398 [comaund] : 316 [wch] : 98 : 290 [you] : 295 [are] 86 [to] : 70 [use] : according 290 [to] : 277 [the] : 225 [nature] : 19 : 43 : 3 : 37 : 80 : 231 [of] : 277 [the] : 280 [thing].

Indorsed : Cardiff 4<sup>o</sup> Aug: 1645. R. 10. The King to me concerning the Mungrill P'liam'nt.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

BRIDGENORTHE, 9 Aug : 1645

Nicholas, this morning I receaued yours of the 30: July, wch requyres no answer but thankes for your often aduertisements : & particularly for those wch ar of most freedome, in answer to wch I shall desyre you, (with the like freeness) to take heed that 358 [Digby's] : 51 : 376 [friends] : 53 [make] : 210 : 229 [not] : 17 : 50 [most] : 220 : 231 [of] : 277 [suspicion] : 511 : against 401 [erased] : 147 [for] : 174 [I] : 111 [cannot] : 229 : 18 : 115 [con] : ceale : 148 [from] : 316 [you] : 276 [that] : 358 [Digby] : 39 : 31 [erased] : 19 : 35 : 53<sup>b</sup> : perfectly 453 : 96 [and] : 94 [all] : 276 [that] : 98 : [are] 104 : 202 [beleeeved] : 83 : 290 [to] : 104 [be] : 170 [his] : particular 376 [friends] : 52 : & I assure you 276 [that] : 277 [there] : 1 : 36 [is] : 60 [no] : 181 : 229 : 124 : 72 : 32 [dispatch] : 17 : 61 : 41 : 315 [yet] : 116 [come] : 290 [to] : 213 [me] : 148 [from] : 401 [—] : For newes, I refer you to your frends, only I must tell you that to morrow I intend to march to 403 [Lichfield] : 96 [&] : 266 [soe] : 290 [to] : 437 [Newarke] : 277 : 227 [ye] : 524 [next] : 109 [day] : 175 [but] : 277 [if ye] : 78 [Irish] : 2 : 79 : 51 : 42 : 104 [be] : 116 [come] : of wch I haue good hope 277 [then] : 27 : 174 [I] : shall 17 [turne] : 43 [to] : 3 : 28 [Chester] : 37 : 290 : 340. My last was from Cardife, wch was written in such haste that I forgot to bid you send me word (wch now I earnestly desyre you not to forget to doe) how my printed letters ar, & haue been, sensured at Oxford, by the seuerall sorts of people, according to theire dyuerse humors ; this is all at this tyme from your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

In the voide place of your last cyfer at the end of the Ws of the hindermost alfabet I haue filled it, with the word *want* : lykewais the two others at the end of the Ys with *yesternight* & *yonder*.

9<sup>o</sup> Aug: 1645. R. 16<sup>o</sup>. The King to me from Bridgenorth.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

DONCASTER, 18 Aug : 1645

Nicholas, I haue sent this bearer expressly to giue you a particular account of my present condition, wch considering what it was at the beginning of this monthe, is now (I thanke God) miraculously good ; and indeed the gentlemen in these partes shoves themselves really affectionat & harty in my service : acting cherfully (without any grumbling) what I desyre. Now I expect, not only that (lyke ants) you haue plentifully prouyded your selves for winter, but lykewais that you so recrute your selves in men & armes, that it may be a lusty stocke for a next years army : So I rest, your asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

<sup>a</sup> Thomas Lord Saville, recently created Earl of Sussex.

<sup>b</sup> These figures are decyphered by Sir Edward Nicholas, but erased with a pen ; yet may in part be restored.



As I haue com'aded my Sone to comend me to all the Laydis, so you must to all the Lords my friends, & particularly to Vulpone, & tell the Gouvernor that he has forgotten that he sent me a cyfer.

DONCASTER 18<sup>o</sup> Aug. 1645. R. 23. The King to me.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

HUNTINGTOUNE 25 Aug: 1645

Nicholas, I haue this morning receaued yours of the 13: Aug: with fower printed Oxford Papers concerning my published Letters, & am glad to fynde that you there make so faire (indeed just, as concerning my religion, kingdomes & friends) an interpretation of them, & particularly that you haue so great a confidence in my constancy to my just cause: and now me thinkes I wer too blame if I did not justifie the trewth of your opinions concerning me, by my owen declaration, wch is this, that let my condition be neuer so low, my successes neuer so ill, I resolute (by the grace of God) neuer to yeald up this Church to the gouernement of Papists, Presbiterians, or Independants, nor to injure my successors, by lesening the Crowen of that ecclesiasticall & military power wch my predecessors left me, nor forsake my frends, much lesse to lett them suffer when I doe not, for theire faithfulnessse to me, resolving sooner to liue as miserable as the violent rage of successful insulting Rebells can make me (wch I esteeme far worse than death) rather than not to be exactly constant to thease grounds; from wch, whosoener, upon whatsoeuer occasion, shall persuaide me to receade in the least title, I shall esteeme him ether a foole or a knaue; but you will aske me, *Quorsum hoc?* Yes, for without this warning, the tender personall affection of some might giue me troblesome aduyce, & yet not blameable, considering the present condition of my affaires, & not knowing this my resolution, wch I comand you to publishe to all whom their quality or judgement makes fitt for such discourses, & so I rest, your most asseured frend, CHARLES R.

You may say confidently, & giue me for author, that the peace of Irland is concluded, not yet knowing the particular conditions.

25 Aug: 1645. The King to me from Huntington, containing his resoluc'on never to quit ye Church Gouernement, his friends, or to diminishe the Crowne of that military or eccl'all power wch was left him by his predecessors.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

RAGLAND<sup>a</sup> 9 Sep. 1645

Nicholas, I receaued yesterday bothe of your letters (for I perceaued by their markes, that you haue yet written no more) with the advertisements from London, wch as you say is worthy my notice, but without considering make this answer, that the just contrary, concerning the new discouery of my Com'ission in a letter to the two Queenes<sup>b</sup> about the Irishe Papists, is trew: for indeed that roag Hartogen made such a foolishe proposition, but it was flatly denyed by me, & (if my memory much faile me not) my Wyfe tooke occasion upon some clause in my answer, wherby it semed to her (in wch she was mistaken) as if I thought she had lyke the proposition, to disclaime any parte in it (so far from aprobatation) but only the transmitting of it to me, wch certainly was not fitt for her to refuse: & this (with many other ansome expressions of her affection to me, euen to the ventring of being thought a Protestant in condemning the Irish proceedings) was, as I beliae, in that letter wch Tom Elliot deliuered me from her, as I was marching over Broadway Hills the 9 of May last; for I am sure the most of that letter was concerning the Irish business, & I know the reason why the Rebelles haue not printed it is, because it cleers that point more then any of those betweene vs, wch are published: That all this is trew, & that the Rebelles haue all this under my Wyfes hand & myne, I comand you to affirme positiuely in my name upon all occasions of this subject: but it is possible that all I mention to be, is not in the letter Tom Elliot brought me (though I am sure most is), but then it is in some other. So you see cleerly the trewth of this business, by

<sup>a</sup> The King's adventures at this old castle are too well known to require illustration.

<sup>b</sup> Queen Henrietta Maria, and her mother the Queen of France, the widow of Henry IV.

wch, if it be brought to light, (wch I comand you to endeuer, with all possible industry) I must haue honnor ; for where my owen justifies me (wch I am sure my Wyfe can produce, lett the Rebells doe what they will) I care not what lyers can inuent in this kynde. For what else remaines uanswered in your two letters I refer you to your fellow Secretary, & rest your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

R. 24<sup>o</sup> Sepbris 1645. His Maties ler to me that ye Rebells have not printed some lrs of his Matie & ye Queens wch iustifie their Maties in ye busenes concernng Ireland.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

BRIDGENORTHE 1 Oct. 1645

Nicholas, none of your letres haue hitherto miscarried, this day having receaued the 12<sup>i</sup> by Wytefoord, & shall at this tyme, more insist upon telling you of my desynes & giuing you directions, then in answers, hauing comanded your fellow Secretary to supply that : first then, (that you may know whither to send to me) I intend my course towards 437 [Newarke] ; where I shall take further resolutions according to occasion : Vnderstanding that 224 [my] : 173 [horse] : 293 [under] : 83 : 36 [Lo:] : 3 : : 380 [Goring] : is lykely to be eather 14 : 37 : 32 [beaten] : 17 : 38 [or] : 27 : 242 : 53 [starued] : 19 : 32 : 2 : 43 : 36 : 84 : 307 [where] : 277 : 47 [they] : 20 : 98 [are] : I haue com'and 169 [him] : 250 [to] : 14 [breake] : 2 : 36 : 33 [throughe] : 62 : 37 : 60 : 283 : 290 [to] : 213 [me] : now they must 238 [passe] : 110 [by] : 232 [or] : 226 [neere] : 433 [Oxon] : wherfor my plasure is, that you take that oportunety 290 [to] : 264 [send] : 125 [D.] : 231 [of] : 541 [Yorke] : 290 [to] : 213 [me] : for since it is the fashion to 314 [yeelde] : 17 : 54 [townes] : 68 : 27 : 35 : 52 [basely<sup>a</sup>] : 70 : 14 : 33 : 52 : 36 : 207 : none can blame me to 43 [venture] : 35 : 29 : 19 : 44 [my] : 3 : 224 : 59 : 39 : 79 [children] : 4 : 84 : 2 : 36 : 27 [in] : 176 [an] : 95 [army] : 323 : 47 : 90 [rather] : 2 : 33 : 277 : 3 : 18 : 39 [then] : 36 : 27 [to] : 290 [be] : 104 : 60 : 16 : 36 [besieged] : 52 : 38 : 78 : 24 : 127 : I haue no more to say but that I approue of all your aduyses in your last, & meanes to follow them : one of thease inclosed is for 247 [the Queene of England] : 231 : 363 : the other speakes it selfe. So I rest your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

'For your selfe'.

1<sup>o</sup> Octobr 1645. His Matie to me concerning sending ye D. of Yorke to him by Lo: Goring.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

Nicholas, when you shall have considered the strange and most inexcusable deliuey vpp of the Castle and Fort of Bristoll<sup>b</sup>, and compared it with those many precedinge aduertisements wch have been giuen mee, I make noe doubt, but you and all my Counsell there will conclude that I could doe noe lesse, then what you will find heere inclosed, in my care of the preseruacion of my Sonne, of all you my faithfull seruaunts there, and of that important place, my City of Oxford. In the first place you will finde a copy of my letter to my nephew ; secondly, a reuocation of his commission of Generall ; thirdly, a warrant to Lieutenant Coll' Hamilton to exercise the charge of Lieutenant Gouvernor of Oxford in Sir Thomas Glemhams<sup>c</sup> absence ; fourthly, a warrant to the sayd Lieutenant Colonell Hamilton to apprehend the person of Will: Legge<sup>d</sup> present

<sup>a</sup> This evidently refers to the King's displeasure against Prince Rupert for the loss of Bristol.

<sup>b</sup> Alluded to in the preceding letter.

<sup>c</sup> The King appears to have reposed great confidence in Sir Thomas Glemham, notwithstanding his surrender of Carlisle on the 28th of June preceding ; which, however, had not taken place till after a long siege, and when he had reason finally to despair of succour. Indeed he had distinguished himself, from the first, in the Royal Cause ; having been second in command in Yorkshire, under the Earl of Cumberland.

<sup>d</sup> This is a piece of private history not noticed in the Peerage ; but it is right to and that the King's suspicions of his old and faithful friend, the ancestor of the present family of Dartmouth, were subsequently ascertained to be without the slightest foundation.



Gouernor of Oxford ; and lastlye, a warrant to be directed to what person shall bee thought fittest for the apprehendinge my Nephew Rupert, in case of such extremitie as shall bee hereafter specified, and not otherwise. As for the circumstances and the timinge of the execution of all these particulars, as farr forth as they may admitt of some howres delay more or lesse, I must referr it to my Lord Treasurers<sup>a</sup> care and yours to aduise of, vpon the place, how it may be done with most securitye, and accordinglye to direct the manner of proceedinge. But yett I shall tell you my opinion as farr forth as I can judge at this distance, wch is, that you should beginne with securing the person of Will: Legge, before any thing be declared concerninge my Nephew. But that once done, then the sooner you declare to the Lords both the revokinge of my Nephews commission, and my makeinge Sr Thomas Glemham Gouernour of Oxford, the better. As for the deliuey of my letter to my Nepheu, if hee bee at Oxford, I take the proper time for that to be as soone as possiblye may bee after the securinge of Will: Legge. But if my Nepheu be not there, I would then haue you hasten my letter unto him, and in the meane time putt the rest in execution.

The warrant for my Nephews commitment is onely that you may haue the power to doe it, if in stead of submittinge to, and obeyinge my commaunds in goinge beyond sea, you shall finde that hee practise the raysinge of mutinye or any other disturbance in that place, or any other, in wch case the sayd warrant for his committment is to bee deliuered unto whome you and my Lord Treasurer shall thinke fittest for it to be directed unto, and by that person to be putt in execution. Lastlye I enioyne you the care to lett all the Lords know, that whatever is done in this kinde, is out of my tender regard of their safetie and preservation, and that they shall speedilye receiue for their satisfaction a particular account of the reasons of this necessarye proceedinge. I rest your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

HEREFORD, Sept: 14th 1645

Tell my Sone that I shall lesse greeue to heere that he is knoked in the head then that he should doe soe meane an action as is the rendring of Bristoll Castell & Fort<sup>b</sup> upon the termes it was. C. R.

R: 17<sup>o</sup> 7bris 1645, by Mr. North. The King to me.

*Copie of Pr: Ruperts &c. Petition deliuered at Newarke<sup>c</sup>*

May it please yor most excellent Matie, whereas in all humility wee came to present our selues this day unto your Matie, to make our seuerall greevances knowne, Wee find we haue drawne upon us some misconstruction by the manner of that, by reason your Matie thought that appeared as a mutiny, Wee shall therefore with all humblenes and carefulnes present unto your Matie, that wee, the persons subscribed, whom from the beginning of this unhappy warre haue

<sup>a</sup> Sir John Culpepper.

<sup>b</sup> The King's anger at the surrender of Bristol is not surprising, when it is recollected that Prince Rupert possessed at the time 140 pieces of mounted cannon, 100 barrels of powder, with 2500 foot, 1000 horse, and 1000 trained bands and auxiliaries ; on the other hand, he had not more than sixteen days' provisions for such a force. But the King's feelings at this precise period must have been very bitter ; since the immediate and consequent loss of Devizes, Winchester, Basing House, Berkeley Castle, and Chepstowe, had reduced his affairs to a situation almost desperate.

<sup>c</sup> The affair that gave rise to this Petition deserves notice. The King having at this moment gone to Newark, as a place of the best security, some differences of opinion arose among his confidential officers respecting the defeat of Lord Digby at Sherborne, which General Gerard asserted to be the result of treason. Digby's character, however, was supported by Bellasis, the Governor, and several others ; but the Princes, Rupert and Maurice, sided with Gerard. At length swords were drawn, and the King rushed in to part them ; but when it was found that his opinion was in favour of Digby, Prince Rupert, and 400 of that party, actually threw up their commissions, as Burton declares in his *Civil Wars*. This Petition now printed, however, seems to imply positively that their commissions were taken from them. There appears a strange inconsistency in the accounts given of these affairs by the various contemporary writers of the period. The curious reader will find much amusement in referring to Bulstrode's *Memoirs*, page 127, *et seq.* ; and to the notices by Clarendon.



giuen such testimony to your Matie and the world of our fidelity and zeale to your Maties person and cause, doe thinke our selues unhappy to lye under that censure; and as wee know in our consciences our selues innocent and free from that, wee doe in all humility therefore (least wee should hazard our selues upon a second misinterpretation) present these reasons of our humblest desires unto your sacred Matie, rather in writing than personnally, which are these:

That many of us trusted in high commands in your Maties service, haue not only our com'ission taken away without any reason or cause expressed, whereby our honors are blemished to the world, our fortunes ruined, and wee rendred incapable of trust or command from any forraigne Prince; but many others (as we haue cause to feare) designed to suffer in the same manner.

Our intention in our addressing our selues to your Matie, and our submissiue desires, now are: that yor Matie wilbee graciously pleased that such of us as now labour under the opinion of unworthinesse and incapacity to serue your Matie, may at a Councell of Warre, receiue knowledge of the cause of your Maties displeasure, and haue the justice and libertie of our defence against what can be alleaged against us, and in particular concerning this Government; and if upon the severest examinac'on our integrity and loyaltie to your Matie shall appeare, that then your Matie be graciously pleased to grant us, either reparation in honour, against the . . . of our ennemys, or libertie to passe into other partes, which are the humblest desires of your Maties most obedient and loyall subjects and servants.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

NEWARKE 10 Oct: 1645

Nicholas, none of yours haue yet miscarried, haueing yesternight cereaued your 14th letter: before this, I hope, Sr Tho: Glemham will be come to you, whom I haue com'anded to take particular care of purging Oxford of mutinus & disaffected persons; & least he should not be bould anufe, hauing yet but a verball com'and, I thinke fitt now, that you should show him this, under my hand, that my pleasure heerein be dewly executed, whomsoever it may concerne: As for your Ticket of Accommodation, that I may understand it the better (for it yet seemes to me but an insignificant peece) I com'and you to send me the two Colonels Fox & Murray<sup>a</sup>; being possible that it may receaue such illumination, by the illustration of circumstances, as what hitherto seemes but a darke chaos, may breake foorth into a *lactea via*, leading to peace:

For what concernes 401 [Will: Legge] I haue 229 [no]: 511 [suspicion]: 231: 109 [of]: 305 [but]: 358 [what]: 96 [Lo:]: 316 [Digby]: 166: 176: 147 [informed]: 213: 83: me, wch satisfies me as to 305 [what]: 174 [I]: 166: 122 [have]: 109 [done]: 229 [but]: 17 [not]: beloue 169 [him]: 24: 43 [guilty]: 78: 4: 18: 79: 35: 231 [of]: 521 [trickery]: before I see 221 [more]: 467 [particular]: 72: 1 [proofs<sup>b</sup>]: 54: 57: 7: 51: Our Northerne newes<sup>c</sup> we hope to be as good as your Westernne, though yet not so fully ratified, 109 [but]: 176 [in]: 350 [confidence]: 29: 58: 35: 277: 2: 231 [thereof]: 174 [I]: thinke 143 [fit]: 290 [to]: 87 [advance]: 43: 31: 27: 61: 36: 10: 32 [a]: 20: 118 [daye]: 51 [or]: 232 [two's]: 568: 212 [march]: 60: 96 [and]: 175 [if]: 417 [Montrose]: 104 [be]: 176 [in]: 276 [that part]: 113: 99 [as]: 174 [I]: 172 [hope]: 167 [he]: 181 [is]: 30: 277 [there]: 28: and 174 [I]: 176 [intend]: 19: 38: 27: 85: 10: 290 [to]: 179: 28 [joyne]: 37: 30: 303 [wth]: 169: So hoping shortly to send you more certanty of our good newes, & how I shall dispose of my selfe, then yet I can, I rest your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

This inclosed is for 224 [my]: 68 [wyfe]: 47: 7: 35.

'For your selfe'.

10<sup>o</sup> 8bris 1645. R: 17. 1645. His Matie to me concerning Coll: Will: Murrey. The 17th of 8ber Col: W. Murrey was sent for by the Lodds, & his Maties pleasure signified to him to attend ye King accordingly.

<sup>a</sup> The whole of this affair is curious, and little noticed in the histories.

<sup>b</sup> It is a certain fact, of which the King was afterwards well assured, that the insinuations against Legge's loyalty were founded on false statements.

<sup>c</sup> Alluding evidently to the victory gained by Montrose at Kilsythe in Scotland; but the King's hopes were soon after quashed, when Leslie defeated Montrose at Philiphaugh.



*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

NEWARKE 16 Oct. 1645

Nicholas, I haue receaued 17 letters from you, for wch I hartely thanke you, wee being very much cheered by your frequent dispatches, wherfor I dout not but you will continew in so doeing : I wrote to you upon Fryday last, wherein there was a letter for 224 [my] : 68 [wyfe] : 49 : 7 : 35 : 30 : 300 : and lykewise in that dispatche (I will not say that all was in myne) you were answered concerning the Gouvernor of the Deuyses, & all others in his predicament, as lykewais the L: Hatton, so that now I haue but fower particulars to answer : I begin with 277 [the] : 126 [Earle] : 231 [of] : 431 [Norwich<sup>a</sup>] : about whome I embrace and thanke you for your motion, & comand you to send him word accordingly ; secondly for Mr. Atturney<sup>b</sup>, tell him if the Rebelles neuer did but justice or what they had lawfull power to doe, then his answer good, otherwais it is not worthe a button : wherfor if he confesse my power, lett him accept my offer, otherwais I shall know what I haue to doe ; as for Rainsford, let the Judges proceede : lastly concerning 200 : 277 [the] : 125 [Duke] : 231 [of] : 541 [York] : 300 : if (as I hope) 380 : haue 156 : 271 : 176 : 277 : 525 : then 276 : 440 : concerning 169 : 302 : 27 : 54 : 17 : 10 : 163 : 72 : 35 : 28 : 20 : 109 : 175 : 380 : 104 : 374 : 83 : 30 : 290 : 250 : 277 : 525 : 96 : 116 : 290 : 213 : 303 : 170 : 173 : in that case it wer a folly in 213 : 290 : 194 : 224 : 266 : 29 : 36 : 40 : 101 : 443 : in the meane tyme 115 : 58 : 37 : 31 : 4 : 38 : 50 : 305 : I haue written in this 293 : 17 : 78 : 5 : 6 : 60 : 279 : 447 : 79 : 18 : 47 : 136 : 236 : as I haue sayed 109 : 277 : 27 : 70 : 83 : 38 : 59 : 6 : 98 : 35 : 90 : 224 : 302 : 167 : 36 : 1 : 176 : first 290 : 412 : 383 : (174 : 177 : 169 : 276 : 540 : 231 : cyfer 211 : 36 : 10 : 213 : 229 : 18 : 20 : 71 : 2 : 48 : 19 : 30 : 279 : 290 : 169 :) 277 : 27 : 40 : 290 : 277 : 50 : 3 : 37 : 51 : 19 : 90 : this is all, so I rest your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

Methinks you might 51 [settle] : 35 : 17 [an] : 4 : 36 : 10 [intelligence] : 31 : 27 : 391 [to] : 290 [yr] : 277 [next] : 525 [by] : 110 [London] : 400 : 300 :

I send you heerewith the trew copy of an intelligence from neere Ferrebriges, from one who hath the report of a discreet honest man : by the Army he meanes Digby and Landale<sup>c</sup>, wch part I beliue trew ; but for the former, I know the particular of my Wyfe, false : & for the rest, I leaue you to judge, not yet knowing what to say.

341 : 209 : 266 : 27 : 10 : 390 : 51 : 20 : 290 : 151 : 436 : 391 : 148 : 400 : 307 : 147 : 174 : 1 : 35 : 58 : 54 : 75 : 77 : 36 : 28 : 83 : 37 : 169 : 290 : 316 :

16<sup>o</sup> 8bris 1645. R. 22<sup>o</sup>. The King to me concerning making ye Earl of Norw'ch Capt : of the Garde, & the Attor Herberts removall.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

Nicolas, : 224 [my] : 176 : 289 [intenc'ons] : 17 : 180 : 53 [are] : 20 : 98 : (110 [by] : 157 [God's] : 29 : 60 : 39 [helpe] : 36 : 4 : 74 : 37) : 290 [to] : 14 : 3 [breake] : 37 : 34 : 64 : 38 : 283 [throughe] : 277 [ye] : 475 [Rebelles] : 18 : 374 [forces] : 53 : 600 : 96 [and] : 152 [get] : 290 [to] : 443 [Oxon<sup>d</sup>] : 290 [to] : 308 [wch] : 128 [end] : and that 224 [my] : 238 : 52 [passage] : 33 : 26 : 37 : 209 [may] : 104 [be] : 303 [wth] : 221 [more] : 38 [ease] : 32 : 52 : 35 : 40 : 96 [&] : 70 : 53 [security] : 37 : 59 : 43 : 3 : 79 : 29 : 49 : I would haue you acquaint the Gouvernor with these commands from me ; that he 264 [send] : 86 [all] : 277 [the] : 173 [horse] : 276 [that] : 209 [may] : possibly 104 [be] : 53 : 74 [spared] : 34 : 3 : 38 : 84 : 148 [from] : 443 [Oxon] : 290 [to] : 329 [Banbury] : 233 [on] : 554 [Sunday] : 227 [next] : with these 83 [directions] : 78 : 2 : 36 : 59 : 19 : 79 :

<sup>a</sup> Previously spoken of as General Goring.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Edward Herbert, Knt.

<sup>c</sup> Sir Marmaduke Langdale.

<sup>d</sup> To this plan, Bulstrode tells us, the King was led by the circumstance of the parliamentary army being now in force on the north side of the Trent. The whole of the letter being in cypher is an evidence of the King's great desire for secrecy, and is also in agreement with his well-known habit of imparting his resolutions to none, except to two or three of the nearest trust about him.

233 : 53 : 290 [to] : 277 [the] : 346 : 36 [Comander] : 3 : 176 [in] : 59 [Cheif] : 39 : 36 : 82 : 7 : 38 ; that he 183 [keepe] : 53 : 59 [scouts] : 56 : 44 : 19 : 52 : 290 [to] : 68 : 33 [wards] : 2 : 83 : 53 : 70 : 84 [Daventry] : 37 : 43 : 38 : 27 : 17 : 3 : 47 : 90 : 96 [&] : 300 : 39 : 34 [Harburrow] : 3 : 14 : 46 : 1 : 2 : 56 : 46 : 26 : 42 : 200 : 96 [&] : 83 : 79 [diligently] : 6 : 82 : 24 : 37 : 29 : 19 : 207 [hould] : 42 : 57 : 43 : 4 [intelligence] : 84 : 391 [with] : 303 [the] : 277 [Govinor] : 379 : 232 : 231 [of] : 16 [Belvoir] : 36 : 4 : 46 : 57 : 79 : 3 : 231 [of] : 305 [what] : 374 [forces] : 53 : 207 [ly] : 176 [in] : those 239 [partes] : 53 : 224 [my] : 3 : 37 : 266 [resolution] : 4 : 46 : 19 : 180 : being 290 [to] : 24 [goe] : 56 : 38 : 276 [that] : 69 : 34 [way] : 47 : 175 [if] : 303 [wth] : 97 [any] : 254 [reasonable] : 88 [hazard] : 70 : 39 : 34 : 2 : 85 [I] : 174 : 209 [may] : 238 [passe:] : 109 [but] : 175 [if] : Sr Thom: Glemham<sup>a</sup> 144 [findes] : 174 [I] : 116 [come] : 229 [not] : 17 : 290 [to] : 329 [Banbury] : 110 [by] : 551 [Thursday] : 227 [next] : 116 [come] : 263 : 27 [senight] : 78 : 24 : 42 : 19 : 277 [then] : 29 : 167 [he] : 209 [may] : 83 : 3 [draw] : 34 : 69 : 20 : 16 [back] : 32 : 59 : 64 : 277 [the] : 173 [horse] : you must remember that 53 [secrecy] : 37 : 58 : 1 : 38 : 61 : 49 : 176 [in] : 279 [this] : 239 : 79 [particular] : 59 : 43 : 4 : 34 : 3 : 215 [must] : 104 [be] : 317 [your] : 59 : 39 : 37 [chiefest] : 78 : 7 : 38 : 53 : 19 : 112 [care] : I will only allow you to 274 [tell] : 277 [the] : 379 [Gouernor] : 232 : 231 [of] : 182 [it] : 320 [who] : 215 [must] : 104 [be] : answerable for the 124 [discretion] : 59 : 3 : 38 : 17 : 180 : 96 [&] : 80 : 84 : 78 : 207 : 24 [dilligence] : 38 : 27 : 58 : 38 : 231 [of] : 277 [the] : 73 : 37 [person] : 3 : 53 : 233 [that] : 276 : 52 : 39 : 94 [shall] : 346 [comand] : 17 [those] : 39 : 54 : 53 : 38 : 173 [horse] : 176 [in] : 58 : 39 [cheif] : 37 : 78 : 7 : 38 : so I rest your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

NEWARKE 29 Oct: 1645

Giue me an account of this:

29 8bris 1645. The King to me by Parsons.

*Copy of a Letter from Sir Edward Nicholas to Sir Henry Vane the Younger<sup>b</sup>*

Sr, you cannot suppose the work is donn, though God should suffer you to destroy the King : the miseryes which will ineuitably follow are soe plaine in view, that it is more then necessary some speedy expedient be found for their preuention. Is it not cleere to you (to me it is) that Spaine and ffrance will instantly conclude a peace : and that ffrance makes great preparations to ioyne with the Scotts (when the breach betweene you and them shall happen) whilst Spaine labours to be Protector of Ireland, and will vndoubtedly carry itt. Consider well, whether the season is not proper for this designe, when the wealth of this nation is already so exhausted, and the sufferings of the people soe great, that they are no longer to be supported. This is reason, tis not to cast a bone amongst you : The only remedye is (and it is a safe and honourable one for you) that you sett your selfe, the gentleman that was quartered with you, and all his and your freinds to preuaile, that the King may come to London vpon the termes he hath offered ; where, if Presbitery shall be soe strongly insisted vpon as that there can be noe peace without itt, you shall certainly haue all the power my master cann make to ioyne with you in rooting out of this kingdome that tyrannicall Gouernment ; with this condition, that my master may not haue his conscience disturbed (yours being free) when that easy worke is finished. Loose not this faire opertunity, the like was never offered, nor euer will be ; for itt brings all things of benefitt and aduantage imaginable, both to the generall and to your particular ; to him that was quartered with you, and to his & you freinds ; and shall be honestly made good. Trust to me for the performance of itt ; waigh itt sadly, and againe relye vpon me. Bee confident, that neither

<sup>a</sup> Then Governor of Oxford.

<sup>b</sup> This and the letter which follows it are remarkable illustrations of the secret history of the time. The royal overtures to Vane came to the knowledge of Essex, who complained of them by letter to the House of Lords. On inquiry, however, it turned out that Vane had communicated them already to the Speaker, to a Committee of the House of Commons of which he was a member, and to the Scots Commissioners.



he that carryes this, nor he that deliueirs it to you, knowes any thing of itt. (Not signed)

Written at the bottom by the King.

'This is a trew Coppie of what was sent to Sir Hen. Vane the Younger by my command. C. R.' March 2, 1645-6

Indorsed: 2<sup>o</sup> Martij 1645. By his Maties comaund these are to S. H. Vane sign'd wth ye Kings owne hand.

*Copy of another Letter from the King to Sir Henry Vane the Younger*

Sr, I shall only add this word to what was said in my last: that you hasten my business all that possibly you cann; the occasion lately giuen being fairer than euer, and donn on purpose. Be very confident that all things shall be performed according to my promise. By all that is good, I coniure you, to dispatch that curtoysye for me with all speed, or it will be too late, I shall perish before I receiue the fruits of itt. I may not tell you my necessities, but if it were necessary soe to doe, I am sure you would lay all other considerations aside, and fulfill my desires. This is all: trust me, I will repay your fauour to the full. I haue donn. If I haue not an answeare within foure dayes after the receipt of this, I shall be necessitated to finde some other expedient. God direct you, I haue discharged my dutye. (Not signed)

Written at the bottom of this letter by the King:

'This is a true Coppie of what was sent by Jack Asheburnham & my command to Sir Henry Vane the younger. C. R.'

*The King's promise to Mons. de Montreuil concerning those that should come with him to the Scots Army*

I do promise to Mounsieur de Montreull, that none shall come with me to the Scots army, or meet me there, who are expected by those att London, but only my two nepheues, and Jack Ashburnham<sup>a</sup>. Notwithstanding, the said Montreull is to receaue this my protestation, that all my seruants, and all others who doe adheare to me, shalbe saved from ruine, or any publique dishonour; which is a condition that my wife writt to me that not only she, but likewise Cardinall Mazarine<sup>b</sup>, were absolutely of opinion that I was sooner to dye, than not to haue. As for Church Gouvernement, as I haue already, soe I now againe promise, that as-soone as I come into the Scots army, I shall be very willing to be instructed concerning the presbiteriall gouernement: whereupon they shall see, that I shall striue to content them in anything, that shall not be against my conscience.

CHARLES R.

Indorsed by Sir Edward Nicholas.

'The King's promise to Monsieur de Montreuil<sup>c</sup> concerning those that should come wth him to ye Scots army: wch promise was written by Mr. Jo: Ashbournham, and signed by the King; but wthout date'.

<sup>a</sup> The King's confidence in Ashburnham was very great at this crisis. But a very short time before, he was obliged, by the approach of Fairfax, to escape from Oxford in disguise; and this he did as the servant of Ashburnham: after which he joined the Scottish army before Newark. Yet Ashburnham is accused of having misled the King when he was taken prisoner in 1648, either through treachery or folly. Bulstrode (in his *Memoirs*) asserts that when Charles arrived in great privacy at the house of Lady Southampton, and Ashburnham went up stairs to the King's bed-chamber to announce to him that Colonel Hammond was below at supper, and had given assurance for his Majesty's safety, but not of liberty for his person, the King instantly, with much emotion, struck his hand upon his breast, exclaiming 'And is this all! Then I am betrayed!'

<sup>b</sup> Mazarine had recently become Prime Minister of France, in consequence of the death of Richelieu. The latter bore an implacable malice and hatred to England for her interference respecting the French Protestants, particularly in the affairs of the Isle du Rochelle. It is curious to compare this opinion of Mazarine with the well-authenticated fact that, notwithstanding his outward appearance of friendship for the King, he was keeping up a good correspondence with the Parliament through the medium of Don Alonzo de Cardenas, the Spanish Ambassador.

<sup>c</sup> Montreuil, or Montreville, seems in this affair to have been the tool of Mazarine in deceiving the King; for all the contemporary writers, Warwick, Bulstrode, &c., assert that he had promised, in the name of the King of France, that Charles should be secure under the protection of the Scottish army.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

NEW CASTLE 16 Maij 1646

Nicholas, since my last I had neither sufficient tyme nor matter to write to you, but now I haue enough of either, yet I shall to ease both our paynes, contract my thoughts, merely to what is (for the present) necessary for you att Oxford<sup>a</sup>. ffor directions then, know that you are not to expect releefe, so that I giue you leaue to treat for good condic'ons. Let those of Exeter be your example: the additions must be the taking care particularly of the University, and to trye if you can gett the Duke of Yorke to be sent hither to me, as alsoe all my seruants who wilbe willing to come (of wch number I am sure you are one) but feare you will not get leaue, and those goods wch I hau there.

These directions I would haue you keepe very secreat, that you may make better conditions: ffor the number and choyce, I leave to the Lordes discrec'ons (the gouernor being one), but you must give out that releefe will come. Jack Ashburnham is this day gonne for ffraunce. I haue no more to say, so I rest your most assured frend,

CHARLES R<sup>b</sup>.

Indorsed: '16<sup>o</sup> Maij 1646. R. 10<sup>o</sup> Junii & ye next day read to ye Lods. The King to me from New Castle giving leave to treat, &c. This ltr & that of ye 2d of June were read to all ye Lods and gent. about this towne (Oxford) on Sunday ye 20th of June 1646'.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

NEW CASTELL, 2 June, 1646

Nicholas, since I saw you, I receaued but one letter from you, wch was of the 5th of May; & this is but the 3rd that I haue written unto you, hauing sent a duplicatt of my last about 9 dayes agoe. For direc'cons, I shall in substance repeate what I last sent you, wch is that, because you are to expect noe releef, I giue you leaue to treat for good condicions. Let those of Exeter be your guide, wch I belue wilbe graunted you, hauing a particular care that my sonne and two nephues haue permission to com to me whersoouer I shalbe: as lykewais that the freedome of ye University be preserued, & that all my seruants, who ar willing, may come to me with the few goods that I haue there. I omitt news att this tyme, because it will doe little good to you, & troble me; soe comanding you to assure all my frends, that no change of place shall (make) me alter my affection to them; I rest your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

I aduise excepted persons to agree for Exeter conditions, & for noe better.

When my goods ar sent, forget not all the bookes wch I left in my bedchamber.

Indorsed: '2<sup>o</sup> Junii, 1646. R: 11<sup>o</sup>, read to ye Ldes ye next day. The King gives leave to treat.'

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

NEW CASTELL, 24 June, 1646

Nicholas, I haue receaued yours of the 6: & 9: of this monthe wch requyres no other answer but thanke you for your intelligence & to comend you forr your resolution; only I thinke you needed not to burne my cypher; but howsoeuer lett me heare from you as often as you can, & assure all my frends that I am

<sup>a</sup> Oxford was at this moment nearly reduced; so that Sir Thomas Glemham, the Governor, in answer to a summons, asked permission to send a messenger to the King for orders. This, however, was refused by Fairfax, and the city was delivered up, but not until after a treaty of some weeks' continuance. The actual date of the surrender was the 24th of June. The facts contained in the indorsements possess considerable interest for the future historian. When this letter was written, the King was with the Scottish army, who had retreated thus far after the surrender of Newark to the Parliament. In Herbert's *Memoirs of the Two Last Years of Charles the First* there is an allusion to the King's consent, through the Lords of the Privy Council then at Oxford.

<sup>b</sup> This letter was written in cypher, but the figures are for the most part blotted or run through with the pen, but are decyphered and filled up by Nicholas.



constant to all them who will not forsake themselves, of wch I know you ar none,  
so that I am your most asseured constant frend,

CHARLES R.

In hope my cypher is not sacrificed 209 [I] : 141 [desire] : 56 : 63 : 17 : 67 :  
429 [you] : 360 [to] : 341 [send] : 250 [me] : 78 : 31 [word] : 18 : 81 : 412 [where] :  
351 [my] : in : no [Jewells] : 418 : 56 : 111 [were] : 413 [wch] : 449 [I. H.] : 197  
[had] : 112 [and] : 213 [if] : 251 [my] : 90 [Cabinet<sup>a</sup>] : or 27 : 40 : 7 : 67 : p :  
413 [wch] : 209 [I] : 234 [left] : 409 [wth] : 429 [you] : 121 [be] : at [burned] :  
ad : 19 : if : 147 : 281 [or] : 270 [not] :

24<sup>o</sup> Junii, 1646. The K. to me.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

NEW CASTELL, 16 Aug.

Nicholas, I receaved yours by the last post, whereby I understand what course  
you intend to take, wch I approue of, yet I thinke it not necessary [necessary]  
to 422 [write] : 360 [to] : 550 [Marq:] : 520 [H.] : 269 [nor] : 17 : 503 [Earl] :  
280 [of] : 356 [Southampton] : 84 : 107 : 43 : 282 : 162 [for] : 200 [hauing] : 216 :  
258 : 133 [erased] : 280 : 366 : selfes there 365 : 280 : 251 : 84 : 282 : 7 : 281 : 122 :  
431 : 216 : 383 : 251 : 56 : 67 : 46 : 75 : 70 : 59 : 112 : 57 : 78 : 281 : 81 : 360 : 361 :  
319 : 27 : 148 : 58 :

Com'end me to all my Friends, & asseure them of my constancy ; and I asseure  
you that I haue sent where you ar goeing, being confident that you will be very  
well receaved there, so I rest your most asseured frend,

CHARLES R.

This inclosed is for 14 : 47 : he : 68 : 21 : 35 : 6 :

16<sup>o</sup> Aug. 1646. The King to me<sup>b</sup>.

*In the handwriting of Sir Edward Nicholas*

The Reasons why his Matie thought good to send his Proposition of ye .. of  
December, 1645, to London, were, for that

His Matie hath noe Army att all, nor any forces but what are in his garrisons.

Noe meanes or monny either to satisfy or keepe together his officers, or to  
supply or pay his garrisons, but the contribuc'ons, of the country wch being  
wasted by ye souldiors of both sides, & extremly disaffected, are reddy every day  
to rise agt his Maties garrisons, as being not able any longer to undergoe the  
heavy pressures wch ye necessitys of his Maties souldiors & ye absence of his  
Maties Governmt dayly put upon them.

That his Matie having lost Bristoll, hath no meanes to be supplied from  
forragine parts wth armes or munition, or materialls for making of either, of wch  
he begins alreddy to be in want.

There is noe meanes to raise any considerable forces for an army agt ye next  
Spring : for that all Wales was lost pesently after ye losse of Bristoll, and since  
that, Munmouth & Hereford.

Chester is in imminent danger to be likewise lost : Newark & Belvoir Castle<sup>c</sup>  
are besieged & in danger.

In ye west there are about 5 or 6000 horse & foote, but there are there soe great  
divisions amongst the cheif officers, and the Councell that attend ye Prince, as  
for want of condvct these forces are disunited, and ye country soe disaffected  
to them by reason of the soldiors rapine and oppression, as ye country rises

<sup>a</sup> The King's anxiety about his Cabinet is not surprising, when it is remembered what  
use had formerly been made of letters seized by the Parliamentary forces.

<sup>b</sup> This part of the correspondence is important, as it took place about the period when  
the Scottish army were engaged in the negotiations for the surrender of the King to the  
English Parliament. In a Glasgow publication of *Original Letters* (1766) there is one  
from a Scottish Commissioner, who observes, 'many of the King's greatest friends  
think his obstinacy judicial, as if in God's justice he were destroying himself'. This  
letter was written on the 7th of August, 1646, at the time when Charles refused to agree  
to the Scottish propositions.

<sup>c</sup> The Earl of Rutland had sided with the Parliament, but Belvoir was garrisoned  
by the King's forces.

against them whensoever they come into any place not in a body, and the country is soe wasted, as it cannot feede them when they lye together in a body. Besides, the Cornishe will not be drawne further than Devonshe.

Exeter is soe close besieged, as very little or noe p'visions can passe into it, & it is not supplied for many monthes. . . . is possessed by Sr Tho. ffairfax forces, & the King hath in Devon now noe poste but Dartmouth, & there are likewise forces marched thither to blocke it upp.

The Seige of Plymouth is soe weekly prosecuted for want of force as they have lately releued themselves and burnt some of our quarter neere it.

Sr Tho. Fairfax & Cromwell haue lately sent into these p'tes neere 1500 of their best horse, wch shewes that they are much too strong for his Maties forces in those partes.

These Western horse are drawing towards Oxon & are to ioyn wth other forces wch are to come from London under Coll: Ringingborrow, & all that can be spared from Coventry, Warwick, Gloucester, & Northampton, & out of Buckinghamshire (wch it is beleued will in all make noe less than 8000 foote and 4000 horse & dragoons) & are designd pesently to block upp Oxon att a distance.

Denington Castle is blockt upp by forces that lye in Newberry & the Country thereabouts.

This being his Mats pesent condition in England, and there being noe peace concluded in Ireland, nor any considerable forces possibly to be drawne from that Kingdome in any tyme to assist his Matie:

The Mar: of Muntrosse being still in ye highlands, or noe neerer than Glascoe, & in what condition his Matie is not certeynly assured, soe as there is little hope of tymely ayde from him :

From Fra. or Holland there was nothing but faire & fruitless p'misses, they having not in all this tyme afforded his Matie any considerable assistance, nor soe much as publickly declared agt those att London :

Upon these considerations his Matie resolved to send to London ye . . . P'positions, wch being as low as he can goe wth peserving of his conscience and honr he doubts not but God will give a blessing to yt his intentions ; And that if his sbts doe not harken to ye reason he offers, his Allies will consider how farre his interest may worke theirs.

Indorsed : Reasons why his Matie sent his Proposic'ons to London, dated *Decr*, 1646.

*The King to the Speaker of the House of Peers*

HOLMBY [HOLDENBY], 6 *Martij*. 1646-7

C. R., it being now 17 dayes since I wrote to you from hence, & not yet receiuing any answer to what I then desired, I cannot but now again renew the same unto you ; and indeed concerning any thing but the necessary duty of a Christian, I would not at this time trouble you with any of my desires. But my being attended by some of my Chaplains<sup>a</sup>, whom I esteem & reuerence, is that wch is so necessary for me (euen considering my present condic'on, whither it be in relation to my conscience, or a happy settlemt of the present distracc'ons in Religion) that I will slight diuers kinds of censures, rather then not obtain what I demand. Nor shall I doe you the wrong, as in this to doubt the obtaining of my wish, it being grounded upon reason. For I desire you to consider (not thinking it needfull to menc'on) the diuers reasons wch no Christian can be ignorant of, for the point of conscience. I must assure you that I cannot as I ought take into consideration those alterac'ons in Religion wch haue, & wilbe offred

<sup>a</sup> This letter was written about two months after the King had been given up to the Parliament, and three months previous to his seizure by Cornet Joyce, on the part of Cromwell and the army. A very minute and interesting account of these transactions will be found in Sir Thomas Herbert's memoirs of the two last years of the unhappy monarch. There is a remarkable passage alluding to them in a letter from the Earl of Panmure to Lord Wariston, dated 23rd January, 1647 ; where he says, ' His Majesty is so well resolved now for his going to Holmby as ever I saw him for anything. He thinks that the Scots have sold him at too cheap a rate. If our posterity find not the smart thereof, it is well.'



unto me, without such helps as I desire, because I can neuer iudge rightly of, or be altred in any thing of my opinion, so long as any ordinary way of finding out the truth is denyed me. But when this is granted me, I promise you faithfully not to strue for victory in argumt, but to seeke to submit to truth, according to that judgemt which God hath giuen me; always holding it my best & greatest conquest, to giue contentmt to my two Houses of Parlt in all things wch I conceiue not to be against my conscience or honr. Not doubting likewise, but that you wilbe ready to satisfy me in reasonable things, as I hope to find in this particular concerning the attendance of my Chaplains upon me.

To the Speaker of the House of Peers, *pro tempore*, to be communicated to the Lo: & Co'mons in the Parlt assembled at Westm'r.

Indorsed: 6<sup>o</sup> Mar: 1647. Coppy of ye King's 2d ltr for some of his Chaplaines.

*A Memorandum in King Charles the First's own handwriting*

Freedome in Conscience & Honnor and Security for all those that shall come with me, & in case I shall not agree with them, that I may be set doune at such of my Garisons as I shall name to them: wch condition I hope not to put them to, for I shall not differ with them about Ecclesiasticall businesses, wch they shall make apeare to me not to be against my conscience; & for other matters, I expect no difference, & in case there be, I am content to be judged by the two Queenes. And befor I take my jurny I must send to the Marquis of Montrose to aduertice him upon what conditions I come to the Scots Army, that he may be admitted forthwith into our conjunction, & instantly march up to us.

Indorsed by Sir E. Nicholas: 'A Note written with ye Kings owne pen concerning his going to ye Scotts'.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

OATLANDS, 19 Aug. 1647<sup>a</sup>

Nicholas to ease my paines, I haue comanded Oudart<sup>b</sup> to answer some particulars in your last letter: this being only to thanke you for your aduertisements & freedome: desyring you still to continue the same, asseuring you that I haue a particular care of you, wch I hope shortly shall be visible to all the world: so I rest your most asseured constant frend,

CHARLES R.

OATLANDS, 1<sup>o</sup> Aug. 1647

His Maties ltr to me.

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

Nicholas, yor fidelity & industry in our seruice & eminent affecc'ons to our person, haue made in us too great an impression to be forgotten; on the contrary you must continue in this confidence, that we very highly retaine you in our value & remembrance, as you will finde if it please God to restore us to a condic'on for it. As an earnest whereof at present you will receive herewith a direction to our dearest Sonn the Prince on your behalfe, whom as we know you will serue with the same duety and zeale as you haue serued us, so will he assuredly giue you that reception & admission to his confidence wch you haue had with us. We thanck you for yor severall letters & aduises, and are very tenderly sensible of yor pressures, and if you could gett them removed by the help of friends, we thinck you would do well not to neglect so doing in respect of yor family, there being no certainty yet what successe will follow this Treaty. That Providence wch permits these afflictions to lye upon Us, We trust will yet

<sup>a</sup> It was on the 3rd of June that the King was seized by Joyce, and after a desultory progress arrived at Oatlands on the 14th of August. Soon after, he removed to Hampton Court.

<sup>b</sup> Oudart was afterwards one of the King's Commissioners in the Conferences at Newport with the Parliamentary agents. In such confidence was he with the King as to be employed during that treaty in writing his private dispatches to the Prince of Wales. See *Warwick's Memoirs*, p. 325.

in good time take them off. Doe you continue yor affections towards Us, not doubting of the constant fauor to you & yors of your most asseured frend,

From Newport in ye Isle of Wight, 24 Novemb: 1648<sup>a</sup>.  
To Secr: Nich'as.

CHARLES R.

*His Maties Farewell Speech unto ye Lords Com'ssioners at Newport in ye Isle of Wight<sup>b</sup>*

'My Lords, you are come to take your leaue of mee, and I beleeeue wee shall scarce euer see each other againe : but Gods will be done. I thanke God I haue made my peace wth him, & shall wthout feare undergoe what he shall please to suffer men to doe unto mee.

My Lords, you cannot but knowe that in my fall and ruine you see yor owne, and that also neere to you. I pray God send you better frends then I haue found.

I am fully informed of ye whole carriage of ye plott against me & myne, and nothing soe much afflicts mee as the sense and feelinge I haue of ye sufferings of my subjects, and ye mischief that hangs ouer my three Kingdomes, drawne upon them by those who (upon pretences of good) violently pursue their owne interestes and ends.'

These words his Matie deliuered wth much alacrity and cheerefullnes, wth a serene countenance, & carriage free from all disturbance.

Thus he parted wth ye Lords leauing many tender impressions (if not in them) yet in ye other hearers<sup>c</sup>.

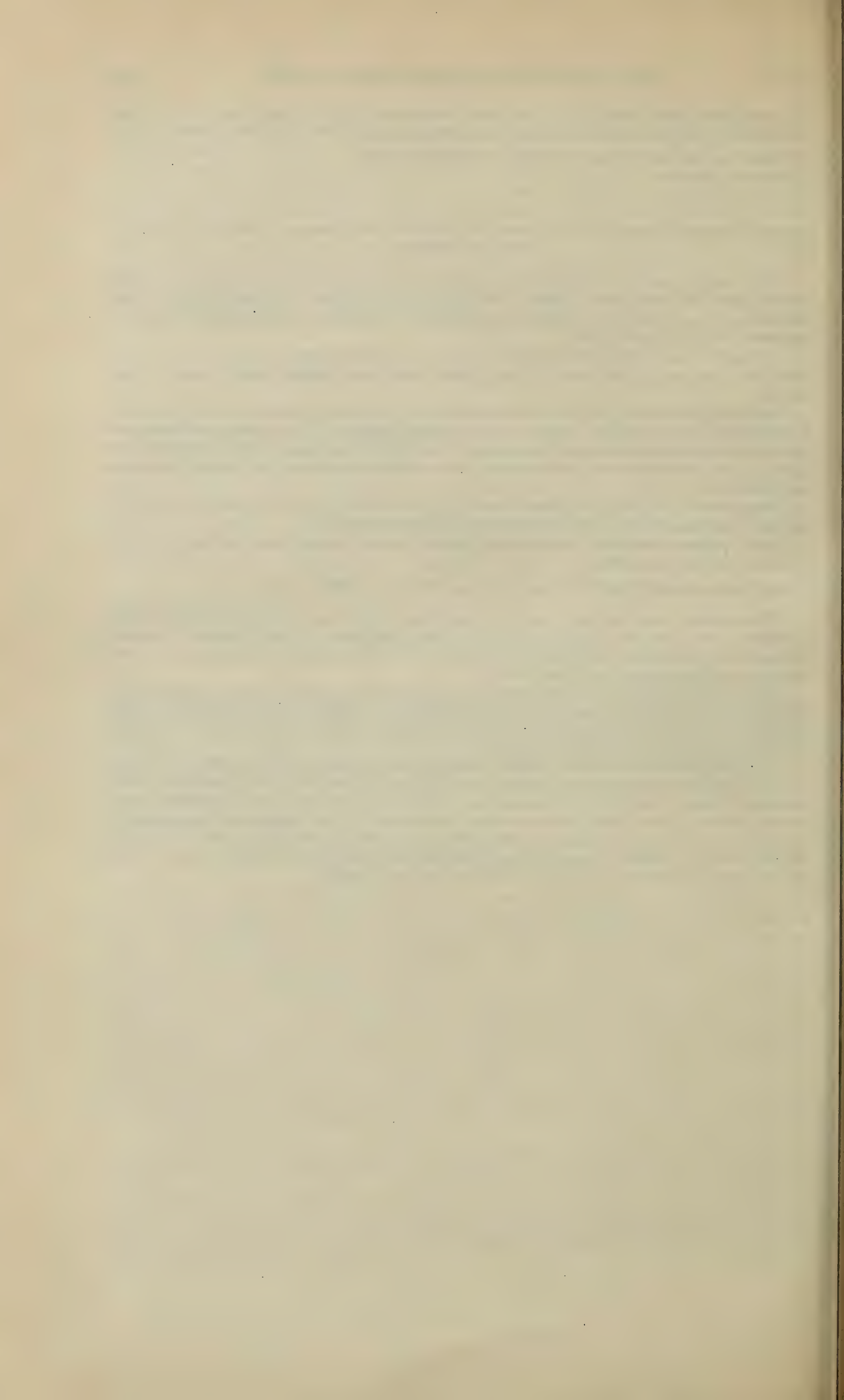
His Maties farewell Speech to the Lodes at Newport, 1<sup>o</sup> Dec. 1648

<sup>a</sup> The several historical facts, to which this letter refers, are too well known to require comment ; but the letter itself is an important testimony to Sir Edward Nicholas's claim on the patronage of Charles II alluded to in a subsequent communication to that prince respecting the office of Secretary.

<sup>b</sup> The Commissioners were the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Middlesex ; Viscount Say and Sele ; Lord Wenman ; Messrs. Pierpoint, Hollis, Crew Bulkeley ; Sirs Henry Vane, jun., Harbottle Grimstone, and John Potts ; Serjeants Glynne and Browne, and some others.

<sup>c</sup> This conference took place almost immediately before the King's death. On the 4th of December took place the third day's debate in the House of Commons of the question whether the royal concessions in the Newport treaty were a ground of settlement ; which, at five o'clock next morning, was resolved in the affirmative by a majority of 129 to 83. The day following. Wednesday the 6th of December, was the day of Pride's Purge. Within a month from that date the King was brought to trial ; and on the 29th January, 1648-9, the death-warrant was signed.





CORRESPONDENCE OF  
SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS  
AND  
VARIOUS MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL  
FAMILY  
DURING THE COMMONWEALTH AND PROTECTORATE





# CORRESPONDENCE OF

## SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS AND THE ROYAL FAMILY

### AFTER THE DEATH OF CHARLES I

THE subjoined letters, in continuation of the preceding correspondence, will be found to require little illustrative comment. They embrace the brief and unsuccessful royalist campaign which closed on the field of Worcester; they contain illustrations of Charles the Second's distrust and dislike of his Presbyterian friends and supporters; but they derive perhaps their chief interest from the gossiping details in which the deceased King's sister, Elizabeth of Bohemia, so largely indulges, and in which the fears and jealousies, the enjoyments and privations of the Exiles, the fluctuation of her nephew's hopes, Cromwell's assumption of power, the vagaries of the errant Queen of Sweden, the attempts of the Queen-mother Henrietta to make Roman Catholics of her children, and the childhood of that young Prince of Orange for whom those attempts were preparing a throne, are curiously and impartially mixed up. The letter of earnest remonstrance to the Duke of Gloucester, 'concerning his being tempted to turne papist', bearing the signature of his elder brother, is a somewhat strange comment on the faith in which Charles the Second died.

PARIS<sup>a</sup>, Nov. 6, 1649. St. No.

Sir, to giue you an account of the vastnesse of this packet, give me leaue to tell you, that together with this booke wch I send you, there came in half a score persons of consideration, who with very much passion desired me to represent to Jersey, the high indignity by this base edition<sup>b</sup> offered to our blessed Master, and the great injury rendered to his Majesty that now is.

You will finde a preface to this Booke, wch tends to proue that our blessed Master might be, nay perhaps was, a Papist in his heart, notwithstanding this Booke. That what instructions & com'ands were giuen to his Sonne for his firmenesse to the Protestant religion, were giuen out of politique considerations meerely, and many other particulars, wch I hope wil bring it to the hands of the common-hangman.

This Marsys is one who setting out the tryall of the late King, and ye manner of his murther, stiles himselfe 'Interprete et Maistre pour la langue Francoise du Roy d'Angleterre regnant à present et de son Altesse Royale le Duc d' Yorke son frere', in wch Booke he stiles Queene Elizabeth (of euer blessed memory)

<sup>a</sup> Charles, at the period of his father's death, was at the Hague with his brother-in-law, the Prince of Orange; after which he went to France to join his mother; but having been proclaimed King throughout Ireland, with the exception of Dublin and Londonderry, he would have proceeded there, had he not been forewarned that such a procedure would produce much alarm among the Protestant friends to his cause. He therefore went no farther than Jersey, where he was proclaimed King, a short time previous to the date of this Remonstrance. To what Courtier or Minister about Charles's person it was addressed, does not appear; but it was written by Sir Edward Nicholas during his retreat from England, after the death of his royal master. He appears at its date to have been resident with his relative, Sir Richard Browne, who still remained Chargé d'Affaires at the French Court.

<sup>b</sup> The wish here expressed was not fulfilled specifically; though afterwards in some measure gratified by the publication of 'Eikon Aklastos' in 1651, as a vindication of the original work against the attacks of 'Eikonoklastes'. The reader may find some interest in turning from this letter to the very copious essay on the subject by Mr. Nichols in *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. i, p. 522.



Jezabell. He settts downe a false and faigned speech of the King's at ye time of his being murthered ; & being charged with it, he said he thought fitt to make that speech as spoken by him, since the speech he did make was poore and below a King. He hath sett forth diuers other things, an extract whereof I shall shortly send you, the least of wch would deserve a whipping in England in good times to speake moderately. I pesume you will giue this business a thorough sifting there in councell, and send some directions to Sr Rich: Browne how to proceede here ; that it may appeare who sett him on worke here, and who giues him these exact coppies, wch he pretends to haue under ye King's owne hand, and those other peeces of the King's, wch he so brags of, and promises he will bring them to light, so soone as he obtaines leaue to publish them. I hope some course wilbe taken that he may be discharged of his titles of relation to the King, and that his Maty will hereupon giue order, that a true copy may be printed in french of his Father's Booke, declared by him to be authentique, waving both the editions either of Huguenot or Papist, and that this command be grounded upon the ill editions of both these persons and partys.

Indorsed : ' 6<sup>o</sup> Novem: 1649. Concerning Marseis his translac'on of the King's book '.

*Sir Edward Nicholas to King Charles the Second*

May it please yor Matie<sup>a</sup>, I came to yor Matie out of duty to serve you if I could, not out of designe to gaine preferment, & thoughe I understood well, that yor Maties Privy Councell here was neither of number or weight equall to ye importaunce of yor Maties affaires, yet yor Matie being then resolved to goe for Irland (where I conceived there would be an addition of Councillors answerable to ye weight of yor affres) I did ye more willingly tender my humble services here.

But since its not now councellable for yor Matie upon yr change of yor busines in Irla: to goe thither, I held it my duty humbly to advise you, that I find yor affaires of soe great importaunce, & of such a nature, as (in my poore iudgmt) it will not be possible for you to man'age ye same without a steddy, settled, & more full Councell of able, graue & experienced p'sons of unblemished, integrity whose honor, esteeme, fidellity, & prudence may raise ye reputac'on of yor Councell from that greate contempt it lyes under both at home and abroad ; & whereby forraigne Prces may be encouraged to assist yor Matie, & yor Royall party in Engl: to appeare more vigorously for you.

If for want of such a settled & hole Privy Councell, yor Matie shalbe necessitated (as lately) to call (upon every important occasion) such to Councell who are not sworne, it will not much satisfy yor party in Engla: nor advantage yor affres. Besides yor Privy Councell wilbe att a great disadvantage, when they are to give their advise upon oath, & are by ye same obliged to be secreat, & ye others shal be att liberty & under noe tye att all.

My humble advise therefore is, that yor Matie forthwth endeavour by all meanes possible to get a Councell composed of a convenient number of such honble, experienced, & faithfull p'sons, as may be equall to ye great importaunce of yor pesent affres, & above ye contempt that yor now Councell lyes under, aswell in yor owne Court, as abroad, without wch it will not be possible for you to goe throughe yor greate businesses.

As for my owne particular<sup>b</sup>,

I humbly beseech yor Matie to give me leave to put you in minde, that att St. Germaines yr Matie comaunded me to wayte on you in this place, where

<sup>a</sup> Written by Sir Edward Nicholas, and alluded to in a note, *ante*, p. 817.

<sup>b</sup> De Larrey, a French contemporary writer formerly quoted, says of Sir Edward Nicholas, that he had much better qualities and more zeal for the late Monarch, than the preceding Secretary of State, Windebank. He adds, that he was truly devoted to the Church of England ; and having, besides, as much integrity as ability, was as faithful to the son as to the father. ' Charles II recompensed his fidelity, and restored him, in 1658, to the post that his father had given him ; if this employment was honourable to him, all the profit redounded to the King, who conferred it on him not till he left France, and when he was a wanderer from Court to Court, and from country to country.'



you were pleased to tell me you should have occasion to make use of my service as Secre'ie, & to that end yor Matie comaunded me to gett prepared a signet, and other provisions fitting, wch accordingly I p'vided att my owne cost. I was there further tould from yor Matie, that when I came to Jersey, I should be sworne Secr'ie. And since I came hither, yor Matie tould me I should be sworne, as soon as I came into Irla: Now since yor Matie goes not for Irla: I humbly desire that I may be sworne before yor Maties dep'ture from hence :

1. Because, I know ye busines belonging to a Sec'rie of State ought not to be p'formed by one that is not sowne in ye place.

2. For that ye busines I shall doe (not being sworne), will not have that credit & esteeme, as is requisitt for ye advantage of affaires of that nature.

3. That it wilbe a great disrepute for me (who have had the honor to serve yor Royale father 7 yeares in that office) to execute any considerable p'te thereof, & not be established in it by oath, wch only can make a man capable of p'formance of the duty of that place, as it ought to be.

Yor Maties obiection, that if you sweare me, you must doe ye like for Mr. Long<sup>a</sup>, is rather a discouragement then a satisfac'con to me, who did hope my soe long faithfull service to yor Royall father would have mov'd yor Matie to make more difference betweene us, since I have hitherto (I thanke God) carryed a cleere reputac'on in all my wayes.

Wherefore its my most humble suyte, that yor Matie wilbe pleased either to give order that I may be sworne yor Maties Sec'rie (whereby I may be enabled to doe you service), or else that I may have leave wth yor Maties gracious favour to retire untill my faithfull & disinterested service may be of more use in yor Maties affaires.

' For yor Matie '.

Indorsed : ' Je lis ce papier au Roy a Jersey, 31 de Janvier. St. Vx 1649 '.

#### *The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

Charles R., in regard of our many great & weighty businesses, Wee are resolved & promise wth all convenient speede to increase the number of Our English Privy Councillors in a considerable proporc'on answerable to ye importaunce of our affaires.

Wee are alsoe resolved principally to make use of & rely on, the faithfull advise of our sworne Privy Councell in ye managemt and determinac'on of our important affaires.

Wee likewise resolve & promise, to sweare and establishe Sr Edw: Nicholas in ye office and place of one of our principall Secretaries of State, the first man Wee admit to or constitute in that office, and as soone as Wee shall dismissee Robt Long from our service. Given at our Court att Castle Elizabeth in our Island of Jersey the 14-24th of febr: 1649-50.

#### *The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

ST. JOHNSTONS: Sept. 3, 1650<sup>b</sup>

Mr. Secr: Nicholas, I haue giuen this bearer his dispatch, and haue signed all the Commissions, with 53 blankes wch I desire you to fill up as you shall haue

<sup>a</sup> Mr. Long appears to have been engaged as secretary to Charles in a quasi-private capacity, for his name is not entered upon any of the official lists. The King, influenced most probably by his mother, showed much favour to him. It is perhaps not irrelevant also to observe, that if the handwriting of the rival Secretaries had been allowed any weight in the discussion of the question, Mr. Long must have proved successful against Sir Edward; his mode of writing being singularly precise and clear, whilst that of Nicholas is often scarcely intelligible.

<sup>b</sup> Written during Charles's visit to Scotland, when the Presbyterians crowned him King. Charles sailed from Schevling in Holland, in the preceeding June, and landed at Spey, in Scotland, soon after. On the 15th of July he was proclaimed at Edinburgh Cross; and afterwards proceeded to St. Johnstone's, which place had been appointed for the meeting of the Scottish States. It was on the day when the above letter was written, Cromwell's 'fortunate day', that the Scots were defeated at Dunbar. Charles went to Scotland in June; and towards the latter end of July, Cromwell took the command of the English Army in that Kingdom.



occasion, there are two com'issions for 445 [Marq:] : 388 [Hertford] : that if one should miscarey the other might serue. I haue sent you here inclosed a letter of credance to the Prince of Orange<sup>a</sup>, that if you should haue occasion of his assistance you may use it ; but pray have a care that you doe not press him about money, for I haue had so much from him allready that it were a shame to seeke more of him. This bearer will acquaint you with my condition much better than I can doe in a letter, I shall only say this to you, that you cannot imaien  
 245 [the] x3 [vilaney] : 160 : m8 [of] : 8 [the] : 191 [illegible] : w5 : 175 : m9 : t6 : p [&] : 64 : 49 : v6 [their] : 104 : 47 : 213 [party] : 7 : indeed it has done me a great deale of good, for nothing could 138 [have] : 81 [confirmed] : 109 : 14 : 12 : 2 : 170 [me] : 13 [more] : 220 : 242 [to] : 245 [the] : bb : 254 [Church] : 73 : n8 [of] : 349 [England] : 153 : then being x9 : 26 : 139 [here] : 69 : t3 [seing] : 151 : w5 [there] : s3 : c4 [hippocrisy<sup>b</sup>] : 20 : q6 : 75 : h : 8 : v2 : I shall send 245 [the D: of Yorke's] : 575 comission and 374 [Lo: Gerrard's] : 49 : by Oudart, who I will dispatch within this 2 or 3 days. I had allmost forgot a bussines of great importance, it is to speke to the Pr. of Orange to send hether 218 : 30 [a] : 4 [smack] : 169 : 44 : 38 : n7 [or] : 12 [a] : e8 [herring] : gg : w : 5 [buss] : 262 [wth] : 111 [five] : x2 : 190 [or] : 229 : [six] 39 : 19 [men] : w2 [to] : k4 [lie] : 33 [here] : f5 : r4 [pre] : 240 [tre] : 25 [n] : yy [di] : 45 [n] : 34 [g] : 145 [it] : g5 [is] : 242 [to] : 80 [carrey] : s3 : 7 : p7 [ouer] : 64 : 30 [a] : 170 [messenger] : 228 : 45 : d4 : 14 : x7 [when] : aq : w5 [there] : 220 : 147 [is] : 477 [occasion] : I being at the charge of keeping them when they are here. 141 [I] : z3 [would] : 138 [have] : 245 [the] : r8 : x2 : 4 [vessel] : 228 : 24 : 44 : nn [come] : 47 : w2 [to] : 171 : m6 [Montrose] : 222 : t3 : 320<sup>c</sup> : I would haue you and Mr. Attorney to stay in holland as being the place that is the neerest to this Kingdome and where I shall haue occasion of your services : I have no more to say to you at the present but to assure that I am and euer will be your most affectionate friend,

CHARLES R.

*The King to Mrs. Twisden<sup>d</sup>*

Mrs Twisden, hauing assurance of your readines to performe what I desired of you by my letter of the 7th of February from Jersey, according to your Brothers promise, in order to the conveying to me the George and Seales left me by my blessed Father, I haue againe employed this bearer (in whom I haue very much confidence) to desire you to deliver the said George and Seales into his hand for me, assuring you, that as I shall haue great reason thereby to acknowledge your owne and your Brothers civilitys and good affections, in a particular soe deerly valued by me, soe I will not be wanting, when by Gods blessing I shall be enabled, deseruedly to recompence you both for soe acceptable a service don to your louing friend,

CHARLES R.

St. JOHNSTON, 2 8ber, 1650

*The King to Mr. William Hinton<sup>e</sup>*

Mr. William Hinton, your many faithfull services done to my deere Father of blessed memory and to my selfe, & the constant continuance in your loyall affections to my just cause, are soe very remarkable, as I shalbe euer mindfull

<sup>a</sup> Father of William the Third.

<sup>b</sup> This not to be mistaken allusion to the men who had just placed the crown upon the writer's head is sufficiently illustrative of the character of Charles. A report that he had been obliged to perform public Kirk-penance by the Presbyterians is mentioned in a ludicrous manner in a Letter from the Elector of Bavaria to the Queen of Bohemia, preserved in *Bromley's Royal Letters*, p. 153.

<sup>c</sup> This of course is a plan for his own escape if necessary, and another proof of the small reliance he was placing upon his Northern friends. Whether he doubted their power or their loyalty is not very material ; but it is evident that he wished to ensure the means of his own safety, independent of their exertions.

<sup>d</sup> This is not printed from the original, but taken from a copy.

<sup>e</sup> This letter, taken from a copy, contains further proof how much more anxious Charles now was for a safe escape to the Continent than sanguine of success from the state of his affairs in Scotland.

to acknowledge them, and to gratify and reward you for them. The condition of my affaires requiring that a considerable sum'e of money be speedily sent into Holland, I doe at present desire you by such private meanes as you shall conceiue most safe, to conveye or returne thither by bills of exchange for my use, such sumes of mouey, as either you haue or shalbe able to procure by loane, or other wise, of my well affected subjects, towards my supply : and as I doubt not you will comply with all readines & industry with this my desire, soe I will that you assure all those who shall contribute to ye support of my occasions, yt I shall willingly repay them, when God shall enable me, and also further recompence them to their content : and will particularly consider you for the paines you shall imploy herein as a service very acceptable to your loving friend,

St. JOHNSTONS, 2. 8ber, 1650

CHARLES R.

*The King to Sir John Grenville*

Sr John Grenville<sup>a</sup>, considering how important it would be for the good of my affaires to haue a body of men in a readiness to countenance any attempt that shall be made by my good subjects in the West<sup>b</sup>, for recovering my just rights, their owne libertys, and suppressing the present barbarous and bloody Vsurpers, especially in a place soe neere and opportune for the seconding any such enterprize as that under your charge ; I haue thought good to desire and require you, to gather & entertaine as many souldiers, and to provide what store of armes & munition you can possibly, and as may consist with the necessary subsistence of ye garrison under your com'and, to be ready to be seasonably transported on any good occasion : In wch busines soe highly conducing to the good of my seruice, as I am very confident your particular relation and affection to my person and interests will prompt you to imploy your utmost industry and assistance, soe you may rest assured, that wt you shall therein performe shall ever be acknowledged on any seasonable occasion that may manifest your deserts and ye esteeme and kindnes I haue for you, who am your loving friend,

St. JOHNSTONS, 2 Oct. 1650

CHARLES R.

*The King to Sir Richard Grenville*

Sr Rich: Grenville, though it be not seasonable for me to giue powers to any to appeare for me, in regard of the diverse affecc'ons and dispositions of ye people I haue to deale with in the present conjuncture of my affaires, yet I held it requisite to cherishe the good affecc'ons of those who haue the like kindnes for me as I haue observed in you, desiring you to continue constant therein, and to keepe your selfe in readines for my imployments when it shalbe seasonable, and in the meane time not only to be your selfe very secret and circumspect in what concerns my interests, but by all meanes to procure that all others be soe likewise, least if the Rebells shall discerne and appehend any disposition & intention in any of my good subjects to assist me, they shall, to pevent the same, use violence on those that are best inclined to my service. I haue soe great confidence in your affection as I am assured of your readines, and when there shalbe a fitt opportunity you shall be sure to heare from your very louing friend,

St. JOHNSTONS, 2d of 8ber, 1650

CHARLES R.

*The Duke of York to Sir Edward Nicholas*

Sir Edw. Nicolas, though I haue much desired your company and aduise, yet not with the hinderance of the Kings seruise, nor your one inconvenience : but that now vpon the death of the Prince of Orange<sup>c</sup>, I haue more neede of your

<sup>a</sup> He was afterwards Earl of Bath.

<sup>b</sup> Thoroughly weary of the thralldom of obligation to the Scotch Covenanters, this and the following letter (both of which are taken from copies) contain evidence of the writer's anxiety again to engage the service of the English royalists. See also a letter of Abraham Cowley to Lord Arlington, in the *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 152.

<sup>c</sup> Who died on the 24th of this month.



councell then euer, which I desir you to comunicat to me by letter or any other waye as you shall thinke fitt. I desire you also to moue my Lord Culpeper<sup>a</sup> for monye to defray the charges of the Kings horses ; as well for the Kings honor, as to preserve 3 of the best of them for the Kings use. I desire you would aduise me whether I may not presse my Lord Culpeper to lend me 1500 or 2000 Pounds, to be repayd if the King allow it not : the wanting of those supplies which I expected from the King and the Prince of Orange enforces me to this councell, wherein I desire your assistance with my Lord Culpeper if you aproue of it : desiring you to belieue that I shall euer be your very affectionat friend,

BRUXELLS, *Nouem.* 12. 1650

JAMES

Indorsed by Sir E. Nicholas : 2-12<sup>o</sup> *Nobris*, 1650. R. 8-18<sup>o</sup>. The D. of Yorke from Bruxells to me.

*Copie of ye Dukes Letter to my Lord Culpeper*

My Lord, the Kings horses are to be sold for money to pay for their meat. Some of them are much pris'd by his Maty, and cannot be sold to their worth : therefore I desire that you would laye downe the money due for their charges, so that the Kings honor may be preserued, and the best of ye horses still kept for ye Kings use : wth wch I am sure his Matie wilbe well pleased. I rest your louinge friend,

JAMES

BRUXELLS, *Novemb.* 12, 1650

*The Duke of York to Sir Edward Nicholas<sup>b</sup>*

Sir Edw. Nicholas, I haue receiued yours of the 8. of Nouember from the Hage, and with it that from Dicke Fanshaw, and I haue as you desired me lett the King know why I had you not heare with me, which he knows very well was not your fault, and I am sure he is well satisfyde with you, and has the same esteeme he always had for you, of which I am confident before this tyme you haue knowledge of in his hauing sent for you to come heither to him, which makes mee now that I shall not say anything more to you, because I hope to see you shortly, till when you may assure your selfe that I shall euer be your most assured freind,

PARIS, *Nov.* 18, 1651

JAMES

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

PARIS, *April* 6, 1652

Mr. Sec. Nicholas, I haue receaued yours of the 28 of the last month, and doe very well approue of your sending me intelligence in your letters to the Chancelour<sup>c</sup>, by whom you shall againe receaue my pleasure, and information of all my purposes and resolutions and directions concerning your selfe, wch the unsettlednesse of my condition heitherto hath kept me from sending so positiuely to you, as I hope shortly to doe. In the meane time assure your selfe I rely upon noe mans fidelitie and affection more then on yours, and you shall allwais find me to be your most assured frend,

CHARLES R.

*The Princess Dowager of Orange to Sir Edward Nicholas<sup>d</sup>*

BREDA, 21 *July*, 1653

Mr. Secretarie, I haue been so long without giuing you thanks for all yr letters, that if I did not hope you would not impute it to neglect, I should not know

<sup>a</sup> The first peer of that name. He joined the deceased King's councils at the same time with Hyde and Falkland ; was an exile, for twelve years, with his son ; and on the Restoration was made Master of the Rolls.

<sup>b</sup> This letter was written after the battle of Worcester, fought on the same day as that of Dunbar, the 3d of September. It was on the 2nd of November that Charles landed in Normandy.

<sup>c</sup> Sir Edward Hyde ; but he is not marked on the lists as Chancellor until 1658.

<sup>d</sup> This letter has reference to the Treaty then pending between Holland and the English Commonwealth. The negotiations were finally settled on the 5th Mây, 1654.

which way now to desire you to continu, but your knowing how little I loue this exercise will (I dout not) justifie mee enough in yr opinion. I am very vnertain of my stay here, because it depends vpon his Majestis remouea, who I wish with all my hart would not come into these parts till hee sees what becoms of the treaty, for I do much aprehend at last thay will agree: the Hollanders desiring nothing more. By this imagine how ill his Maties reception will bee: Pray let mee know your opinion of this, and whether you beleue ther will be a peace, which in doing you will much oblige your affectionate friend,

MARIE

*The King to Sir Edward Nicholas*

PARIS, Sept: 28, 1653<sup>b</sup>

Nicholas, I am very well pleased with the paines I perceau by your letters to the Chancelour you take in my seruice, and you must upon all occasions lett those good men know, who communicate freely with you, that I am very sensible of their affections to me wch I will requite when it shall be in my power: I am exceedingly troubled at any factions and iealosyes amongst those who wish me well, and will use all my power to compose them, and if you mete with any who have hearetofore bene averse to those wayes, wch haue been most con- ducinge to my seruice, or bene opposite to that party wch hath bene most tender of me, you may confidently assure them, if they haue now changed ther mindes, I will be there harty frind, and be very carfull to aduance there interest, and to requite there good will: In the particular wch you and Sr M. L: haue consulted, I thinke best to acquiesse in that generall, untill there shall be some declaration of at least an inclination towards me, and you shall let Monr Be: (to whom you are to commend me kindly) know that I shall then make it appeare, that it is in my power to add more strenght to those states then is imaginable: if you haue interest in any discrete person who is a confident of Count Williams, I would be glad he should know, that I haue great kindnesse for him, and doe much depend upon his good will and frindshipe to me in all my concernements, as indeede I doe; proceede as you haue begun, wch is very acceptable to your constant louing frind,

CHARLES R.

*Copie of the Kings (Charles II.) Letter to the Duke of Glocester, concerning his being tempted to turne Papist*

COLOIGNE, Nov: 10: 1654<sup>d</sup>

Deare Brother, I have receaued yors without a date in wch you tell me that Mr. Montague has endeauored to pervert you from yor religion. I doe not doubt but you remember very well ye com'ands I left wth you at my going away concerning yt point. I am confident you will observe them: yet yor letters that come from Paris say that it is ye Queenes purpose to do all shee can to change yor religion<sup>e</sup>, in wch if you do hearken to her or any body els in that

<sup>a</sup> Charles was then at Paris. From a letter written by Abraham Cowley to Lord Arlington very soon after this period, it appears that the King's dependence on Dutch friendship was greater than his sister's. He believed that the eagerness to conclude a treaty with Cromwell was not the wish of the States, but merely of a party which then was predominant. See *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 158.

<sup>b</sup> This letter was written only a few weeks previous to Cromwell's assumption of the Protectorate. The initials in the latter part refer evidently to Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Mons. Befort.

<sup>c</sup> Charles's mode of expression here is worth remarking. Policy obliged him so often to express favour and affection to those for whom he had a very different feeling, that the addition of 'as indeede I do' seems necessary on occasion as a guarantee of good faith.

<sup>d</sup> Charles left Paris for Cologne on the 18th of October, and received much attention and kindness from the Princes of Germany. This letter oddly contrasts with what the writer afterwards became.

<sup>e</sup> In some private instructions given by Charles to the Duke of York, and dated the 13th July, 1654, there is a passage expressing the same anxiety about his brother, and strongly marking the Queen-mother's breach of promise on the subject. 'I have told



matter, you must never thinke to see England or mee againe, & wtsoever mischiefe shall fall on mee or my affaires from this time I must lay all upon you as being ye only cause of it. Therefore consider well what it is to bee not onely ye cause of ruining a Brother that loves you so well, but also of yor King & Country. Do not lett them p'suade you either by force or faire p'mises ; for the first they neither dare, nor will use, and for the second, as soone as they have perverted you they will haue their end, and then they will care no more for you. I am also informed yt there is a purpose to putt you into ye Jesuits' Colledge, wch I command you upon ye same grounds neuer to consent unto. And when soever any body shall goe to dispute wth you in religion doo not answeare them at all. For though you haue the reaso' on yore side, yett they being prepared will haue ye aduantage of any body yt is not upon ye same security that they are. If you do not consider what I say unto you, Remember the last words of yore dead Father, wch were to bee constant to yor religion & neuer to bee shaken in it. Wch if you doe not obserue, this shall bee ye last time you will heare from (deare Brother) yor most affectionate brother,

CHARLES R.

*The Queen of Bohemia<sup>a</sup> to Sir Edward Nicholas*

Mr. Secretaire, I ame verie glade to finde by your letter that you are safelie arriued and all your companie at Aix<sup>b</sup>, and that you found the King and my Neece<sup>c</sup> so well in health and so kinde one to the other, which has euer bene so since I haue knowen them. I beleue indeed the seperation will be hard, but when there is no remedie one must be content. As for my iourney up hill I cannot tell what to say to it, Sr Charles Cottrell<sup>d</sup> shall informe you how it goes but slowlie on, and which is stranger that it is not my fault. Dr. Morley has made a verie good description of the Queene of Swedene<sup>e</sup>: she gaue an assignation to the French Ambassadour to meet her at Breda, whither he went, and so did the Prince and Princess<sup>f</sup> of Tarente and most of our French gallants, who came

you that the Queen hath promised me concerning my brother Harry in point of religion, and I have given him charge to inform you if any attempt shall be made upon him to the contrary ; in which case you will take the best care you can to prevent his being wrought upon, since you cannot but know how much you and I are concern'd in it'. See *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 108. The 'Mr. Montague' alluded to was Walter Montague, who had lately entered into Priest's orders, and, upon the death of Father Philips, became the Queen's confessor. Carte, in his *Life of Ormond*, speaks of his 'busy temper, spiritual pride, and furious zeal'. Some further particulars of this bigoted Abbot of Pontoise, who was second son of the Earl of Manchester, may be found in p. 676, vol. ii of the *Sidney Papers*. And see *ante*, p. 765.

<sup>a</sup> Sister to Charles the First ; a woman whose beauty and spirit increased the sympathy justly due to her misfortunes. She had lost her eldest son shortly before her husband's death. Her second son was Charles Louis, the exiled Elector Palatine ; her third, the Prince Rupert ; her youngest, the Prince Maurice. Through her daughter Sophia, afterwards Electress of Hanover, the present royal family occupy the English throne. The letters now printed are very interesting specimens of her style of correspondence, and form an apt and valuable commentary upon the graver records of this important period.

<sup>b</sup> Aix-la-Chapelle.

<sup>c</sup> Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans.

<sup>d</sup> Repeatedly mentioned in letters from the Elector Palatine to his mother, preserved in *Bromley's Collection*. He appears to have been attached to the personal service of the Queen of Bohemia.

<sup>e</sup> The far-famed Christina. It was in this year that she abdicated the throne. There were several personal squabbles between the Ex-Queen of Sweden and the Ex-Queen of Bohemia ; and Christina was not a little jealous of Elizabeth's distinguished correspondents, among whom she at this time numbered Descartes and Admiral Penn. Christina, who had just treated and negotiated with Cromwell, even after her abdication still attempted to mingle in politics. She also offered occasionally personal slights to the Queen of Bohemia, which may account for the manner in which she is spoken of in passages of these letters.

<sup>f</sup> The writer's spleen against Christina seems here to extend itself even to her own relations : for Emilia, Princess of Tarente, was daughter of William, Landgrave of



all sneaking home againe, for her greefe was so great for the beating of the Spanish armie before Arras<sup>a</sup> as she would not goe to Breda. She sent another account than that to the Ambassadour as you may imagin, but the Landgrave writt the truth to his neece the Princess of Tarente. We haue yet heere no particulars of this defeat, but in generall it is a verie great one. I long to heare what part my godsonne<sup>b</sup> had in it, for I still thinke of him, being my cheefest comfort next your excellent Master. I am verie glad your daughter is so well, I doe not wonder at it, she is soe well vsed, and now she has her father with her she is the more content, and I take it verie well that all this makes her not forget her frends heere. I assure you I long to haue her heere againe. I am verie sorie for poore Killegrewe<sup>c</sup> she was a verie good gentlewoman. You will heare by Mrs Howards letter howe great a scrape my little Nephue<sup>d</sup> escaped yesterday vpon the bridge at the Princess of Orange's house, but God be thanked there was no hurt onelie the coache broken: I tooke him into my coache and brought him home. The Princess of Orange went from hence vpon Saturday, and you will haue our Baron shortlie with you at Aix, he will tell you the second part of the Queene of Sweden, for he comes from her to your Court. to morrowe I beleeeve I shall goe a shooting, which I haue not done since you went. I am verie glad to heere that you are established in your place, which you desarve so well. this is no complement but the verie truth from your most affectionat friend,

ELIZABETH

HAGE, Aug. 31

I am verie sorie for my Lo: Wentworths sickness. I pray lett him know so from me, and remember me to Mr. Chancellour.

I pray remember my humble seruice to the King: the news of beating the Scotche<sup>e</sup> is now tolde quite contrarie by a ship come from thence.

'For Mr. Secretarie'.

Indorsed by Sir E. N. 31<sup>o</sup> Aug: st: No: 1654. R. 3<sup>o</sup>. 7bris. Queene of Bohemia to me.

*The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas*

HAGH, Sep: 7 (1654)

Mr. Secretarie, I thanke you both for the good news you writt to Sr Charles Cottrell out of Holland, and for your letter I receaued this morning with the relation of the defeat before Arras. I hope you will send that of Holland to Curtius<sup>f</sup> that the beleef of the Scotch defeat may not be continued in Germanie. but none pleaseth me better then what you write of my deere Godsonne, and the continuance of my Neeces good health. The Queen of Sweden is yett at Antwerp, wee looke euerie day to see the Landgrave heere, and by him I shall know what she will doe. It is certaine that the flux is much in Monkes armyg, a Scotchman

Hesse Cassel; and Charlotte, another daughter of the Hessian Elector, was wife to her son Charles Louis. The Prince was Henry Charles de la Tremouille, then in the service of the States, and in command of the Hessian cavalry. His connection with these families procured him to be chosen a Knight of the Garter in 1653, along with the young Duke of Gloucester.

<sup>a</sup> An allusion to the defeat of the Spaniards by the French on St. Louis's day, when their lines were forced, whilst besieging Arras, with great slaughter.

<sup>b</sup> In the Queen's letters preserved in the *Bromley Collection* there are also frequent allusions to this 'godsonne'. In one place (p. 286) she speaks of him under the name of 'Tint', playfully writing to a familiar friend.

<sup>c</sup> 'Kate Killigrew', daughter of Lord Stafford. She had been Maid of Honour to the Queen upwards of eight years. A curious letter, introducing this lady to her Majesty in 1646, may be referred to in *Bromley's Royal Letters*, p. 135.

<sup>d</sup> Afterwards William the Third.

<sup>e</sup> This was a trifling affair; being merely a check given to Lilburn, the Parliamentary General, who commanded during Cromwell's absence.

<sup>f</sup> Curtius had long been the English agent, at Frankfort, to the German princes. He had been Secretary to the King of Bohemia, and in 1640 was also employed by Charles the First in Germanic diplomacy.

<sup>g</sup> Monk commanded in Scotland at this period; having superseded Lilburn, Morgan, and other Parliamentary officers.



that is come from thence reports it, and all the particulars you haue written. Dr. Morley has a letter from Antwerp of some trouble by a discoverie of a new treason in London of the levellers against his pretious highness, but I beleue you will have more particulars of that then wee heere<sup>a</sup>. Dr. Earle settis forwards to morrow to Breda and so to Aix. I doe not write to you by him because this will be sooner with you. Our Baron has sent for his man Smith to meet him God knows where, for I doe not, I beleue you will haue him at Aix: he is the direct wandering Jew. My Ladie Herbert is looked for heere shortlie, but she was not come from Paris the last week. I heare Mrs. Hide<sup>b</sup> is to come to my Neece in Mrs. Killegrews place, which I am verie glad of, she is verie fitt for itt and a great fauorit of mine, who ame euer your most affectionat Frend,

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I pray lett my Lord Wentworth know I ame extereame glad he is of the kings councell, being so much his frend as I ame I cannot but wish him much ioeye of it.

Indorsed: 7<sup>o</sup> Sepbris, 1654. The Queene of Bohemia to me.

*The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas*

HAGH, Sep: 15 (1654)

Mr. Secretarie, I assure you your letters are always verie welcome to me. I hope before this come to you, you will receaue a pacquet from Scotland which came to Rotterdam, and ould Will. Kepley caries himself to Aix. I shall be verie glad to know what news it brings, because heere is againe news of Monkes being beaten, which a man of Midletons writes to Straghen from Stranaven or such a name, and from my Lo. of [illegible], and that all long for the King. Stone is at last here, he saith that Cromwell will be now either King or Emperour, I wish him the latter. he has heard nothing of Bamfeld, but I easilie beleue he is honnest enough to be well used by Cromwell, he tells the Fleet as you hear, but it will not be beleueed heere. This day the assemblie of Hollande begins. theire agent in Sueden writt to the States Generall, that Sr George Fleetwood, brother to him that is Leftenant of Irland, tolde him that he knew Cromwell had saide he woulde keepe the peace with the States no longer then he found it good for his interests, and woulde breake with the first occasion that he can for the good of his deseins. Those of Hollande are verie angrie at the agent for writing this: those that have seene the letter tolde it me. it is so late as I can say no more, but ame euer your most affectionat frend<sup>c</sup>.

I pray remember me to my Lord Wentworth, I have not time to answer his letter but will doe it by the first post.

15<sup>o</sup> 7bris, 1654. R. 17. Qu: of Bohemia.

*The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas*

HAGH, Sep: 21

Mr. Secretaire, I thanke you for yours of the 18 of Sept: yesterday I was tolde that all the people at Bruxelles were sending theire goods to Antwerp for feare

<sup>a</sup> This was immediately after Cromwell's assumption of the Protectorate. It was on the 3rd of the present month that he called together his first parliament; and eight days after the date of this letter, the members swore fealty to him.

<sup>b</sup> Afterwards Duchess of York. Though not yet married to the Duke, Mrs. Hyde appears to have engaged much of the royal attention at this time. Charles, in a letter to Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, in 1655, says 'I will try whether Sir S. Compton be so much in love as you say, for I will name Mrs. Hyde before him so by chance, that except he be very much smitten it shall not at all move him'. Sir Spencer Compton, son of the Earl of Northampton, was the youth of whose loyal and gallant infancy Sir Philip Warwick relates, that though not able to grasp a pistol, yet in indignation he cried because he was not exposed to the same hazard his brothers were.

<sup>c</sup> The letters of the Queen which follow, where her name is not subscribed, are signed with her cipher, as in the letter preceding this, and that, *post*, at p. 838.



of the French<sup>a</sup>. Some in a ship come out of England say that the mock Parliament beginn to dispute their priuiledges with Cromwell, but I feare they will but too well agree. I ame verie glade the King used Prince Williame and his ladie<sup>b</sup> so well. Boswell<sup>c</sup> is well enough serued, but I pittie him for he is vtterlie vndone. there is heere no news at all, onelie Monsr de Wimmenom is verie sick. the States of Holland are assembled, but Brederoke, Opdam, and Merode are not yett come. it is now verie faire weather. when the Princess of Tarents picture is ended by Louyr, which will be this day, then I may chance goe a shooting<sup>d</sup>, which I have not done since you went. I pray deliuer this inclosed to the King with my humble service. I ame euer your most affectionat frend.

I pray lett me know if the Queene of Sueden did write to the King by my Lord of Norwich, and if she did it ciuilie or not. Sure Dick Harding is growen a fish in his baths, for he is as mute as one, tell him so from me. I think the King had better stay where he is then to goe to Collein, he will not be so much at his leisure there as at Aix, those of Collein are odd people, so as I ame of your opinion.

11<sup>th</sup> 7bris, 1654. R. 11<sup>th</sup>. Queene of Bohemia to me.

*The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas*

Mr. Secretarie, I ame verie glade that I shall see my Neece heere so soone, and I thanke you for all your other news. I beleue Dr. Morley will write those that he heares out of England of Cromwells dessolving of his Parliamente<sup>e</sup>, for being so ungratious as not to doe as he would haue them. it was confirmed to me the last night by one of the States Generall, for three of ther Deputies are come from London that were sent about the treatie of the Amb'ors and the other disputes; they confirme all, but it was so late that I coulde not heare of the particullars. the same State tolde me there was a speech of part of the orange and red men in rebellion against his pretious highness. I pray tell your daughter all this, for I had sealed her letter before I had the certaintie of the news. I ame verie glad the king resolves to stay at Aix, he is much better than Collein. I heare there is one that has heeretofore served my Lo: of Brainford<sup>f</sup> paked from Scotland to the King but three days agoe, and came from thence but sixe days before, he would tell no news but made hast away. Soone as he went, there reached heere one Thomson, one I haue seene before: he tells all the particullars of the defeat that is so bragged of. he saith that they were dispersed vpon it, but it is about fife weekes since he came from thence, being come thourough England by his countrie, the borders, where in his passage he mett with a partie where he was hurt and lamed, but for all that he is gone to the King. he much complaines of diuisions amongst them, and not of Sir George Monroe, which they doe also. I doe admire how people could tell so great a lye as the pacquet, but it is verie common amongst my countriemen. Phil: Mohun is heere, she is fled from England fearing to be imprisoned by Cromwell, shes verie good companie and talkes verie freele but handsomlie. My Ladie Herbert is also heere, since Sunday last; I haue had yett no time to aske her anie thing, hauing not seene her since

<sup>a</sup> In consequence of the war existng in Flanders, between France and Spain.

<sup>b</sup> Sister of the late Stadtholder.

<sup>c</sup> Sir William Boswell, already noticed.

<sup>d</sup> Hunting seems also to have been a very favourite amusement of her Majesty of Bohemia. It is frequently alluded to in these letters; and in those of *Bromley's Collection*, sixteen years earlier, there are several references to it.

<sup>e</sup> An allusion to the transactions of the 3rd of September, 1654, when Cromwell summoned that Parliament which he immediately afterwards dissolved for their opposition to his assumption of the Protectorate. The speech to which the Queen of Bohemia refers was that remarkable one on the first sitting of the House, when a member, after denying the authority which had called them together, boldly exclaimed, 'that as God had made him instrumental in cutting down tyranny in one man, so now he could not endure to see the nation's liberties shackled by another, who had no right to the government but by the length of his sword.'

<sup>f</sup> Patrick Ruthen, Earl of Forth, in Scotland. He had been General of Charles's forces during the Rebellion; but was dead at the date of this letter.



Sunday. Thom: Doleman<sup>a</sup> is heere and desires leeu to see me, which I haue put off until I know the Kings pleasure : for hauing so openlie owned the setting forward of the treatie I will not see him without the Kings approbation. I haue writt thus to your daughter, and desire you both to know the Kings pleasure in it. I entreat you besides to remember my humble seruice to him, and keepe me still in his good opinion, for it is the best seruice and frendship you can doe to your most affectionat frend.

HAGH, Sep. 29

I bragg'd to soone of shooting, for since I wrote the weather has not serued.

'For Mr. Secretarie'.

29<sup>o</sup> 7bris, 1654. R: 8bris. The Queene to me.

*The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas*

HAGH, Oct. 2 (1654)

Mr. Secretarie, I send you heere a letter for the King, it is about a match betwixt Prince Adolphe the King of Suedes brother and Sophie<sup>b</sup> : he has desired it verie handsomlie : my sonne has consented to it, reseruing the King of Suedens consent and mine, who ame to acquaint the King with it. I doe it now, and send you the copie of Prince Adolphes letter, I pray gett an answeere from the King as soone as you can. I haue no more to say, but am euer your most affectionat frend.

I pray assure me to my Lo: Wentworth, I write not now to him, I haue no time, for the poste is readie to goe. I pray say the same to reuerent Dick Harding.

'20 8bris, 1654. st. No. R. 40. The Queene of Bohemia to me concerning ye Kings consent for Presse Sophia to marry Prce Adolph, ye King of Swedens brother'.

*The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas*

HAGH, Oct. 19 (1654)

Mr. Secretarie, hearing that you may chance to stay all this week at Collein, I send you this inclosed for the King, to giue him humble thanks for his aproba-tion of Sophies mariage. You will haue vnderstood by Curtius all the newes of Germanie, for his going to waite vpon the King. You will finde by the English prints that they are forbidden to write anie thing of the proceedings of their mock Parliament. I was at Delft to see the wrack that was made by the blowing up of the powder this day seuenight, it is a sad sight, whole streets quite razed ; not one stone vpon another, it is not yett knowen how manie persons are lost, there is scarce anie house in the toune but the tyles are off. (*A great blot on the paper.*) Apollo with leaping into my lapp has made this blott. Thom. Killegrew is heere, who makes a rare relation of the Queene of Sueden. It is verie colde, which I hope will diminish the plague. I pray be confident that I am euer your most affectionat frend,

ELIZABETH

I ame extreme glade to heare that the King is satisfied with Ruperts letter, and that he has answered him so kindlie. I pray doe poore Curtius all the fauour you can, that he haue something from the King to incourage him the more to serue him.

*The Queen of Bohemia to Mr. Secretary Nicholas*

HAGH, No: 16 (1654)

Mr. Secretaire, iust now I receaue yours, and for a cause that you shall know heereafter I now answer you, this is a riddle which none but your daughter and two

<sup>a</sup> Dolman had suffered much in the royal cause during the civil wars. He was a Berkshire gentleman ; and his house at Shaw, just below Donnington Castle, was one of the points of attack during the battle of Newbury, from which a good defence was made against Lord Manchester.

<sup>b</sup> Daughter of the Queen of Bohemia, afterwards married to the Elector of Hanover, and thence the stem of descent of the reigning family of England.

more know. I was Satterday last with my best Neece at Speilng, it being her birth day. I ashure you she is [in] much trouble for her deare Brother the D. of Glocester, all the world woulde looke for no other I can witness for you. I ame sorie the King has so much cause of greef, I beseech God he may speedilie remedie it. I beleue my deare Nephue has a good resolution, but there is no trusting to one of his age. I confess I did not think the Queene woulde haue proceeded thus : all is kept heere verie secret that Prince Will :<sup>b</sup> doth in Overizel, but I am tolde that all goes well, and that Deventer which toune was the most against will doe well, as also Rupert who was of the other faction<sup>c</sup>, not against the P. of Orange but Marshals. I pray beleue me constantlie for I ame so your most affectionat frend.

I send you a letter for the best of Kings, tis about Thom. Killegrew's business. I pray remember me to Mr. Chancelour, and tell him his Ladie and my fauorit his daughter came hither upon Saterdag, and are gone this day to Teiling. I find my fauorit growen euerie way to her advantage.

<sup>q</sup>/<sub>8</sub>° Nobris, 1654. R. <sup>9</sup>/<sub>15</sub>°. The Queene of Bohemia to me.

*The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas*

HAGH, De: 3 (1654)

Mr. Secretarie, I receaued yours at Berghen, whither I was come from Anwerp and Bruxells. I find you haue vnridled my riddle verie right. I saw the Queene of Sueden at the play, she is extrauagant in her fashion and aparell, but she has a good well faouored face, and a milde countenance. One of the players who knew me tolde her who I was, but she made no shew of it. I went the next day to Bruxelles, where I saw the Arch-duc at mass, and I saw his pictures and lodgings. I lay at Sr Harry de Vics<sup>d</sup>, who was verie carefull and dilligent to doe me all the service he coulede. I stayed but Sunday at Bruxelles, and returned to Anwerp vpon Munday, and heearing from Duart how the Queene of Sueden had desired to know when I came back thither, that she might meet with me in an indifferent place, I made the more hast away the next day because I had no minde to speak with her since I heard how unhandsomelie she had spoken of the King my deare Brother and of the King my deare Nephue, and indeed of all our nation, so I auoided it and went away as soone as I had dined. Yett she sent Donoy to me with a verie ciuill message that she was sorie she coulede not use that ciuilitie to me as she both should doe and desired, hoping that one day wee might meet together with more freedome ; I answered her as ciuillie as I coulede, and now when I went from Berghen I gaue Sr Will: Swann charge to make her a complement from me. I came hither vpou Tewsday from Berghen, where I was extremelie well intertained by the Princess of Zolern<sup>e</sup> who was with me and was my guide all the iourney, and defrayed me. her daughter is now so prettie euerie way that you would like her yet better than euer you did if you saw her ; she is much growen and is still of a verie sweet disposition, and she doth become her : she has a great deal of witt and loues our nation extreamlie, it makes me think of your wishe<sup>f</sup> which I ame not against you know. by this post I haue

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps the Princess Dowager of Orange, *par excellence* ; especially as the whole passage seems to refer to the attempts made at Paris, by Queen Henrietta Maria and her friends, to induce the young Prince to change his religion.

<sup>b</sup> Prince of Nassau Dietz, married to the Stadtholder's sister.

<sup>c</sup> Evidently an allusion to the De Wit agitation, which at this moment was disturbing the United Provinces. The object was to deprive the infant Stadtholder of his official power, and give it solely to the Assembly of the States. This, in fact, had been one of the articles which Cromwell urged upon the States as a *sine quâ non*.

<sup>d</sup> Sir Henry De Vic had been long in the English service. He was with the Duke of Buckingham at Rochelle ; and there are several well-written letters from him to Lord Conway, respecting that affair, in Hardwicke's *Collection of State Papers*.

<sup>e</sup> Francisca, daughter of Frederick the Rhingrave, the wife of John George Prince of Hohenzollern.

<sup>f</sup> A plan for a marriage between Charles II and this young Princess, one of the daughters of the Zollern family, appears at this time to have been under discussion.



had verie good news of the Duke of Glocesters constantie in his religion and of my Lo: of Ormonds handsome carriage in that business<sup>a</sup>, so as the Queen saith she will press him no further in it, but I hope the King will not trust to it, but gett him away from thence, which will doe the King great right : it is so colde as I can say no more, but ame euer your most affectionat frend.

I pray excuse me to my Lo. Wentworth and reverent Dick Harding till the next.

'For Mr. Secretarie'.

3 Dec: St: No: 1654. R. 6°. The Queene of Bohemia cong her journey to see the Qu. of Sweden.

*The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas*

HAGH, De: 21 (1654)

Mr. Secretarie, I haue receaued yours of the 18 of this month. I long to heare my sweet Nephue<sup>b</sup> is at Bruxelles. My Neece has sent Nick: Armourer to meet him there. I haue written to him by him, if the King would permitt him to take this place and Teiling in his way from Bruxelles he would make his Sister<sup>c</sup> and me verie glade : he need not make such hast to see him, it is but the other day since he was with him, but it is much longer since wee saw him, and I ame sure our hoghen Moghens will take no notice of it if they be not asked the question as they were for the King's coming to Breda. To be with his Sister some time can doe him no harme. I haue taken the boldness to write the same by my Lo: Gerard<sup>d</sup> to the King, who I beleue will be with you as soone as this letter, for he went from hence vpon Saterdag last. We heere nothing of the rebells fleet hereabouts, but they say that Blage<sup>e</sup> is to ioine with the Spanish fleet against the Duke of Guise. The French Ambassadour beleuees the treatie with Cromwell as good as broken : he is much ioyed that the meeting betwixt the Queene of Sueden and P. of Condé<sup>f</sup> was to neither of their content, for he desired to be receaued as the Queene receaued the Archduc, which she refused, saying she had done too much in that and would doe soe no more, yet he came to see her *brusquement a l'improuist*, and did nothing but *railler* her in his talke, which putt her so out as she said almost not one worde. This was in the morning ; after dinner she sent to know if he would see the play at night, he said he would obey her, but desired to know whither he shoulde come known or as vnknown, for if he came as Prince of Condé he looked to haue a *chaise a bras* as the Archduc had, she saide he had better come unknown, so he came, and she stood all the play, railing with Monr Quito the Princes favourit. the next day the P. went to Bruxelles, and neither of them well satisfied with the other. My La: Swann will be heere within a few days, by her I shall know more of this : I haue heard

<sup>a</sup> This alludes to the attempt made to force the young Duke of Gloucester into the Jesuits' College ; from which, and other designs upon his religion, he was only saved by the Marquis of Ormond, who voluntarily offered his services to the King to snatch his brother out of the hands of the Queen-mother and her Confessor Montague. Carte's *Life of Ormonde*, vol. ii, pp. 163-7, contains a very amusing account of the whole transaction, telling much to the credit of the Marquis.

<sup>b</sup> The Duke of Gloucester, who had just been brought from Paris by the Marquis of Ormond.

<sup>c</sup> The Princess Dowager of Orange.

<sup>d</sup> Lord Gerard of Bromley ; a title now extinct.

<sup>e</sup> Admiral Blake is the personage here alluded to. The Duke of Guise died very soon after this letter was written, in consequence of wounds received at the siege of Arras.

<sup>f</sup> Yet the Prince de Condé was a great admirer of Christina, being recorded to have exclaimed of her abdication 'How great is the magnanimity of this Princess, who could so easily give up that for which mankind are continually destroying each other, and which so many throughout their whole lives pursue without attaining !' Condé, at the period here recorded, was in exile at Brussels ; and though they had their differences on the score of etiquette, they appear to have talked familiarly on meeting. 'Cousin !' exclaimed Christina, 'who would have thought ten years ago that we should have met at this distance from our countries ?' The Prince might have thanked her for his exile, as it arose partly from her intermeddling in the affairs of the Fronde in France, a few years previous.

the reason of Sr Henry de Vics iourney to Coloign<sup>a</sup> : since it is a doting time for the kings ould Ministers of State, I thanke God your wife is yet alive, for feare you should fall in loue againe. I pray lett me know when that wedding will be, for I (will) send you a letter to reverent Dick to bespeak him for brideman. I thank you for your congratulation of Apollos<sup>b</sup> returne, you know how great a favorit he is to your most affectionat frend.

I pray tell my Ladie Hide I ame verie glade she is so well come to Coloigne.

'For Mr. Secretarie'.

<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> Dec: 1654. R. <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>. The Qu: of Bohemia cog the Pr. of Condé ond the Qu: of Sweedes being unsatisfied wh each other.

*The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas*

HAGH, Dec: 27 (1654)

Mr. Secretarie, since you wrote yours, I understand that that arch villaine Manning has receaued his iust desert<sup>c</sup>. I wish all those of his cabal with him. I wish I might know whome he has accused on this side the sea, to auoide them, but this is onelie in case you may tell it, for I doe not desire it otherwise ; I haue curiositie enough to desire to know the rest, but I will not desire but as you think fitt. There is little news heere, the King of Sueden<sup>d</sup> has a sonne born to him and has . . . and prospers exceedingly. the K. of Poland<sup>e</sup> is in Silesia, hunts and passeth his time with little care of anie thing else, this I haue from his owne resident, but I feare the Electour of Brandebourg<sup>f</sup> will be in a ill condition if he doe not make an agreement with the King of Sueden. it is beleueed that Prince Williame will be shortlie Marschall of the Feelde : those that were so much against him are not now so fierce : else there is no news, onely Scone is come, and I hope all will be well ended in that foolish business. I ame euer your most affectionat frend.

Mr. Charles Cottrell, my Lo: Wentworths, and reverent Dick Harding, I cannot write to them now for lack of time. I pray say the same to Monsr Soiret from me.

*The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas*

HAGH, Jan: 4 (1654-5)

Mr. Secretarie, I haue receaued yours of the 29th at my returne vpon Thursday last from Teiling, and this morning I haue letters from Bruxelles, who tell me

<sup>a</sup> It was an affair of courtship. Her Majesty again alludes to it in the next letter but one.

<sup>b</sup> The Queen's lap-dog, already noticed.

<sup>c</sup> The assassination of this Manning, thus referred to by the Queen, is related in a scarce tract, now in the British Museum, which professes to give a memoir of Charles during his exile. 'Before his Majesty's departure from Colen, there happened a discovery of one of those persons who, under pretence of waiting upon him (Capt. Manning by name), discovered unto the Protector all his designs and counsels ; who being found out, was by his Majesty's command sent to a strong castle adjacent to Colen, there to be kept close prisoner. But all the Court being highly incensed against him for his perfidiousnesse, one of his Majesty's servants (though contrary to order) pistoled him as he was lighting out of the coach at the Castle gate, giving him less than the due reward of his so abominable treachery'. It was by Manning that Penruddock had been betrayed. He corresponded with Thurloe.

<sup>d</sup> Charles Gustavus, Duke of Deux Ponts, who had recently succeeded the abdicated Christina.

<sup>e</sup> The well-known John Casimir. The Queen's observations seem almost prophetic ; the whole of Poland having been conquered by the Swedes in less than two years after the date of this letter.

<sup>f</sup> George William, grandfather of the first King of Prussia.

<sup>g</sup> Lord Wentworth had been high in command, during the Civil Wars ; and after Goring went to France, a second time, he had the command of the Western army. Yet Bulstrode says of him that 'he was a very lazy and unactive man, and was not thought either of interest, experience, courage, or reputation enough for that trust which was devolved upon him'. There are some curious anecdotes of him in Bulstrode's *Memoirs*, p. 150, &c.



that my deare nephue the D. of Gloucester was there vpon new years eue the same day I was at Teiling, but when he came thither or goes from thence I know not. I am extreme glade the King permitts (him) to see his sister and me. I hope he will suffer him to stay some time with my deare Neece, it will be a great contentment to her and no hurt to him, and as long as there is nothing tolde to the States of him, they will take no notice of it, this I know is true. I am sorrie for poore Sr Henry de Vic<sup>a</sup>, for lett the match break or goe on, it is euerie way ill for him: We heare no certaintie heere how the French treatie with the rebells in England goes, whither it breake or peece<sup>b</sup>. I am verie sorrie for the Countess of Mortons death<sup>c</sup>, I pittie Sr Thom. Berkley, but most her children. the Queene of Sueden is now at Bruxelles, where she was receaued in greate state: I beleue the Arch-duke<sup>d</sup> wisheth her at Anwerp, for she persecutes him verie close with her companie, for you know he is a verie modest man. I haue written to the King some particullars of it which are verie rare ons, but the Prince of Condé is still verie unsatisfied with her and will not come at her. I haue one peece of news which it may be you haue not heard: the resident of Polande tells me that there is a treatie betwixt Sueden and Polande and a perpetual peace, and to assist one the other against the Muscovits: the King of Poland will quit his pretention to Sueden vpon condition that he be recompenced with some lande or Islande for his heire, that if they be not chosen to succeed the kingdome of Polande, they may haue some place to them selfs to liue in, for the K. of Polande has no patrimonie of his owne nor can buy anie lande under the crowne of Poland: his agent has order to goe for England, to see if Cromwell would send some ships against the Muscovits to make a diuersion. the good agent is verie unwilling to goe, but he must obey his master. Sure Cromwell is the beast in the Revelations that all Kings and nations doe worship; I wish him the like end and speedilie, and you a hapie new yeare as<sup>e</sup> your most affectionat frend.

‘For Mr. Secretarie’.

4<sup>o</sup> Jan: St. No: 1654-5. R: 7. Qu: Bo:

*The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas*

HAGH, Jan: 10 (1654-5)

Mr. Secretaire, I beleue you will heare at Collein how I haue beene debauched this last week in sitting up late to see dancing. wee made Friday out and every night, which lasted till Saterdag at fiue a clock in the morning, and yesterday was the christening of P. Will:<sup>f</sup> childe: I was at the supper: my Neece, the Ps douager, the little Prince<sup>g</sup> and P. Maurice were gossips: the States generall, I meane their Deputies, and the Counsell of State, and my self and Louyse were there as guests. after super was dancing this (till) three a clock, my little Nephue was at the super and sett verie still all the time! those States that were there were verie much taken with him. the King of Sueden with his army is within an houres going from Kunisberg with twenty thousand men, most horse. the Elector is in the toune and has also which they say is twentie thousand also, he has [torn off] foot then the King has<sup>h</sup> [also torn]. Ambassadour goe this week

<sup>a</sup> Sir Henry de Vic, in the early part of Charles the First's reign, had been his Majesty's Secretary for the French mission, and also agent to the King of Denmark.

<sup>b</sup> In January the cavaliers were stirring, but in vain; and in the following November, Cromwell made peace with the French. The Ex-Queen of Sweden and the Prince of Condé appear to have been meddling with these affairs, through the diplomatic exertions of the Count de Tott; as may be seen by reference to a letter in *Bromley's Collection*, p. 186.

<sup>c</sup> Widow of William Earl of Morton, Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, and long in great personal favour with Charles the First.

<sup>d</sup> Archduke of Austria.

<sup>e</sup> The proposed peace between Poland and Sweden was of very short duration.

<sup>f</sup> This evidently refers to William Frederick, Count and Prince of Nassau Dietz, who had married Albertine Agnes, sister of the late Prince of Orange.

<sup>g</sup> Afterwards William the Third of England, now only four years of age.

<sup>h</sup> An allusion to the first invasion of Poland by Gustavus, who marched from Pomerania into that Kingdom after the irruption made, in obedience to his order, by General Wirtemberg.



from hence towards Sueden and Dennemark, one of those that goes for Denne-marke is Monr d'Ameron a gentleman of Utrecht, a verie honest and great Royalist and so you may be sure my great frend, but I beleue they will doe but little with that King, for I am tolde from a good hande that he and the K. of Sueden are in verie good intelligence together, which I am not sorie for considering how little these States assist there allies. My deare Neece continues her resolution of going from hence Thursday next, but I dout the weather will hinder for it thaughts apace. I am euer your most affectionat frend.

I have not time to write to Mons: Soiret, but tell him he was wished here vpon Friday last. I haue written to my Nephue all the particullars of what they were and who was best dressed.

*The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas*

HAGH, Jan. 11 (1654-5)

Mr. Secretarie, I hope my next will tell you of my sweet Nephues being well-come to Teiling, for Mr. Lovell assures vs all heere that he is perfectlie well. I beleue Mr. Fraiser is not sorie to haue a commission to waite upon him this way, for soe he may see his Mistris though she will not confess him so. I know not how your people at Colloigne<sup>a</sup> goe on with their business, but our resident Thom. was asked yesterday for the first time, and so was Jack Sayers. I feare resident Halle will not haue by much so good a bargaine, but how Bess who is left at Bruxelles will take it, for she has written a terrible letter to Sr Charles Cottrell of it, and how confident she is of her Masters honnestie to her, so as she may chaunce forbid the bains. Vicfort tolde me yesterday that Bourdeaux has order to stay yett in England, which shews what you beleue is true. the news I writt to you of Poland and Sweden is most true, and that De Bre makes still his monitions to goe for England.

Wee had a Royaltie, though not vpon twelf night, at Teiling, where my Neece was a gipsie and became her dress extreame well . . . was a Northolland boorine; Mrs. Hide<sup>b</sup> a shephardess and I assure was verie handsome in it, none but her Mistress looked better than she did. I beleue my Lady Hide and Mr. Chancelour will not be sorie to heare it, which I pray tell them from me. the queene of Sueden takes a house at Anwerp, all her owne people leaues her and Italiens and Spaniards comes in their place. Heere is little news stirring. I beleeue you heare of the quarrelle betwixt my soone and the Elector of Ments, it may come to some<sup>c</sup> ill business. it is so colde and they make such a noise with their bells and pleids in (the) street as makes me end, but am euer your most affectionat frend.

I pray remember my humble seruise to the King, and in my name make an humble suit to him in Thom: Killegrews<sup>d</sup> behalf. It is to recommend him to

<sup>a</sup> Charles the Second now kept his Court at Cologne, but in great privacy. Sir Stephen Fox is described by Bulstrode as having the care, management, and disposal of his household, which he kept at an expense of not more than six hundred pistoles per month. In fact, such was the economy necessarily imposed by the condition of the exiles, that Charles never kept a coach during his long stay in that city. 'In the time of the King's banishment', adds Bulstrode, 'he spent two years at Cologne, where he was well received by a widow, at whose house he lodged'. In a letter written by the King to Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, and preserved in the *Miscellanea Aulica*, p. 109, Charles seems to imply that he is living a rational and sober life at Cologne. 'I hope it will not be many days before you see how we pass our time at Collen, which tho' it be not so well as I could wish, yet I think it is as well as some of you do at Paris; at least some that are here would not pass their time so well there as they do here'. In another letter, Charles mentions a design of himself and the Princess Dowager of Orange to go to the Frankfort Fair *incognito*.

<sup>b</sup> Afterwards Duchess of York; but then in the household of Princess Dowager of Orange.

<sup>c</sup> A trifling dispute about boundaries.

<sup>d</sup> Killigrew, so well known in the private history of Charles's reign, was groom of his bedchamber after the Restoration, and happened to be engaged one morning with a volume of his own plays, which he took up in the window, whilst his Majesty was shaving.



Pr. William for Captaine Morgans companie who is dead. the companie lyes at Orzo and is under Eri . . . e, it will make him to subsist untill the King be able to doe for him, and his wiues frends haue putt him upon it. I woulde not trouble his Matie with a letter since you are in the place. Thom: writes himself to the King about it ; it will be a great honnour for him the Kings writing because his wiues frends will by that . . . his Maties favour to him.

'For Mr. Secretarie'.

11<sup>o</sup> Jan. 1654-5. R. 1<sup>1</sup>. Queene of Bohemia to me.

*The Queen of Bohemia to Sir Edward Nicholas*

Mr. Secretarie, I haue receaued yours. My sweet Nephue is not yett gone from Anwerp, but I hope now the weather is better, and I shall see him I hope shortlie, for as soon as he comes to Teiling I will be there. I hope it is a good prophesie of the Electrice of Brandebourga hauing a sonne, but she doth looke to be deliuered before the end of this month or the beginning of the next. The letters out of England say Cromwell is bringing his armie to London, and doubles his gardes, plants cannon in manie places in London and at the Toure ; it is saide he will make himselfe King by force since he cannot be it otherwise : this is written to the P. of Torente. I doe not heare that Bariere is at Bruxelles. I will tell Thom. Killigrew what the King answeres. As for the Archduc he may thanke God to be ridd of the Queen of Sueden, who is lodged at the Count of Egmonts house in Bruxelles, where she stays all winter. My Lord Norwich has got news that the Archduc goes for Spaine, and Don John of Austria comes in his place and marrieth the Queene of Sueden, and to haue the Low Countries as the Archduc Albert, but I beleue it not : there is nothing else that I have to say to you but ame euer your most affectionate friend,

HAGH, Jan. 18

18<sup>o</sup> Jan. 1654-5. R: 11-12. Queene of Bohemia.

*To her Royall Highness the Lady Princesse Dowager of Orange, from the States of Holland and West-Vriesland*

Most excellent Princesse, we were informed by some that the Lord King Charles your Royall Highnesses Brother should haue betaken himselfe within the limitts of this State, and particularly that he should at this present shelter himselfe in the house at Tylinge : And although we cannot by any meanes belieue or expect from the wisdome and reason of the said mighty Lord the King that he would or durst vndertake contrary to the Treaty of Peace made the last yeare with the Commonwealth of England to come within the limitts of this State, and directly against our particular orders comprehended in our Resolutions of the 30th of July, 2d and 4th of August all in the year 1653, and the writing made by the vertue thereof to be giuen to your Royall Highnes within the Province of Holland and West Vriesland : So haue we after good reasons, and for settling our selues in entire rest, found meete with these to set before the eyes of your Royall Highnes what is said before, with a desire and demaund that you will speedily declare, and assure vs of the truth thereof, nothing doubting, but desiring and requiring your Royall Highnes as much as in her lyes by all good offices and duties to be willingly helpfull to take heede and effect that the said

'Ah ! Killigrew', asked the King, 'what will you say at the last day, in defence of all the idle words in that book ?' To which Killigrew replied, that he would give a better account of his 'idle words' than the King would be able to give respecting 'his idle promises' and 'more idle patents', which had undone more than ever his books did.

<sup>a</sup> The Electress Elizabeth Charlotte was daughter of Frederick V, Elector Palatine, and therefore sister-in-law to the Queen of Bohemia.

mighty Lord the King doe not cast himselfe within the limitts of their high mightines : and referring our selues thereto.

Most excellent Princesse, We committ your Royall Highnes to Gods protection. Written in the Hague the 8th of March 1655. Your Royall Highnesses good friends

The STATES OF HOLLAND and WEST-VRISELAND.

By order of the same,

HERB'T VAN BEAUMONT

1655

The superscription : ' To her Royall Highnes the Lady Princesse Dowager of Orange<sup>a</sup> '.

Indorsed by Sir Edw. Nicholas : 8<sup>o</sup> *Martij*, 1654-5. Copy of the translation of ye letr written by ye States of Holl'd to ye Prsse Rll coneg ye Kg being reported to be at Tylinge.

<sup>a</sup> The obscure editor of Grebner, in his astrological guesses, has the following curious one. Speaking of Charles I, he says, ' The old Prince of Aurange [Orange] he almost beggar'd, and yet to no purpose ; the Parliament one time or other getting all armes and ammunition which ever came over to him. It's confidently averred, if the King had become absolute here in England, Aurange had been King, &c '. In the margin this political conjuror adds : ' It's pittie Aurange lived not to master the Jew Hollander '.





PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

SIR EDWARD HYDE

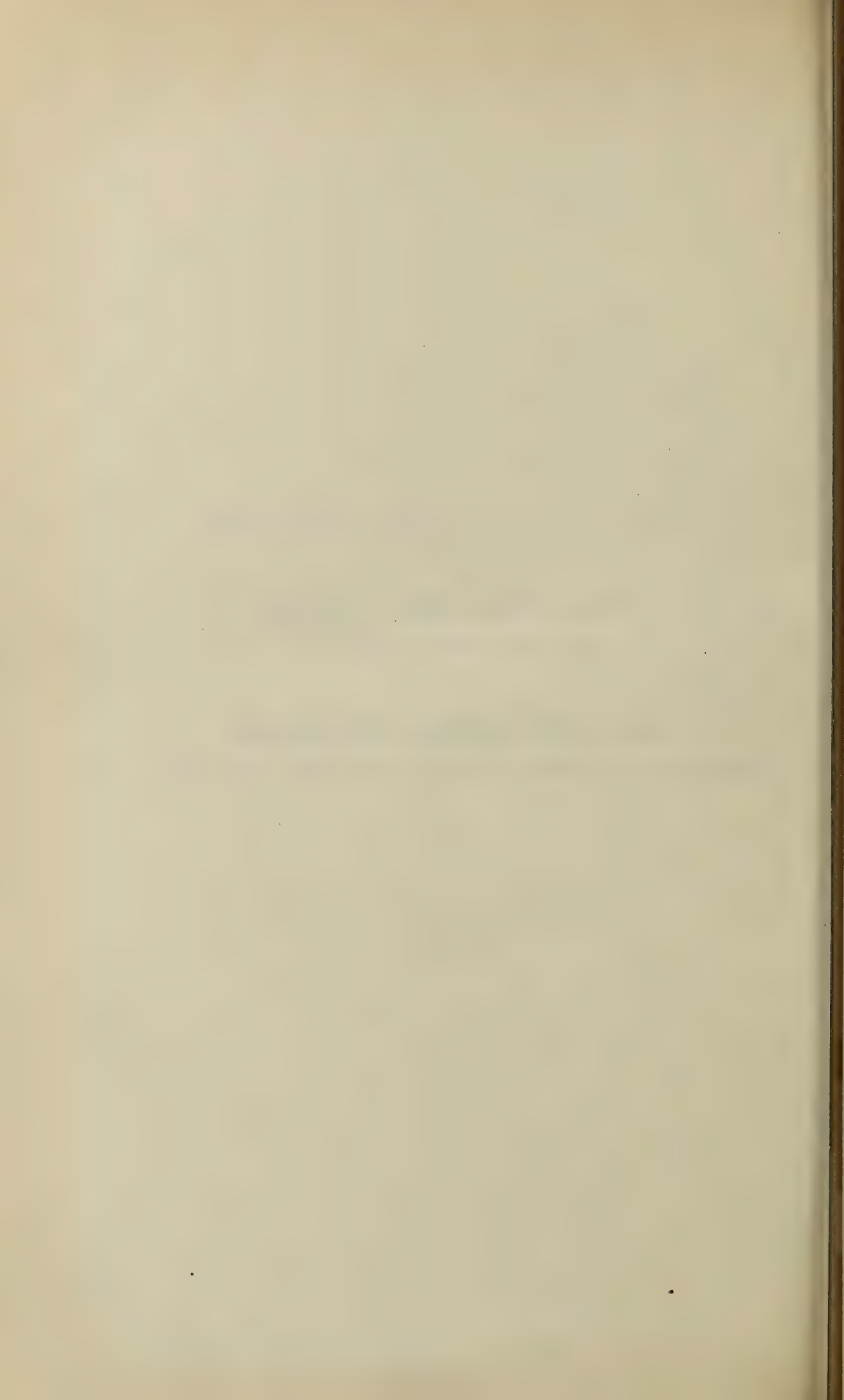
(AFTERWARDS EARL OF CLARENDON)

AND

SIR RICHARD BROWNE

AMBASSADOR TO THE COURT OF FRANCE, IN THE TIME OF KING CHARLES I





LETTERS OF  
SIR EDWARD HYDE  
(AFTERWARDS EARL OF CLARENDON)  
AND  
SIR RICHARD BROWNE

THE letters now to be given, also from the papers of Sir Richard Browne, will be found to throw additional and valuable light on the condition of the various members of the royal family and their adherents during the interval between the death of Charles the First and the Restoration. Only the first two letters of the series are of earlier date. These were written (in 1646) from Jersey, whither Hyde had accompanied the Prince of Wales, afterwards Charles the Second; having been named of his Council in the preceding year. His object at this time was to counteract the intrigues of the Queen to get possession of the Prince; and the desponding tone in which these letters are written marks the failure of that design. The first is dated but a few days after the Prince had left Jersey to join his mother in Paris. Jersey was now under the government of Lord Jermyn, the Queen's favourite; but his deputy, Sir George Carteret, was Hyde's intimate friend; and with him he remained, solaced also by the friendly intercourse of Lords Hopton and Capel, and engaged in the composition of his *History of the Rebellion*, which he had begun at Scilly not many weeks before. He did not quit this retreat till 1648. During the same period Sir Edward Nicholas was at Caen in Normandy, and afterwards in Holland, where, on being obliged to fly from England, he had the King's permission to reside. Lord Digby also, to whom frequent reference is made, had been in Ireland at the time of the Prince's flight to Jersey, but joined him soon after with two frigates and two hundred soldiers, strenuously to advise an attempt upon Ireland, in which the Prince refused to engage. On quitting Jersey, in 1648, Hyde joined Charles in Holland (his *Life* gives an interesting notice of his adventures on that occasion), and soon after the King's death he was sent Ambassador to Spain, from which country he rejoined Charles in France, and was appointed Resident at Antwerp, where he remained during the unsuccessful Scotch campaign, and till he and his master again met after the escape from the field of Worcester. In the latter passages of the Correspondence, to which these events bring us, so many allusions occur to the royal fleet that it may be desirable to describe its position at the time. When Charles I perished on the scaffold, a portion of the navy revolted from the Parliament, and sailed to Holland in aid of the Royal exiles. These ships were put under the command of Prince Rupert, and were employed by him in a predatory warfare against the Commonwealth, besides making several attempts on the Eastern coast of England in aid of the small Royal party still existing there; after which they proceeded to the Irish coast, where they took some valuable prizes. The Parliament sent Blake after them; but in 1649, Rupert, having forced his way through Blake's fleet, continued to capture English ships, apparently on his own account, and indeed without either asking for, or receiving, any orders from the young exiled King. He then proceeded for Portugal, but was forced off by Blake, so that he was obliged to fly for the Mediterranean, where he commenced aggressions on the Spaniards, and having afterwards repaired and refitted at Toulon, from whence he found it necessary to retire, sailed, in 1650, for the West Indies. At this period Scilly and Jersey sent out swarms of privateers; but those islands being captured by the Parliamentary forces, the freebooters were obliged to bring their prizes into the ports of Brittany; and, in return for the sanction of Royal Commissions, were called upon to pay certain droits into the King's Exchequer. To that arrangement many of the following Letters refer. In 1652, Rupert arrived at Nantes on his return from the West Indies after suffering heavy losses from storms; so that, in fact, he only brought back one man



of war, and three or four other vessels, being the sole remains of twenty-five ships of force of which his squadron originally consisted : and these he was compelled to sell to pay his seamen, under circumstances which will be found illustrated in the ensuing Correspondence. Finally, it may be convenient to bring to the reader's recollection that the young King stayed at Paris until 1654, when he proceeded through Flanders to Spa ; thence to Aix-la-Chapelle, and ultimately to Cologne ; and that in January 1658, he was at Bruges, where he appointed Sir Edward Hyde, his Chancellor of the Exchequer up to that period, to be Lord Chancellor of England. It is of course needless to add that the men among whom these high-sounding titles were thus exchanged continued still to be as powerless as they were poor ; they found themselves destitute even of the ordinary comforts of existence ; yet, as the letters now printed show, this little exiled Court had its intrigues, jealousies, fears, and hopes, in quite as great an abundance as when, after the lapse of a few years, it was ' restored ' to Whitehall and St. James's.

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne<sup>a</sup>*

Sr, that you receaved not an answer to your very kinde letter of the 4 of June, by some of the Princes trayne, you must impute to that agony of minde, which was necessary to oppresse me, at the partinge fro' so pretious a iewell, and with so many good frends ; I hope I shall be agayne restored to them, howeuer that all happinesse will crowne ther counsellis ; whilst I with some very good frends of yours pray for them, in this poore islande ; you will very much refresh vs with your correspondence, that wee may vnderstande the hopes, and progresse of that prosperity wee pray for. I doe not in the least degree apprehend a possibility of a peace betweene the Scotts & the Independ'ts, but feare more the manner of the warr, least in opposicon to the nacon all the English turne Independ'ts ; which sure may be præuented : I believe the crisis is at hande : I wish you all happinesse, beinge, Sr, your very affectionate Servt,

EDW. HYDE

JARSY, this 12 of July, 1646

I beseech you remember my seruice to Mr. Nicolls<sup>b</sup>, and desyre him, if Coll. Murray<sup>c</sup> should not be at Courte, that he keepe my letter to him, in his handes, till he see him ; and that he deliuer it to none else. Your favour (Sr) for this to Sr H. Mackeworth<sup>d</sup>.

Sir Ric. Browne

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, I haue this day receaved yours of the 18. of August<sup>e</sup>, and by your leaue continue the giuinge you this trouble ; by this tyme I hope his Highnesse hath had so good a recepcon at ffountainebleau<sup>f</sup>, that hath made some amends for the former wante of ceremony : Methinkes the imaginacons that it is possible for

<sup>a</sup> The reasons for the despondency expressed in this letter are fully detailed in Clarendon's *Life*, and also in the second volume of his *State Papers*, p. 276. The justice of the opinions expressed in it received speedy and full verification. See also the Clarendon *State Papers*, vol. ii, p. 239, for the King's reasons respecting the Prince's visit to the Court of France ; and p. 307, for further observations on the ' Scots and Independence '.

<sup>b</sup> Who this Mr. Nicholls was, does not appear ; for though Sir Edward Nicholas's name is sometimes spelled so in these letters, yet being then knighted he would have been called Mr. Secretary, as Sir Edward Herbert is often called Mr. Attorney.

<sup>c</sup> Colonel Charles Murray, a companion of the Prince from Jersey to Paris. There is a humorous letter from him in the Clarendon *State Papers*, vol. ii., p. 255, describing the arrival of the Prince in the French capital, and subsequently at Fontainebleau.

<sup>d</sup> The first Baronet of that name, of Normanton, in Rutlandshire ; brother to the ' brave and honest ' Sir Francis, who distinguished himself in the Civil War, as Major General to the Marquis of Newcastle, and who afterwards served in the Low Countries, during Charles's exile.

<sup>e</sup> This is perhaps a mistake for July ; or, if correctly written, its apparent anticipation of date may have arisen from Sir Richard using the Gregorian style, from Paris, whilst Sir Edward preserved the old style, in conformity with English custom.

<sup>f</sup> The letter, spoken of in the preceding postscript, for Colonel Murray, appears to have been written on the subject of the Prince's reception at the French Court.



the Kinge to submitt to those vyle proposicons<sup>a</sup>, is the next treason to the makinge them, ther beinge in them no seedes left, out of which Monarchy may agayne possibly springe : and therefore I longe to heare how our brethren of Scotland comporte themselves upon his refusall, which yet I doe not exspecte will be positive, but such a one as they at London will vote to be a refusall : I beseech you let me heare, how your intelligence from London diposes the Catholiques ther, I suppose that party cleaves to the Independ'ts, and I am sure had hearetofore fayre promises from them ; and can have no hope from the Presbitery. I feare the ill successe of the ffrench in Italy and fflanders<sup>b</sup>, will giue them an excuse for those faylings to his Highnesse, which they meant to committ in the most prosperous condicon : and if this indispositicon in the Pr. of Condé be in earnest, they may haue ther excuses multiplied<sup>c</sup>. If my brother Aylesbury<sup>d</sup> be come to you, I pray let him receaue this inclosed letter, otherwise keepe it for him. My service to Mr. Nicolls<sup>e</sup>, to whome I sent a packet by Dr. Jonson, which I hope came safe to him ; My LLds heare, and our very good Gouvernour<sup>f</sup>, are your seruants, as I am very heartily, Sr, your most affectionate, humble serut,

JARST, this 14 of Aug. 1646  
Sr Ric. Browne

EDW. HYDE

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne<sup>g</sup>*

Sr, yours of ye 24. of Jan: from yourselfe and Sr G. Carterett came [not] to my hands till ye post was gone, and I am now in soe great torment wth ye gowte, that I am not able to keepe off my bed, and soe must use another hand, wch I hope you will pardon. The Duke of Yorke<sup>h</sup> is now here, and conceiues all abstrucons are now remoued, wch troubled you at Brest, the Marquis of Castelnoe<sup>i</sup> hauing made large promises to his Highnes : I would aduice you hereafter (though you may giue me an account apart) to send a very particular state of all the businesse and miscarriages there, to the D. of Yorke himselfe, Sir John Berkeley, or Mr. Bennett ; since all redresse must be obteyned by ye sole mediacon of his R. Highnes, and you shall doe very well to expresse at large

<sup>a</sup> The propositions here alluded to are mentioned in preceding letters and notes.

<sup>b</sup> During the war with Spain, in the minority of Louis XIII ; but these events were not of sufficient importance to require specific illustration.

<sup>c</sup> The Prince of Condé was then at the head of the party in opposition to the politics of Mazarin. He was sometimes a courtier, sometimes a politician, and sometimes a rebel in arms.

<sup>d</sup> Son of Sir Thomas Aylesbury, Bart., and brother of Sir Edward's second wife, who finally became heiress to her father and brother.

<sup>e</sup> See note to preceding letter.

<sup>f</sup> Lord Jermyn.

<sup>g</sup> This letter relates to difficulties respecting the reception and sale of prizes. Of the persons referred to, Bennet, afterwards Earl of Arlington, was then Secretary to the Duke, of whom Berkeley had been the Governor ; Castelnau was Governor of Brest ; Holder was agent for the captors ; and Carteret, who had been Deputy Governor of Jersey, was then, or soon after, a Rear Admiral in the French service, though still attached to the Royal cause. Sir Richard Browne, the King's resident at Paris, had been dispatched to arrange affairs at Brest.

<sup>h</sup> The Duke of York had much personal interest at this crisis at the French Court ; having very recently distinguished himself in the French King's service, under the command of General Count Harcourt, and against the Prince de Condé's forces, especially on the preceding Christmas day, when, though Condé was finally victorious, the Duke had charged against him in person, being in command of the forlorn hope, consisting of the English cavalry. In this rencontre the Duke's horse was shot under him ; but he himself received little hurt. See a printed pamphlet in the British Museum, *A bloody fight in France*, Lond. 1651-2.

<sup>i</sup> The hopes of Lord Clarendon from the promises of Castelnau were but indifferently founded ; for the pamphlet quoted in the preceding note expressly states that at this period the return of the Cardinal Mazarin into France with a force of 7000 men had produced great jealousies at that Court, and that Castelnau and Villeroy, having forwarded his return, with the express purpose to undo him, were suspected of that design, and had in consequence forsaken the Court. Castelnau's deputy had pretended an order from his Court to detain the prizes, in the hope of being bribed by the captors.



the misdemeanrs and cheates yr Capitaines<sup>a</sup>, whom upon all occasions Mr. Holder hath wonderfully magnified. You must take spetiall care for ye safe and speedy conueyance of this inclosed from the King to the Gouvernr of Innisbofine<sup>b</sup>, and I pray send the other to Sir George Carterett, if he be gone, and excuse this shortnesse, wch my extreame payne produces. I am, Sr, your very affeccionat humble serut,

EDW. HYDE

PARIS, 8 feb: 1652  
Sir Rich. Browne

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, within 2. howers after my last to you of the 17. were sent away, I receaued both yours of the 5 and 9. of this moneth. I am entirely vnacquainted with the person or the purposes of your Capt: Anthonie<sup>c</sup>, nor do I heare that he is in these partes. I should imagyne, that whateuer else he does, he will neuer putt himselfe in the power of the Hollander, whome he hath sufficiently prouoked and damnified<sup>d</sup>. I cannot giue you any good accounte of the transactions betweene this Crowne and the English Rebels, only that ther is nothinge like that order, of which you say you are aduertised from Rowen, that Pr: Ruperte<sup>e</sup> is requyred to go away with his shippes and pryses, his Highnesse hauinge all the respecte heare, and I thinke, security, he can desyre: and I heare they do not now bragg so much as they haue done, of ther treaty in Englande, and are not without some apprehension, that the Rebels of Westm. may fauour ther fellow rebells of Burdeaux<sup>f</sup>: or letters fro' London importe no new notable effecte of ther alteration; ther Councell of the Army still sittinge at Whitehall to forme ther new modell of gouernment. I know not what to say to the complainte of your serut, because you will not giue me leaue to take notice of it to the partyes who are most concerned, but I believe ther may be some errour or malice in the reportes, because I am told by a very true frende of yours, that it is the maydes owne fault that shee hath not her dyett ther, and that because shee might not be trusted with the gouernmt of the kitchen and the buyinge the meate (in which shee was thought to lauish) shee absolutely with greate indignation refuses to take her dyett, with which they say the lady is much troubled: but I tell you agayne, I haue this only from a frende, and not any of the house. I doubte your mayde is apt to be angry, and when shee is, she may be as vnreasonable, as such angry people vse to be. Upon my conscience you haue not the least reason to suspecte

<sup>a</sup> This little squadron had been recently very active, particularly in the chops of the Channel; but the republican newspapers of the day affected to treat them with great contempt. In one of these *Intelligencers*, of the 8th of the preceding month, preserved in the British Museum, it was roundly stated that Capt. Chapman, in the *Recovery*, convoying a small vessel for Ireland, had met with the *Francis*, the *Patrick*, and the *Hunter*, and maintained a gallant fight from eleven at noon till night parted them. Prince Rupert is also stated to be at this period at sea, 'with six or seven lusty ships' and to have taken several Spanish vessels.

<sup>b</sup> It was at this time reported in the London papers that the King intended to set out for Rome, professing openly the Catholic religion, on which terms it had been promised to him that the Duke of Lorraine should make a diversion in his favour in Ireland, by the relief of Galway, and by a general interference in affairs in that quarter.

<sup>c</sup> Commander of one of the privateers attached to the Royal cause.

<sup>d</sup> The royal fleet and the privateers were now in great distress for a port to shelter them, in consequence of the Parliament having captured the Scilly islands, which had for some time been their principal harbour; Jersey also having fallen.

<sup>e</sup> Though the fleet under Prince Rupert was, strictly speaking, an English one, yet it appears that in a recent attack upon the Spaniards he was avenging a private cause; for when, in the spring of 1652, he sailed from Toulon with four men-of-war and two fire-ships, and instantly commenced hostilities against the Spaniards, taking, as his first prize, a ship worth 100,000 crowns, he put forth a declaration in which he stated one of his reasons for this aggression to be in revenge for the injuries committed by the Spaniards against the Palatinate.

<sup>f</sup> Alluding to the Condé party, then active in the south of France.

<sup>g</sup> Nothing can more whimsically mark the great change in the circumstances of the English courtiers than this rapid transition from national politics to kitchen gossip.



Geo. Carterett's<sup>a</sup> friendshipp or kindnesse to you, but you must not make his frequent writinge the measure of it, and it is very possible (for he hath bene out of all roades) he may haue written, and his letters miscarry, as yours may haue done to him. I am very hartily, Sr, your most affectionate humble servt,

EDW. HYDE

PARIS, this 20th of May, 1652

Sir Ric: Browne

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, I giue you hearty thanks for yours of the 17. which came safe, and I distributed the inclosed accordinge to ther directions ; and the Kinge is resolved to obserue this order, of sendinge twice a weeke to Paris, whereby all our correspondencies will I hope be præserved : I send you a pistole inclosed that you may keepe an euen reckoninge with your man for the portage of my letters<sup>b</sup>, which will quickly spende such a summ, so that I conclude your owne charge in this seruice is no easy burthen ; for what will concerne me, I will be carefull to supply, as this wastes. Wee haue yett taken no further resolucon, then to sitt still some tyme heare, both to decerne what conclusion your distempers will produce<sup>c</sup>, and what our friends of Hollande will do : you will be careful to receaue all information and aduice from the Dutch Ambassadour<sup>d</sup> how affayres goe ther, and transmitt it hither : if our letters fro' the Hague be true, they looke more kindly towards us fro' that climate, then they haue done, and the Ambassadour hath receaued some derection to communicate with his Maty ; but I know he is so iust and kinde, that he will gladly imbrace the orders, and therfore I doubte our information may not be true. The wayes I hope will be so secure shortly betweene us and you, that we may euen visit each other<sup>e</sup>. God preserue you, and me as I am with my whole hearte, Sr, your most affectionate humble Servt,

EDW. HYDE

ffriday night this 19. of July, 1652

Euery body sends ther letters to me, & I cannot refuse to transmitt them : you will lett your man dispose them to the seuerall posts. If the Spanish Ordinary be not speedily expected, I pray putt this under youre cover to Byron<sup>f</sup>.

Sir Ri: Browne

<sup>a</sup> Sir George Carteret, before this period, had been, as Deputy to Lord Jermyn, Governor of Elizabeth Castle, in Jersey, besieged by the Parliamentary forces in 1651. His conduct in that post was so admirable as to exact the praise even of his enemies, one of whom said in a letter, preserved in the British Museum, 'I hear he hath sent to the Scots King, to acquaint him with the state of affairs, as touching our approach, and condition of the Castle, from whom he expects a letter ; and if he with it signs a warrant for delivering up the Castle, I believe the Governor (to make his own conditions the better) will soon yield it up ; yet, without it, his devout allegiance is such, that he will do nothing.'

<sup>b</sup> However trifling this caution seems about a sum so insignificant, yet it will be found, in a subsequent note, that the postage of letters was a most important article of expenditure to the exiled Royalists.

<sup>c</sup> The distempers here alluded to were the disputes, and consequent civil war, between the Condé and Mazarin partisans.

<sup>d</sup> Mynheer Borell. One of the journals of that day (*Perfect Passages*, 23 July, 1552), says, 'Charles Stuart, being gone from the Louvre, continues yet at St. German's, where he hath been saluted by a messenger from the Marquis of Brandenburg, inviting him into Germany. His creature Brown, and the Dutch Ambassador Borell, are often together'. Borell had been Pensioner of Amsterdam, and was very much devoted to the Royal cause, having formerly been Ambassador at the English Court. He was also of the Orange party, and on that ground anxious for a war with the Commonwealth.

<sup>e</sup> The road between St. Germain's and Paris was at that period totally unsafe, on account of the military marauders of both armies.

<sup>f</sup> Count de Brienne, first Secretary of State to the French King.



*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, yours of the 20. came safe to me, and so the inclosed were disposed accordingly : I am sorry ther should be any hazard of hauinge our letters intercepted<sup>a</sup>, which I thought by the remooue of the Armyes would haue been now without any doubt, especially since the Carry-all of this place trauelles dayly & securely to Paris : howeuer I will obserue your advice, and write any thinge of importance in cypher : 731 [you] . 405 [are] ; 532 [in] . 668 [the] . 220 [King's] . 13 . 596 [name] . 667 . [to] 333 [returne] . 502 [his] . 239 [Maties] . 13 . 699 . [very] . hearty thanks 667 [to] . 668 [the] . 142 [Dutch] . 95 [Ambasr] . and indeede 502 [his] . 239 [Maty] . 529 [is] . exceedingly sensible 598 [of] . 502 [his] . 544 [kind] . 30 [n] . 7 [e] . 13 [s] . 62 [s] . 23 [e] . 407 [and] . 488 [freind] . 651 [shipp] . and if God blesses him, will make it appeare that he is so. 502 [his] . 239 [Maty] . 15 [d] . 23 [e] . 13 [s] . 27 [i] . 36 [r] . 56 [e] . 62 [s] . 668 [the] . 95 [Ambasr] . 667 [to] . 551 [lett] . 505 [him] . 546 [know] . as soone as he is assured that 668 [the] . 723 [warre] . 529 [is] . 25 [d] . 23 [e] . 15 [c] . 28 [l] . 21 [a] . 36 [r] . 7 [e] . 26 [d] . and then 673 [that] . 501 [hee] . 710 [will] . aduice 502 [his] . 239 [Maty] . 717 [what] . 501 [he] . 529 [is] . 667 [to] . 439 [do] . both with reference to 668 [the] . 43 [U] . 30 [n] . 27 [i] . 12 [t] . 23 [e] . 25 [d] . 41 . 34 [P] . 36 [r] . 22 [o] . 43 [v] . 27 [i] : 30 [n] . 15 [c] . 56 [e] . 13 [s] . 407 [and] . 667 [to] . 671 [this] . 437 [Crowne] . 713 [with] . 722 [which] . 502 [his] . 239 [Maty] . 710 [will] . interpose 532 [in] . 673 [that] . 573 [manner] . 30 . 23 . 36 . 401 [as] . 668 [the] . 95 [Ambasr] . shall thinke 416 [best] . 13 . 12. I shall not neede to bespeake your diligence in calling often 600 . 505 [him] . 469 [for] . 86.—You will do me the fauour to send this inclosed to Sr Jo. Mennes<sup>b</sup>, who I suppose is still at Calice. I pray do me the fauour to desyre Monsieur Paule to giue you the title of the Duke of Bauaria, and to informe you how longe he hath bene Duke : You will exspecte no newes from this place wher wee haue little to doe, but to study & take the ayre, and to longe for good newes of peace in this kingdome. If the messengers dispatched from hence doe not attende you at those howres they should, it is not for want of derrection heare. I haue a serious quarrell with you for somewhat Dr. Earles<sup>c</sup> hath lately aduerticed me of, which in good earnest I take unkindly, and doubt you haue not so good an opinion of my friendship as I wish you should, and for which I must chide you heartily when wee meete.

Let me know particularly what you receaue from Englande, and lett your man enquire for letters derected as Edgman<sup>d</sup> aduiced you. I am, Sr, your most affectionate faythfull Serut,

EDW. HYDE

ST. GERMAIN'S. Tuesday morninge, 23. of July, 1652

Sir Rich: Browne at Paris

<sup>a</sup> The disturbances at Paris and its vicinity were now of such a nature as to justify the apprehensions here expressed. The scandal of the day asserted also that Charles was by no means a favourite with many of the highest rank in France ; and it is recorded in a Gazette, or *Mercurius Politicus*, of the 1st July, 1652, in the British Museum, that ' Charles Stuart hath secured himself by showing them a pair of heels ' (after the victory obtained by the Prince of Condé close to Paris), ' and retreating from the Louvre to Court, where the King harbours him, being highly distasted by the Duke of Orleans, Mademoiselle, the Princes, and all the people, so that they have made several books and songs of him.'

<sup>b</sup> Sir John Mennes was Rear-admiral of the Fleet in the reign of Charles the First ; and distinguished as one of the most loyal of the officers, when Parliament took those steps which led to the defection of the greatest part of the naval force. He was removed from his station by the Earl of Warwick, in 1642, after the unsuccessful attempt of the King to regain the fleet in the Humber, which failed through some mismanagement on the part of Sir John Pennington.

<sup>c</sup> Dr. Earle, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, author of the *Microcosmography*, was one of the Loyalists attached to the exiled Court, and Chaplain to the King. He was in habits of friendly intimacy with Hyde, two of whose letters to him may be found in vol. ii of the Clarendon *State Papers*, pp. 322, 329. In the latter, Sir Edward facetiously arranges employment for the Doctor's leisure, allowing him two hours to eat his dinner, and ' two hours in the projecting where to get one '.

<sup>d</sup> Edgman was Secretary to Sir Edward Hyde, who once vindicated him from a charge of having violated a seal, by declaring he knew him to be so honest that before he would be guilty of such a villainy he would starve.



*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, I haue not had an opportunity till now to acknowledge the receipte of yours of the 24, which came safe to me, and the contents therof were immediately by me imparted to his Matie, who had not before heard of many of the particulars, nor do wee yett heare from the Court of any such message<sup>a</sup> sent from the Duke of Orleans, which it seemes they thinke fitt to conceale, when they do not intende to satisfy.

I am very sorry for the good Deanes<sup>b</sup> indisposicon, though I am gladd it is nothinge but a fitt of the stone, which I am very farr from vnderualewinge, yett it seemes lesse daungerous then a vyolent ffeauour with which wee heard he labored : I pray remember my seruice very heartily to him, and send me worde quickly of his perfecte recouery.

The wante of the title of the Duke of Bauaria keepes us from making a congratulatory dispatch to him, which is requisite in seuerall respectes, therefore I pray hasten it as soone as you may : let me heare any particulars you receaue from Englande, especially how our frends at Detforde doe<sup>c</sup>. If it would be any comforte to you to haue companyons in misery, you will heare shortly that wee are in greate distresses<sup>d</sup>, for I cannot imagyne which way the Kinge will be able to procure money for his subsistance ; nor indeed how the ffrench Courte will subsiste it selfe. Wee know nothinge heare of the Spanish army : what is become of it ?

You will still commende the King to your neighbour : if the wayes were once open, I would make a iourney ouer to visitt you, and to be merry 3 or 4 howres : I am very heartily, Sr, your most affectionate humble Serut, E. H.

ST. GERM: 26 July, 1652, ffryday 9 at night

I pray send me the copy of a warrant for Barronett, for I am not sure that myne is not defectiue.

Sir Ric: Browne

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, the messenger who brought me yours of the 27. is so positive in the iustifyinge himselfe, that I cannot but desyre you to examine his allegations, which if not true, he shall be no more sent on his errande, at least not by me : he sweares, he was on Saturday at your house, by 11 of the clocke, and you not being at home, he left the letters, both the Kings and myne with your mayde : this is so contrary to what you say, of his not appearinge before 4 of the clocke, (which putts me in apprehension that our packetts went not by the last ordinary) that I haue a greate minde to know the certainty, and whether the fellow hath

<sup>a</sup> Comparing this letter with another of the same date to Sir Edward Nicholas, in the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii, p. 85, it appears that the whole of the news, here alluded to, related to the negotiations carrying on between the Court and the Condéans.

<sup>b</sup> This was Dr. Stewart, Dean of the Chapel Royal, whom Clarendon, in another place calls 'a very honest and learned gentleman, and most conversant in the learning which vindicated the dignity and authority of the Church'. He had been long about Charles's person ; for, as early as 1646, in a letter preserved in the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. ii, p. 253, and addressed to the Prince, the King calls him an honest trusty servant, and recommends him to his Royal Highness as Dean of his Chapel, telling him at the same time to take the Doctor's advice, 'giving reverence to his opinion in all things concerning conscience and church affairs'.

<sup>c</sup> This inquiry refers to the Evelyn family at Sayes-Court.

<sup>d</sup> The periodical prints of that day thus account for the King not wishing to remain at Paris : 'The Scots King is still in Paris, but now upon his remove. What shall he do then ? Trayl a pike under the young Lady of Orleans' (this lady had recently raised a regiment for the French King's service against the Confederate Lords), 'an honour too large for the late Majesty of Scotland. His confidants have satt in Council, and it is allowed by his Mother, that during these tumults in France, it is neither honourable nor expedient for him to continue in Paris, the affections of the citizens for the most part being alienated from the King', &c.



any excuse or not ; I told the Kinge of the expedient you proposed, which he lyked well, only it was sayd by a stander by, that one footeman would not be alwayes willinge to make that iourny, and hauinge so little encouragement, it is no wonder, that euery man is willinge to saue his labour : I am of your opinion that the breach is already too wyde, betweene the two Commonwealths, to be easily closed agayne. I pray God wee may make good use of it, which will most depende upon your neighbours aduice and deration : I pray hasten the Duke of Bauaria's titles, &c. I wish I could tell you of a more plentifull condicon heare, because I am confident you would haue a share of it : upon my worde, the Kinge hath not yett receaued a penny of supply since his comminge hither : he hath hope of 300 pistoles, for which he gott an order at his beinge at Grubyse, but payment is not yett made<sup>a</sup> : seriously I cannot be more troubled at any thinge, then at your distresses ; which I had rather see relieued then my owne : I will not surprys you at Paris, and would be glad that the communication should be with more freedom, before I uenture thither. I will by Saturday send you a letter for George Carterett<sup>b</sup>, from whome I wonder I heare not, but more, that he forgetts his promise to you : I thought your agent ther had taken the duties in spetie accordinge to former aduice. The defeate of Count Harcourte<sup>c</sup> I would haue bene gladd to haue receaued more particularly : wee hauinge heare heard nothinge of it : and the Court needes none of these humilliations. God præserue you, and; Sr, your very affectionate humble servt,  
E. H.

ST. GERMAIN's this 29. of *July*: Munday 3 in the afternoone, 1652  
Sir Ri: Browne

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, I receaued yours of the 30. late the last night, and reade euery worde of it this morninge to the King. 502 [His] . 239 [Matie] . is very much troubled 673 [that] . 668 [the] . 95 [Ambassr] . should receaue any præiudice 469 [for] . 502 [his] . 488 [friend] . 13 [s] . 17 [h] . 27 [i] . 34 [p] . 35 [p] . 667 [to] . 505 [him] . nor can imagyne by what hande those offices are done<sup>d</sup>. The truth is, ther is so greate a licence of writinge vnder the nocon of gettlinge intelligence, for which euery man thinkes himself qualified, that men care not what they write<sup>e</sup>, so they may prætende to know much, and I have seen some letters from Hollande, wherein it hath bene sayd, that 668 [the] . 13 [S] . 12 [t] . 4 [s] . 12 [t] . 7 [e] : 62 [s] . 506 [had] . 493 [giuen] . 30 . order to ther 95 [Ambassr] . 667 [to] . communicate all affayres 713 [with] . 668 [the] . 220 [Kinge] . and so it seemes others who belieued that true, may haue giuen notice of his resorte to the Louer, possibly without any ill purpose, and yett I will not absolue them from that nether : at least, folly and impertinency does the same mischieue that malice does : but the 220 [King] . would haue you assure 668 [the] . 95 [Ambr] . that he will be as carefull heareafter as he desyres, and for the two papers, 501 [he] . 780 [will] . examine his cabinet, wher he is sure they are, if he did not burne them, and deliuer them to me, and I will then send them to you by some sure messenger : ffor 13 [S] . 12 [t] . 21 [a] . 36 [r] . 51 [k] . 10 [y] . 407 [and] . 39 .

<sup>a</sup> This delay is easily accounted for, by a reference to the preceding letter respecting the pecuniary difficulties of the French Court.

<sup>b</sup> Sir George Carteret was now very active as a sea officer in the King's service ; and in the month of July, 1652, is stated to have been on the coast of Flanders with thirteen sail under the royal colours, making prize of English vessels. Soon after this he joined Van Tromp ; and subsequently served as Vice-admiral of the French fleet under the Duke of Vendôme.

<sup>c</sup> Harcourt was a gallant and loyal French officer ; but his laurels faded before the genius of the great Turenne.

<sup>d</sup> The De Wit party were at this time predominant in Holland, in opposition to the Orange partisans, who were of course friendly to the King.

<sup>e</sup> Sir Richard Browne himself had many enemies at this moment among the English exiles ; some of whom, in their wish to drive him from the King's service, were busy with suggestions at Court that ' his majesty being present, he could have no Resident '. This is alluded to in a letter from Sir Edward Hyde to Secretary Nicholas, in the *Clarendon State Papers*, iii, 112.



21 [Taylor<sup>a</sup>] . 10 . 28 . 53 . I am of your opinion for the first, that he is honest, but a foole : The other is more a foole, and I doubte not so honest, though yett I do not take him for a spy : nor can I imagyne it possible for them to make any sober vsefull proposicons 667 [to] . 668 [the] . 95 [Ambassr]. The Kinge will follow the aduice, 407 [and] . 13 [s] . 27 [i] . 12 [t] . 42 [t] . still, till 668 [the] . 95 [Ambassr] . 20 [w] . 529 [is] . 17 [h] . 7 [e] . 62 [s] . 502 [him] . 667 [to] . 577 [moue]. The sendinge 394 [Lord] . 532 [Wilmott into Germany<sup>b</sup>] . 667 . 186 . is not declared, 407 [and] . 531 [if] . 501 [hee] . 491 [goe] . 13 [s] . (which will not be yett) 501 [hee] . shall not 491 [goe] . 415 [by] . 192 [Holand,] . 668 [the] . 220 [King] . 728 [would] . 589 [not] . 615 [haue] . 654 [the] . 99 [Bishop] . proposed any such thinge 667 [to] . 668 [the Ambassr] . 95 . Though he be willinge 673 [that] . 731 [you] . 666 [should] . 551 [lett] . 668 [the] . 95 [Ambassr] . 546 [know] . that as low as his power is, 501 [hee] . 429 [can] . 615 [putt] . 654 [such] . 618 [places] . 13 . 532 [in] . 204 [Ireland] . 407 [and] . 363 [Scotland] . into the handes 598 [of] . 192 [Holand] . as would inable them to torment their enmyes<sup>c</sup> : Ther is no opinion of the good nature and gratitude of 308 [Pr. El. Pal<sup>d</sup>.] . 452 [The Earl of] . 598 . 103 [Br:] . 707 [was] . called 667 [to] . 121 [councel] . as an old 121 [Counsellr] . 599 [of] his fathere<sup>e</sup> : and it would haue bene greate pittie he should not : hi es a good old man, and much my frende . 155 [Ld Digby] . intends his owne businesse and lookes not after what concernes us : I thinke I haue answered all yours : and I am able to add nothings of this place : god of heaven præserue you, and me as I am heartily, Sir, your very affectionate humble Serut,

EDW. HYDE

ST. GERMAIN'S, Wensday July 31. 8 at night. 1652

Sir Ri: Browne

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, since I writt last to you (though it was but on ffryday night) I haue receaued 5 letters from you, two of the 2d, one of the 3. of the 4. and the 5. of this moneth, all which are now before me to be answered in order, after I have exceedingly thanked you for your diligent and very punctuall correspondence, which is so greate a virtue, that it is high iniustice not to rewarde and gratify it, which I hope will one day be done.

I have informed the Kinge of the Venetian Ambassadors complainte against Mr. Killegrew<sup>f</sup>, with which his Maty is very much troubled, and resolves upon

<sup>a</sup> This Taylor, adverted to in former notes, was the King's agent with the Emperor of Germany and the Diet; as appears more particularly in a letter to him from Sir Edward Hyde (Clarendon *State Papers*, vol. iii, p. 112), in reference to an approaching meeting of that body. But in the same volume, p. 121, a very strong reason is given for Lord Wilmot's German Embassy, Hyde remarking, 'I am sure a wise man is wanting there; for Taylor is the most absolute fool I ever heard of'. See further, in the same volume, pp. 113, 116.

<sup>b</sup> How well the King's motions were now watched by the Parliament, is evident from the fact that a journal of the 5th August, 1652, was enabled to state: 'The late King of Scots is at St. Germain's, and expects daily to bee sent for by the Hollanders. The Lord Wilmot is designed to go Ambassador from him into Germany'.

<sup>c</sup> This extraordinary fact receives confirmation from another of Sir Edward's letters to Secretary Nicholas, published in the Clarendon *State Papers*, vol. iii, p. 86. Fortunately for the honour and credit of all concerned, the idea was finally abandoned.

<sup>d</sup> The Elector Palatine abundantly justified this opinion; for, when the German Princes subsequently made up a sum of ten thousand pounds for Charles, the Elector, though under great obligations both to his father and grandfather, did not contribute a single stiver. See Clarendon's *History*, vol. iii, p. 418.

<sup>e</sup> In tracing the conduct of the Earl of Bristol throughout these letters the reader will derive amusement from Walpole's account of him as a Noble Author.

<sup>f</sup> In his *Life*, p. 116, Hyde says that Charles had been at first unwilling to send Killigrew to Venice; but afterwards was prevailed upon simply to gratify him, that in the capacity of Envoy 'he might borrow money of English merchants for his owne subsistence, which he did, and nothing to the honour of his master'. The letter in the text contributes some interesting detail upon an incident but slightly noticed in history. Francis Erizzo was the Doge who acted thus cavalierly to the representative of the exiled monarch.



his returne hither, to examyne his miscarriage, and to proceed therein in such a manner as shall be worthy of him, and as may manifest his respecte to that Commonwealth, with which the Crowne of Englande hath alwayes held a very stricte amity, and his Matys Ministers haue in all places præserued a uery good correspondence with the Ministers of that State, and therefore his Maty is the more sensible of this misdemeanour of his Resident: However his Maty wishes that the Republic had proceeded accordinge to the vsuall custome, and first acquainted him with their just exception against his Minister, that therupon his Maty might haue testified his respecte to them by recalling and punishinge him, and that they had not by a judgement of ther owne compelled him to retyre, which being so vnusuall a way, his Maty doubts will not be cleerely and generally understoode, but may be interpreted to the Kings disadvantage as a declininge in this tyme of tryall that auntient friendship with the Crowne of Englande, which his Maty is gladd to finde by the Ambassadour is not in truth the purpose or intention of that Commonwealth, and you are to thanke the Ambassadour in the Kings name for his particular affection to his Maty, which he desyres him to continue. After I had shewed the Kinge your letter, he appointed me 667 [to] . 36 [r] . 23 [e] . 4 [a] . 25 [d] . 7 [e] . 530 [it] . 532 [in] . 121 [councell] . and the resolucon was ther taken for the answer, so that the very wordes which I haue used upon this argument, were consider'd and perused by the Kinge. I haue bene very much troubled for poore Mr. Douglass's beinge sicke, and am much comforted with your good newes of his amendment: If ther had not bene 3 or 4 persons of quality heare very sicke, as my Lo: Wentworth<sup>a</sup>, Schomburgh younge Mr. Jarmin<sup>b</sup>, who hath the small pox, and others, who would not indure the absence of ther physicon, Dr: ffrayser<sup>c</sup> had gone over to Paris to looke to him: I pray when you go next remember my seruice to him, and desyre him to be very carefull of himselfe that he fall not into relapse: I could willingly be of your minde for the certainty of one avowed messenger, but I finde it harde to lay the worke upon one man, which your passe must suppose; besydes the askinge such a warrant might possibly shutt the doore against all others, and that would not be well, for betweene the English and Dutch Letters, and the particular businesses from this place, ther is no day passes without a messenger to Paris, and an authority granted to one might cause all the rest to be in more daunger; the conclusion is, that wee will euery Wensday morninge, or Tuesday night, send an honest fellow to you, and agayne on Saturday morninge, and in those two only I will take my selfe to be most concerned. I hope the Kinge of Spayne<sup>d</sup> is not deade, and then the arryvall of the fletee will indeede prooue a cordiall. I haue the same reproaches fro' the Hague for not writinge things which I doe not know, and sometymes that are not. You must explayne this; you say, I have not yet seene 95. both he and I haue bene to (too) busy. What do you meane by that, sure you haue not bene so, nor does any wise man thinke you can be soe: I haue 668 [the] . 670 [two] . 569 . 29 . 2 . 36 [memorials] . 27 . 400 . 13 . 501 [hee] . sent to 668 [the] . 216 [K.] . 415 [by] . 502 [his] . 13 [Sonn] . 43 . 30 . 59 . 722 [which] . 731 [you] . requyred and the 220 [K.] . gaue 269 [me] . two dayes since: I will keep them till you order me to dispose them. As I was

<sup>a</sup> Lord Wentworth, of whom some particulars may be found in a former note, was shortly after this sent as agent to Denmark, where he remained until the ensuing year.

<sup>b</sup> Son of Thomas, elder brother of Lord Jermyn. He succeeded his uncle, after the Restoration, in the Barony of Jermyn, but not in the Earldom of St. Alban's, and died without issue male.

<sup>c</sup> Fraser was a Scotchman, and mingled much in the religious politics of that country; he also had some political besides his medical influence at the exiled court. In another letter (*State Papers*, iii, 119) Clarendon says of him, 'I am glad you have so good a correspondent as Dr. Frayser, who is grown (God knows why) an absolute stranger with me; he is great with Lord Gerard and Mr. Attorney, but he will speedily leave us and go for England, which truly I am sorry for, for the King's sake: for no doubt he is good at his business, otherwise the maddest fool alive'. Elsewhere also he expresses himself very kindly as to Fraser; yet the doctor took great offence against him on account of this trip to England, actually asserting that it was Hyde's wish to have him murdered when there, or that he might languish in prison until he should die of grief and hunger.

<sup>d</sup> Philip IV. He did not die until 1665.



much startled my selfe with yours of yesterday, which my Lady Harberte<sup>a</sup> sent me late in the night, concearning 673 [that]. 668 [the]. 220 [K.]. 506 [had]. 493 [given]. 30 some directeons quite contrary to what I understoode to be his minde, so I gave my selfe the pleasure of perplexinge 502 [his]. 239 [Maty]. by readinge only the first parte of your letter: and when he was in trouble, and protested that he had neuer gaue any such order, I reade him that which was in cypher, with which he was wonderfully pleased, and exceedingly thankes 668 [the]. 95 [Ambassr] and referres the proceedinge 532 [in]. 530 [it]. intirely 667 [to]. 502 [his]. 440 [dis]. 15 [c]. 36 [r]. 23 [e]. 12 [t]. 437 [ion]. and frendshipp, for as he hath hitherto accordinge to his aduice forborne in the least degree to stirr, or moue any thinge, for feare of doinge it vnseasonably, so he very well knowes, that such an ouerture as this, timely made, 571 [may]. 493 [giue]. 502 [his]. 488 [frends]. 13. 532 [in]. 192 [Holland]. opportunity. 667 [to]. 13 [s]. 21 [a]. 10 [y]. somewhat on his behalfe<sup>b</sup>, which of themselves originally they could not doe, and therefore 668 [the]. 220 [K.]. committs 668 [the]. 428 [con]. 25 [d]. 43 [u]. 15 [c]. 42 [t]. 23 [e]. 598 [of]. wholly to 12 [t]. 17 [h]. 23 [e]. 95 [Ambas.]. and will acknowledge alwayes 668 [the]. 495 [good]. 7 [e]. 18 [f]. 24 [f]. 56 [e]. 12 [t]. 13 [s]. 667 [to]. 505 [him:]. and ther is no doubte, if ther were an opportunity 667 [to]. 12 [t]. 36 [r]. 23 [e]. 21 [a]. 42 [t]. 23 [e]. 600 [on]. 668 [the]. 220 [Kings]. 13. 416 [be]. 17 [h]. 21 [a]. 28 [l]. 18 [f]. 7 [e]. ther would be founde reall aduantages yett in his power (as low as it is) 667 [to]. 493 [giue]. 713 [with]. reference 667 [to]. 204 [Ireland]. 407 [and]. 363 [Scotland<sup>c</sup>]. and really I have reason to belieue that wee could speedily 580 [make]. 213 [Jersey]. 191 [Guernsey.]. 407 [and]. 13 [Scilly]. 27. 28. 52. 10. 402 [at]. 603 [our]. deuocion. You must lett 668 [the]. 95 [Ambassr]. 546 [know]. that 668 [the]. 220 [K.]. hath this day dispatched 549 [Lord]. 12 [Taff<sup>d</sup>]. 21. 18. 24. 667 [to]. 668 [the]. 446 [Duke]. 598 [of]. 231 [Lorrain]. (with whome he is in singular credit, and is indeede a very honest man) 661 [to]. 428 [con]. 27 [i]. 1 [v]. 36 [r]. 23 [e]. 505 [him]. 589 [not]. in any degree to disturbe 192 [Holland]. 417 [but]. 600 [on]. the other hande. 667 [to]. declare that 501 [he]. 710 [will]. 401 [assist]. 13. 529. 12. 676 [them]. 414 [against]. 13. 12. 164 [England]. which I doubt not he will doe heartily. I conceaue my Ld Inchiquin<sup>e</sup> (though I haue not spoken with him of it this day) does not speedily intende to make use of his passe, but will send to you agayne about it, before he expects it fro' you. It is very true ther was such a summ of mony lately receaued at Paris for the Kinge as you mention, and 40. pistoles of it disposed to that Lady, which is all the mony he hath receaued since he came hither, and in some tyme before, and he hath hope to receaue iust such a summ agayne within these few dayes, but alas it doth not inable his

<sup>a</sup> Wife of the Attorney-General, afterwards Lord Keeper, Sir Edward Herbert.

<sup>b</sup> Comparing a letter of the 2nd August to Secretary Nicholas, now residing in Holland, it is evident that this passage refers to the former proposals for the delivery of certain places, both in Scotland and Ireland, to the Dutch.

<sup>c</sup> The King's supposed wishes at this period are recorded in one of the public journals (*Several Proceedings*, 28th October, 1652), in a letter from Paris. 'Charles Stuart, the Titular Scots King, lives in the Palace Royall, and still in necessity; his Mother went to Challeau on Munday last; he impatiently expects this peace; he could wish to be now in Ireland, so he told some of his own Creatures of late; so would all about him: yet Ormond and Inchiquin tell him plainly that those who most oppose the Commonwealth, are but Ulster men, which doe not much care for him, and are only for their own ends, which if they could obtain, would never look upon a King, and that if they promise to be faithful to a Parliament they would be constant.'

<sup>d</sup> Lord Taaffe was particularly active in the King's Councils, in so far as related to Ireland. A Gazette of that day, alluding to the King's Irish affairs, remarks, when speaking of the proposed operations of the Duke of Lorraine: 'Lord Taaffe is the man that manageth the business with the King, which is much opposed by the Lord Wilmot, and some others, as a course very improbable: and this hath occasioned a quarrel, and afterwards a challenge, betwixt Taaffe and Wilmot, which with much ado was composed by the Scots King.'

<sup>e</sup> It had been intended at this period, that Lord Inchiquin, accompanied by Jermyn, should go as ambassador to Holland, to prepare for Charles's reception there.



cooks and back-stayres<sup>a</sup> men to goe on in the provydinge his dyett, but they protest they can undertake it no longer. I hope ther will be shortly another manner of receipt, and then if you should be left out, I should mutiny on your behalfe: in the meane tyme, if it would giue you ease, I could assure you, my Ld . . . nor I have one cardicue in the worlde, yett wee keepe up our spiritts: ffor gods sake do you so to, and he will carry you through this terrible storme. My Ld Jermin is this day gone to the Courte, how longe he stayes I know not. We haue no newes, at least that I know. I pray tell us as much as you know of the Armyes mouinge, and what hope ther is of peace. I am, Sr, your very affectionate humble servt,

EDW. HYDE

St. GERMANS this Tuesday the 6. of Aug. 6. at night. 1652

This messenger is to returne as soone as the fflanders letters are arryved.

Sr Ri. Browne

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, that yours of the 10. of December (which came to my handes the same day that I dispatched my last to you) hath yett brought you no answer, is not my fault, for as I was takeinge penn & paper to do it on Sunday last, your other of the 14. arryved, which drected me to change my course of writinge, and to send no more to Mantz<sup>b</sup>, but to St. Malos: and indeede I was very gladd to finde that you were bounde for Brest, wher I should haue wished you, notwithstanding any discouragements you receaued from thence, except you could bringe a recommendation from this Courte: for Mr. Holder<sup>c</sup> writes me worde, that a letter from Mounr Castlenoe would signify very little. I am confident the letter you haue from our Master, will præsereue you from any affronts, and then sure your beinge ther will be at least for your owne aduantage, both to collecte what is dew to his Maty upon accounts<sup>d</sup>, which must be worth somewhat, and will be easily discover'd by what Mr. Holder hath receaued from the Duke, and to receaue the dewes upon ther last pryzes, which will, they say, amounte to a rounde summ. Though Sr Geo. Carterett was gone out of the towne, when I receaued yours of the 10. yett very contrary to my expectation he returned hither 3 or 4 dayes after, and stayed only one night, when I shewed him your letter; sure he will do all the good offices to you in all thinges he is able. My Ld . . . will obserue the caution you giue him, and will be gladd you can discover any monyes to be dew to him, and he will gladly giue you authority to receaue it; indeed a supply will come as seasonable to him as to any body, for when I haue told you, that none of us haue receaued a penny since you went, you will belieue our necessityes to be importunate enough, which would be more insupportable, if wee did not see the King himselve reduced to greater distresse then you can believe or imagyne. I perceaue the arrest of ffarrande, is upon some pique betweene the Duke of Vandosme and the Marshall Melleray<sup>e</sup>, betweene whom the contests grew very

<sup>a</sup> The public journals, in real or assumed letters from Paris, now asserted loudly that the 'quondam' King, as they described him, had grown hateful to the people of that city 'since Lorraine's treason, being afraid lest he might find such entertainment from them at the new bridge as others had experimented, and being reduced to nothing to subsist on, and having beggared a multitude of bakers, brewers, butchers, and other tradesmen, on Saturday last departed out of this town with all his family (*nullo relicto*). The Prince of Condé and Beauford accompanied him about a league off the town; he is gone to St. Jermin's, and from thence to St. Dennis, intending for Holland, where keeping a correspondence with the Duke of Loraine, and likewise with his Mother and his brother Yorke, who are to remain yet in France, he hopes to worke some mischief of the State of England.'

<sup>b</sup> Sir Richard Browne was at this moment very actively endeavouring to collect the King's dues on the prizes brought into the different ports of France.

<sup>c</sup> Holder was Secretary to Prince Rupert. He was loyal, and it appears from the Clarendon *State Papers* that great dependence was placed on him when wanted; yet Sir Edward calls him 'the pert, importunate agent of the Catholics'. See *post*, p. 857.

<sup>d</sup> The difficulty which Charles experienced in raising any money upon the prizes, is alluded to in *Perfect Passages* of the 15th October, 1652: 'Prince Rupert hath lately seized on some good prizes; he keeps himself far remote, and makes his kinsman, Charles Stuart, make a leg for some cullings of his windfalls.'

<sup>e</sup> Melleray was Governor of Nantes.



high, and are like to breake out to such a degree that the Courte is not without apprehension, that it shall not conteyne them both to its seruice, and seemes at present, to be vnsatisfyed with the Marshall, and I heare some letters of reprehension are sent to him ; therefore this arrest is not like to produce any aduantage to his Maty, besides that it seemes the shipp is out of the power of the Marshall. I haue given Choquex the papers, and will conferr with him what is to be done, for it is I perceaued true that the shipp and all the furniture was really putt into his handes by Pr. Ruperte<sup>a</sup>, so that besides the restitution of the vessell, there will be a large accounte to be made : When any thinge is resolued you shall haue an accounte of it.

I am very gladd you haue had so good successe in your suite, I hope it is but an instance of future good fortune at Brest, wher ther is much dew, if you haue receaued so little, as I haue formerly hearde you haue mentioned : I præsume you haue kept an exacte accounte of all you haue had upon those assignations, which I putt you only in minde of, because upon conference with Sr Geo. Carterett, he could not belieue it had bene possible, that upon so many pryzes as he observed to be brought in, you should touch so little, as I assured him had come to your handes. When you went from hence, and vpon occasyon of somewhat I writt lately in a letter to Mr. . . . of the no profitt accrewed to his Matie upon that receipte, he answered me that it was impossible much could come to his Matys owne receipte, when he granted so large assignments out of it, and so mentioned in the first place, what was allotted to you, as if it had bene payde. Wee know nothinge of Englande more than that your ffrench Minister was landed at Dover. Wee shall shortly see what his reception hath bene, and shall then better guess at the effects : in the meane tyme, we are at no ease heare. My Lo: of Rochester (for that is my Ld Willmotts title<sup>b</sup>) is to sett out from hence on Thursday morninge, he traueles with a small trayne, and hath it in his power to assume the title of Ambassadour<sup>c</sup>, which I suppose he will choose to declyne, and do his businesse in a priuate way, which will procure a speedyer dispatch. God præserue you. I am, Sr, your very affectionate humble Servt, E. H.

PALLAIS ROYALE, this 24 of Decemb. Christmasse Eue, 1652

Commend me to Mr. Holder, and lett him know I have now receaued his of the 13.

<sup>a</sup> Prince Rupert, just before this date, was in the West Indies, and had with him a fleet of fifteen sail, to which eight Dutch ships were joined in October. He is stated in the journals to have captured ten rich English vessels, whilst cruising off St. Kitts. It is a remarkable circumstance, however, that another journal, the *Perfect Passages*, places him off Cyprus, and describes him as capturing all vessels that pass him in the Levant.

<sup>b</sup> There was considerable difficulty in finding a proper title for Lord Wilmot, his first proposed one of Essex being claimed by Lord Capel, and that of Danby by the Attorney-General ; upon which, as stated in the *Clarendon State Papers*, iii, 121, 'my Lord declined that title, and so his patent is drawn up for the Earl of Rochester.'

<sup>c</sup> It was hoped that he might succeed in inducing the German Princes to advance money for the King's private expenditure ; and also might so manage with the Dutch as to render them disposed to undertake some decided step in his favour. The King must at this time have been in sore distress. A letter from Paris in the *Several Proceedings*, of 13th December, asserts that 'the titular King of Scots is reduced to so low a condition that he is forced to eate his meals in taverns here at Paris, having not the commodity of dining at home'. And not three months before this date, even Hyde had thus expressed himself in a letter to Sir Edward Nicholas : 'It is no wonder you should desire to be eased, as much as may be, of all kinds of charges. I am sure I have as much reason as any man living to join with you in thrift ; yet I cannot avoid the constant expense of seven or eight livres the week for postage of letters, which I borrow scandalously out of my friends' pockets, or else my letters must more scandalously remain still at the post-house ; and I am sure all those which concern my own private affairs would be received for ten sous a week, so that all the rest are for the King, from whom I have not received one penny since I came hither, and am put to all this charge ; and yet it is to no purpose to complain, though I have not been master of a crown these many months, and cold for want of clothes and fire, and owe for all the meate which I have eaten these three months, and to a poor woman who is not longer able to trust.'



*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, I haue receaued yours of the 22th from Nantes, and am very gladd that you haue passed that parte of your iourney so well ; I hope the rest will be as successfull, though I do not exspecte you should finde as good weather to bringe you home, as you haue had to carry you out : The Spanyard<sup>a</sup> desyred me to giue you my thanks for your care of him, which I do very heartily, and conceaue by this tyme he is gotten into his owne Country, and I do not thinke he will euer visitt france agayne, which he hath no reason to loue, but for the English which he founde heare. Ther hath beene yett no letter from the Mareschall de Melleray, which ther was no reason to exspecte, if you had not mentioned it, as somewhat you thought intended ; I am exceedinge gladd that he proceeded so roundly with the English Rebels, as to arrest both the shippes and goods<sup>b</sup>, I wish they did so in all other partes of france, that they might proceede a little more briskely towards ther greate worke, then yett they appeare to doe, but if I am not deceaued, the English will quicken them shortly, if they haue any spiritts left.

You must not suspecte your friends kindnesse and affection to you, when I tell you, that your arrett is not yett dispatched : you know how little seruice I can do in that kinde by any personall sollicitation of my owne, more then by callinge upon Sir Ri: Foster<sup>c</sup>, which I haue often done, and in truth I thinke him to be as carefull in all that concernes you, and in this particular, as a frende can be : But the truth is, he hath beene ill since you went, and your Aduocate hath bene neuer with him, not at home when he went to finde him, and the setlinge the kings businesse with the Surintend't (which is yett farr from being settled) hath so worne out the good old man, that he hath not bene yett able to settle yours, which he promises me to dispatch out of hande : I forgott likewise to tell you, that this man is gone from him, which leaues him so much the worse.

I receaued this weeke a letter from Sr Ger. Lucas, under a cover to you, dated from a place called I thinke . . . I suppose it is somewher in Britany, and I belieue you haue some addresse to him, therefore I trouble you with the inclosed. All heare are your Seruts : God presæue you. I am very heartily, Sr, your most affectionate humble Servt,  
EDW. HYDE

PALLAIS ROYALL 29 of Novemb. 1652

The Kinge would have you giue Mr. Richards all assistance in executinge the orders for the Patricke & Francis<sup>d</sup>, formerly granted to Sr Ge Carterett : the 10th & 15th are to be payd to the proper receauers.

Sir Ri: Browne

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, I haue receaued yours of the 26. of Decemb. and am very gladd that you were then upon your way to Brest, wher sure your presence will be more necessary than at Nantes, though it may be, your company was not much desyred ther : you will I suppose finde the seamen and Capt: weary of that Porte, and therefore you are like to be the more welcome to them, with the proposicon from the Marechall de Melleray<sup>e</sup>, and if they were once induced to goe to Porte Lewes, I

<sup>a</sup> A part of the private history of the time, to which no certain clue remains. Some plans had been put in agitation on the part of the Condeans to persuade both England and Spain to aid them with their arms ; and as at this period there were two powerful political parties at Madrid, the man alluded to may have been a secret agent in the politics of the day.

<sup>b</sup> An event not elsewhere recorded ; unless it refers to the seizures of some ships at Dunkirk, afterwards restored to Cromwell by the French Government.

<sup>c</sup> Sir Richard Foster was Keeper of the King's privy purse, though he seldom was lucky enough to have anything to keep in it. See the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii, p. 46.

<sup>d</sup> Two of the Jersey privateers.

<sup>e</sup> Melleray was at this moment a great object of jealousy to Cardinal Mazarin, who caused a letter to be sent to him from the King, inviting him to Court, and adding an offer of the command in Champagne ; but the Marshal, knowing well that this was an intrigue to get him and his son, both of them suspected as friendly to the Condé party, into the power of the Court faction, excused himself on pretence of illness, &c. He was Governor of Nantes.



would mooue the Kinge to take notice of it, and to write to the Marechall : I hope you haue founde good store of mony for your selfe at Brest, from the pryzes which haue bene brought in, & that you finde that trybe of Captayns as towardly as Mr. Holder reported them to be, who hath a wonderfull esteeme of them : Though I do not loue to infuse any ielosyes or distrust in any man, of his frends, and those of whome he hath a good opinion, yett I haue reason to warne you, to be a little upon your garde, and not too freely to imparte all you know or thinke 667 [to] . 568 [Mr.] . 17 [H] . 2 [o] . 28 [l] . 15 [d] . 23 [e] . 36 [r] . 704 [who] . trust me is 4 [a] . 699 [...] . 726 [weeke] . 573 [man] . and so sottishly corrupted 534 [in] . 502 [his] . 337 [Religion] . 673 [that] . 501 [hee] . belieues whatsoeuer any 34 [p] . 36 [r] . 27 [i] . 7 [e] . 13 [s] . 12 [t] . sayes to him, how ridiculous soeuer, and to all these virtues he thinks himselfe wiser than Solomon. Ther are some other reasons for this caution, which I cannot expresse at large which make me belieue that 501 [he] . 529 [is] . 589 [not] . 645 [so] . 538 [iust] . 667 [to] . 731 [you] . as 501 [he] . ought to be. We are all heare in the same beggarly condicon<sup>a</sup> you left us, which I thinke by longe custome will grow a seconde nature to us : I should be glad to heare that Sr Geo. Carterett were come to Brest. God præserue you, and bringe us well together agayne : I am very heartily, Sr, your most affectionate humble Servt,

EDW. HYDE

PARIS, this 11 of January, 1653

Sir Ri. Browne

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, I haue yours of the 3d and the 6. of this moneth : and you had receaued an answer to the first before the last had come to my hands, if it had bene in my power to haue returned you such a one as could haue satisfied my selfe. I was as full of the sense of the iniury and indignity that is offred to your Captaynes at Brest, and truly so is the Kinge, as they could wish, but you know iniuries and acts of iniustice are not as soone remedied and repayred heare, as dicouered : The King wished young Ld Jermin, Mr. Atturmy and my selfe, to consider what was to be done, and wee were all of opinion, knowinge what Princes all Gouernors are at present in ffrance, that it would not be fit to mooue the Courte, which no doubt knows nothinge of this arrest and restrainte, nor it may be of the bargayne and connivance for the admissyon of our shippes (for you know wee haue bene longe without the benefitt of the printed Order you mention) before Mons. Castlenoe (from whome the orders were without question sent, for his owne benefitt) be first spoken with, and my Ld Jermin<sup>b</sup> promised

<sup>a</sup> Yet the subjoined extract is taken from one of the *Intelligencers* published in London, of the date of November, 1652 : 'The King of Scots lies yet in the Palace Royal, whither the French King and Queen came to give him a visit, and in abundance of ceremony, to thank him for that great pains he had taken in labouring the healing up of those sad breaches between his Majesty and his people ; which Christian office has gained him at Court the title of *Magnæ Britanniae et Hiberniae Rex, Fidei Defensor, Pericli Dissipator Gallici, Pacisque Compositor Generalissimo*. 'Tis rumoured that the King of Denmark should send him 100,000*l.* in gold for a present, with the promised assistance of him and his subjects in the disputing of his cause against all opposers. The Duke of Yorke is still in high favour, and is cryed up for the most accomplished gentleman, both in arms and courtesie, that graces the French Court. The English begin to be admitted dayly into places of high trust and command ; and those shaded Cavaliers, whom the world thought worthy of nothing but exilement, begin to be looked upon according to their worth and known gallantry.'

<sup>b</sup> Jermyn's influence at the exiled Court had for some time been very great ; and is thus described by a news-writer of the time, writing from Paris, in a volume of Tracts in the British Museum : 'The little Queen is retired to the nunnery at Chaliot, there to spend her time a while in devotion, for the advance of some designes that she hath on foot. She left her son the fugitive at the Louvre, given up to the bent of his Common Prayer Mongers, and of Jermyn, whose power is now greater with him than any ; which is a sure sign that his Mother rules him again, and that he hath resigned his judgement, affection, and all to her ; because heretofore there was a sore grudge between him and Jermyn, in regard at his former being here. Jermyn (who then commanded and still keeps the purse) was very streight handed over him in his expenses. The old Court flies now begin again to flock about him' (30th Dec. 1651) 'from all parts. Crofts is



to doe that presently, and he hoped effectually ; but wee finde after longe enquiry that Mons. Castlenoe is gone out of this towne to the Cardinall, nor is it knowne when he will returne, and yett it is thought as necessary, that his minde and resolucion be first vnderstoode : Therefore my Ld Jermyn hath written to him, and inclosed the state of the case, made out of your letters, and Mr. Atturmy hath sent the same to the Duke of Yorke, who wee presume is most like to gett a full dispatch in it, and wee must expecte the answer from thence, and then if there be any cause to complayne at Courte, wee will take the best care wee can, that it be made as it ought to be.

ffor the other businesse concerninge the Marq: of . . . . of which I thinke I writt somewhat to you in my last, Mr. Atturmy and I haue spoken with Choquy of it, who exspectes euery day an answer to what he hath formerly sent to the Marq: and when that comes, or that it appeares he desyres not to make any answer, the Kinge will conclude what he should doe as to the revocation.

ffor your Hamborough pryse, you cannot suppose that I will returne a priuate opinion of my owne, in a businesse of that nature, for many reasons, and the Kinge commanded me to aduise with Mr Atturmy, and upon both our consideringe the case as Mr Holder sent it to me, wee doe not see it so cleerely stated, as to be able to giue the King any iudgment upon it, since it does not appeare that the goods do at all belonge to any English marchant or ffactor, but for ought appears may be the proper estate of the Hamberghers.

I did not suppose they had suffred you to giue any adiudications ther, and that the former arrest had bene made at Rhemes upon that quarrell : We hope the Duke will be heare within 2 or 3 dayes, and then it will be necessary to receaue his derection upon all this businesse. My Ld Inchiquin and I are upon some trouble with your Landlord, who yesterday was at your house, and expresses some purpose to seize upon the goods ; which we all understande would not only be very mischieuous to you, but very dishonorable to the Kinge, and therefore you may be confident that wee omitt nothing that is in our power to doe, hauinge not a penny to discharge the debte<sup>a</sup>. This day Sr Ri: ffoster goes with my Ld Inchiquin to him to see how farr good wordes and promises will prevaile with him, and all other courses shall be really taken for his satisfaction, that are in the Kinges power. Will ther be nothings dew upon the Kinges owne share of the pryces brought in by the Patricke & Francis, that might be employed to that purpose ? Any order should be procured from hence.

I pray conuay this inclosed to Ge: Carterett, who I suppose is not still with you. God præserue you. I am heartily, Sr, your most affectionate humble Servt,

EDW. HYDE

PALL: Ro: this 21 of January 1653  
Sir. R. Browne

returning from Poland, where he called himselfe a Lorde Ambassadour ; and is to be made a Lord as soon as he comes (as they would have us believe), for his pains in that employment and for the charitable contribution of our Polish cousins that (they say) he brings along with him. Some of them are come to the Louvre already out of Flanders, as Hyde, a man of dignity too, that calls himself the Chequer Chancellor ; here is also Bramhall, of London Derry, Dan O'Neill, Fraiser, a physitian, and one Lloid, a Chaplain. These bring newes, that Buckingham and Secr. Nicholas would have come along too, but that they wanted Ghelt; and the rest of his Majesties black guard and retinue that wander in the Low Countries, if they were sure of daily bread for their attendance.'

<sup>a</sup> An extract from the *Mercurius Politicus* of the 8th July, 1652, may help to illustrate this letter : ' Charles Stuart, who was said to be gone in our last (from Paris) went not till some few days after. He made the more haste, because a servant of his was fallen upon, pursued, and beaten, even in his master's place of abode at the Louvre. Hee also was besieged there by the bakers, butchers, and other tradesmen of all sorts, in whose books he is faln very deep ; and they feared, if they lost him they should lose their money. But to pacify them they were told his intent was but to go to Rosney upon the way to Roan. His mother marches with him. The small baggage they have is already gone. They give out that they will returne after the peace is made, and condemn this City of ingratitude ; alledging that it had bin blockt up by the King before this time, had it not bin for their mediation with his Majesty.'



*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, I haue receaued yours of the 7th from the good Governr and yourself, and this must serue as answer to you both, for I am still in my old posture, not yet able to stirr from my bed. I have not heard these many weekes from Mr. Holder, but I suppose he giues the same informacon to the Duke and his officers, if not, what he sayes is likely to be belieued more then what I shall informe, therefore I must still renew my aduice to you, that you write very particularly to the Duke himselfe, or to some of his officers, of all the obstruccons you meete with, and very particularly of the misdemeanours of the Captaines<sup>a</sup>, and of any such propositions and expedients which you thinke fitt to offer for the promoting his seruice, and I make noe doubt but his Royall Highnes will as soone hearken to you, and be aduiced by you, as by any persons. I can giue you no intelligence from hence, whilst I continue thus a prysoner, but truely I thinke they who are abroad know little of moment, the Court here being wholly intent upon battels and matters of pleasure, and our owne affaires being in a dead calme, exspecting some gentle gale from some of our neighbours to give them motion, and really I doe belieue ye good spiritt does improve, since no body can doubt, but yt the people in England are generally well prepared for it. This is all I can say to you, but yt I am to you both your most affectionate humble servant,

PARIS 18 Feb. 1653

EDW. HYDE

The King hath lately bene aduertised by the Gouernment of Innisboffine, that if any Marchantmen will bring corne, armes, or ammunicon thither, they shall be sure to receiue ready money for it, and that such a supply would enable them for some time to exspect greater, and not to submitt to the rebels. If it were possible to procure any of your Men of War, or any Marchants to resort thither, it would be a wonderfull good seruice, therefore I pray deuice all wayes possible to compasse it, and let me know how the seuerall letters I sent to you directed to yt place haue bene disposed off<sup>b</sup>.

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, I am sure it can be no newes to you that Pr. Rupert is safe at Nantes<sup>c</sup>, and therefore it is very probable this letter may not finde you at Brest, but that you may haue thought it fitt to attende his Highnesse, and offer him your seruice. The Kinge hath sent Mr. Holder some derection concerninge the Hamborough shipp. If George Carterett<sup>d</sup> be not with you, I pray send this letter to him by the first safe opportunity, and if he hath not a copy of your cypher, send it to him, I havinge used it in this letter for 3 or 4 lynes, which it is necessary for him

<sup>a</sup> The Duke of York was actually at this period with the French army under Turenne; and though he would seem from this letter to have been personally interested in the affairs of the little squadron of privateers, yet there is no mention of it whatever in the *Life* published from his own *Memoir*.

<sup>b</sup> These plans and hopes were soon after put an end to by the capture of Innisboffin by the Parliamentary army, it being then the last place in Ireland that held out for the King.

<sup>c</sup> This was the last of Prince Rupert's maritime expeditions during the Interregnum. On his return to Europe he captured a rich prize laden with tobacco, and having carried her into Nantz, in March, 1653, he was soon after seized with a violent illness, recovering from which he proceeded to Paris, and was well received by the French King. From Paris he went to the Imperial Court; but returned to England at the Restoration. The small fleet now under the command of Prince Rupert had been originally refitted at Toulon; but having met with losses of ships, particularly at the Azores (where his own flag-ship, the *Reformation*, had been sunk, and the whole crew of 360 men perished, with the exception of Rupert, his brother Maurice, and twelve others), it was found necessary to return to the northern parts of France; particularly as Admiral Penn, with his squadron, was waiting for them in the Strait of Gibraltar.

<sup>d</sup> Sir George Carteret, a little before this time, commanded a small squadron of the Royal ships, with which he cruised, principally upon the coast of Ireland, and greatly to the annoyance of the Republican party, if we may judge from their journals.



to understande. Excuse me, who hauinge no letter of yours to answer, for beinge at present so shorte, which you know is not my naturall faulte. Wee haue reason to hope the Kings affayres are upon a mendinge hande, with reference to Hollande. God be with you. I am very heartily, Sr, your most affectionate Serut,

EDW. HYDE

PARIS this 22 of March (1653)

Sir Ric: Browne

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, about three days since I receaued yours of the 24. of the last moneth, which makes me still wonder how it comes to passe, that yours are so longe upon the way, for it is not possible that the post can be 12 or 14 dayes upon the way from Brest, and so much tyme ther is still betweene your writinge and my readinge. I suppose the Governour is now gone to Nantes, or else he will not wayte on the Prince, which I should be sorry for. the Kinge sent his coach on Wensday to Orleans, supposinge it will meete his Highnesse<sup>a</sup> ther, or that he will be ther within a day or 2 after, so that wee expecte him heare on Tuesday or Wensday, and till his returne I do not conceaue that you neede putt your selfe to the trouble of a iourney, and if ther be then any occasyon for it, I will aduertise you: If the euidence against the Captaynes be so pregnant as it seemes by you to be, of seuerall theftes and cozinages, how would it be possible for the Judge to declare them innocent? and though it may, it would be difficulte to obteyne iustice against them in that jurisdiction, yett the declininge to giue in the testimony and charge against them before the proper officer (though it is possible he will not haue power enough to cause reparacon to be made, if he had the will to do it) will be made a greate countenance to them, as if the allegations were not waighy; and I finde (though I am a stranger to all that is done on that syde of the house) that the Captaynes are upon all occasyons much magnified, as excellent vsefull ministers. I am very gladd of that order you mention, against the transportinge the necessaryes for shippinge, which I wonder the more at, because wee conceaue the ffrench Minister at London euery day getts grounde, but I hope they will deceaue each other. Innisboffin was poorly giuen up aboute the middle of february, so that now I feare the poore Irish haue only woods and boggs for shelter; I pray keepe all those dispatches safe by you, but you neede not send them backe, till you come your selfe. Hath Ge. Carterett a good opinion of Anthonio? I hope ther will be some parte of your house-rent payd out of hande, but I know not what to say to your assignements upon the Prince, who no doubt will haue occasyon to vse all and more than he can haue brought home, to repayre and fitt out his ships<sup>b</sup>. It is a good and conscientious thinge to pay off any old debts, and good husbandry to discharge those first, for which interest is to be payd; but if I were in your case, I should satisfy my selfe, in keepinge mony enough in my purse to præsereue me a yeere from staruinge, before I thought of paying any debtes. Wee do flatter ourselves with an opinion that our affayres will mende, and that wee shall not stay long heare, indeede I belieu our Master will putt himselfe into some action this summer, and that wee shall not spende it in ffraunce<sup>c</sup>. God præsereue you and, Sr, your very affectionate humble Servt,

E. H.

PARIS this 12 of April (1653)

Indorsed by Sir R. Browne: From Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, 12 Apl 1653. Received 19 Apl.

<sup>a</sup> Prince Rupert. This event is much noticed in the London journals of the time. Those journals also assert, upon the authority of some runaway seamen who had landed at Weymouth, 'that all the plunder he hath brought is not worth 10,000l., and the *Swallow* is hallen up altogether unserviceable.'

<sup>b</sup> These were the shattered ships which had returned to Nantz from the West Indian cruise: but another portion of the Royal squadron was now favourably received in the ports of Holland; as we find asserted in the *Moderate Publisher* of the 15th April, 1653. Indeed it was generally reported that the States had now resolved to give Charles the title of *King of Great Britain*.

<sup>c</sup> This was a vain hope, for Charles remained in France until the ensuing year.



*Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer*

21 April 1653

Right Honble, two dayes since I receiued your Honrs of 12th, by which it appeares that it made better speede hither, then it seemes mine commonly doe to Paris, the cause whereoff is, that betweene this place and Morlaix there is noe settled conuaiance, only the opportunity of such carriers who come uncertainly from thence hither once or twice a weeke to fetch linnen cloth. I haue not yett heard one word from the Gouvernour since his goinge hence: butt Mr Holder (who yesterday returned from Nantes) assures mee that hee had beene with the Prince some dayes before his Highnesses going for Paris; and that His H. did also acknowledge to him to haue receiued my l're by Sir G: Carterett<sup>a</sup>.

I perceiue the French minister is not returned (as wee were made belieue) out of England, which I am sorry for, but hope God in his due time will doe our worke by puttinge his Maty into some successefull action worthy his Royall undertaking: and shall with impatience exspect to heare how in case our Maister leaue the kingdome, I shall bee inabled to returne to Paris (one handsome stepp to which the discharge of my house-rent will proue), or be otherwayes disposed off in order to his seruice. If wee had faire play the Kinges dues here would rise to somethinge, butt with this most abominably shockinge Gouvernour there is such an unpreuentable tyranny in the vpper and corruption of the under officers in this place where we are but *precario*, that it is a shame to see it.

Captain Antonio hath vppon that score quite left this port, and will yf hee may be beleiued be shortly with you at Paris, where he hath a proces. Sr G. Carteret will giue yr Honr an account of him; for since the receipt of your last I haue written to him soe to doe. He knowes what I thinke of him, and yf his owne opinion bee not better then mine, I doe assure your Honr it is nott admirably good: and I doe wish the Kinge would be very sparinge how hee conferre any fauour on him untill he deserue better then hithertoo I can say hee hath. I perceiue you have new councellors sworne & a grand new officer with whom I am obleeged to congratulate. God direct all for the best: soe that the generall of our affaires goe well, it matters not much what becomes of him, who is unfainedly and æternally Yor Honrs most faithfull, most obliged, and most humble seruant,

BREST, 21. April 1653

R: BROWNE

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer

*Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer*

Right Honble, my last to your Honr were of the 28th Aprill, Munday last; the day followinge in the eueninge came priuatly to this towne the Marquis de Neubourg, youngest brother to the Marq: de Sourdiac, with another gentleman in his company; who immediately went to the Castle, and after a long consultation went Monr de Camper concealed themselues as much as they could. Yesterday, in a small fregat<sup>b</sup> which was goinge to sea with his Maties commission,

<sup>a</sup> How very little chance the Privy Purse had of assistance from the assets of the squadron, may be judged from a letter of Hyde's to Nicholas, where he says: 'You must never expect information from me of any of the business of the prize, or anything that is managed by Prince Rupert, who consults only with the Lord Keeper; and I much doubt very little of that money will come to the King. I shall be satisfied if what is raised on the guns and ship (for all is to be sold) come justly to his hands'. See the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii, p. 200. And again, in p. 222, he speaks more feelingly. 'The truth is, Prince Rupert is so totally governed by the Lord Keeper [Sir Edward Herbert], that the King knows him not. You talk of money the King should have upon the prizes at Nantz; alas! he hath not only not had one penny from thence, but Prince Rupert pretends the King owes him more money than ever I was worth.'

<sup>b</sup> The Parliamentary news-writers of the day, alluding to those parts of the navy which still remained loyal to Charles, inform us: 'The King of Scots Pickroones play their cards cunningly upon the coast of Jersey; no less than two delicate prizes have they taken and carried to Shawsey Island', (*Isle du Choisi*), 'amountinge to a great value; besides Captain Chamberlin playes his pranks notably, and trusses up our pore fishermen, even as a falcon doth wild ducks, forcing them to pay tribute to his young master Charles, and exacts a pistol upon all such boats that fetcheth urack [sea wrack] from the said island of Shawsey, belonging to the French King.'



this Marquis, with a Captain, an officer of the Castle, & 150 men, amongst which our turbulent Captain Smyth, imbarqued as priuatly as they could with intention to goe and reduce the Isle of Ushant, for which enterprize I heare this Marquis hath brought the French Kinges orders and Monr de Castlenau's recommendations. And I presume the island yf taken, will as formerly bee re-annexed<sup>a</sup> to this gouernment of Brest. Wee are in hourly expectation what the successe will bee, wheroff your Honr may expect account in my next, and accordingly I shall gouerne myselfe in the demand of his Maties dues out of the tobacco that shall be there found, which is nott vppon this occasion to bee neglected. Nott yett one line from my deare Sr George Carteret : wee liued together like brothers ; and I hope he hath nott soe soone forgotten mee. Prayinge, &c. From your Honrs &c.

R. B.

BREST, 2 May. 1653

The Hollanders bringe more prizes dayly into the ports vppon this coast. Captain Swart, who commanded The Patricke hath this weeke lanchd a small man of warre under the Holland colours ; Agent Rameng Coale hauinge undertaken to procure for him a sea-commission from the States of Holland.

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, I haue receaued yours of the 21. of the last, and had one little letter from the Gouernour<sup>b</sup> since his departure from you, after he had wayted on the Prince : I belieue he is now busy at Burdeaux, yett sure he will sometymes write to his frends, who haue the lesse reason to be angry with his silence, since his wife knowes so little of him, that shee askes me wher he is. Our reportes of the proceedings of the french minister in Englande are so different, that I know not what to thinke of it, many of our frends at London conceauinge him even ready to come away full of dissatisfaction, & on the coutrary the Courte heare belieue, or seeme to belieue, that they haue almost finished a treaty with them to their content : if the newes which came to the towne 2 dayes since, be true, that Burdeaux hath declared it selfe a common wealth, and is promised protection fro' Englande, ther will be a quicke end of that negotiacon : I wish wee were ready to be gone from hence, though you were not so amply prouyded for as I wish, yett I doubt not somewhat would be done towards it : in the meane tyme, I am confident Sr Ric: ffoster hath payd at least halfe a yeeres rent, but I thinke more : I know no new councillours made but the Keeper<sup>c</sup> : and wee haue now another new greate officer, Pr Ruperte, Master of the Horse<sup>d</sup> : God præserue you, and send us a good metinge. I am uery heartily, Sr, your most affectionate humble Servt,

E. H.

PARIS, this 3 of May 1653

Sir R. Browne

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, I receaued yours of the 28 of the last, and of the 2d of this, together 3 dayes since : I thought all the duties of the Marqs pryzes had bene already in Mr. Bullins

<sup>a</sup> This affair is rather unintelligible, unless we suppose that Ushant had declared for the Condéan party. The tobacco alluded to may possibly have formed the cargoes of prizes carried in there by the Royal cruisers.

<sup>b</sup> Sir George Carteret, who had been Deputy Governor of Jersey.

<sup>c</sup> Sir Edward Herbert, Lord Keeper since 1652, of whom Clarendon elsewhere says, that he 'thought himself the wisest man that followed the King's fortune ; and was always angry that he had not more to do'. His intrigues are humorously depicted in Clarendon's autobiography.

<sup>d</sup> A letter from Paris, in the journals of the day, says : 'Prince Rupert is in some measure recovered of his bloody flux, but goes little abroad out of the Palace Royal, because he wants a princely retinue, which I see no probability for him to have in France yet a while. Charles Stuart is at a *non plus* what to do ; things do not answer his expectations : his designes fail him'. Another observes : 'Prince Rupert flourishes with his blackmoors and new liveries, and so doth his cousin Charles, they having shared the moneys made of the prize goods at Nantz ; and in recompense Rupert is made Master of the Horse.'



hande, and I told him that he should, and he told me he would retayne in his owne hands the 15th for you : I will not so much as enquire into what concernes or may relate to the 10ths. nor a worde more concerninge the commissyons, for which I am sure Edgman neuer expected a penny, but Maffonett did, and had reason to doe, which I suppose Mr. Bennetta<sup>a</sup> had not : but no more of that : nor I pray take any more notice of it.

I receaued a letter from the good Gouvernour within these 2 days from Brouages, which was the first I had from him since his beinge at Nantes, though he sayes he hath writt others. It is no easy matter in that hurry he is in of businesse and remooues to write frequent letters, nor is he good at itt at any tyme, and therefore you and I shall be very vnkinde and vniust to him, if wee suspecte his frendshipp to us, for those omisssyons, which all men, but those of the penn, are alwayes guilty of : he is sure a very worthy person, and loues when he professes soe to do : you heare what a noble confusion Cromwell hath made, by dissoluinge ther Parliamt<sup>b</sup> with all the contempt and scorne imaginable, and now those adored members, and of the Councell of State, are looked upon by all, as they deserue to be : what be ther next acte, is our great expectacon, and what influence that which is done, must haue upon forraigne nations, who were treatinge with them : sure some notable crisis is at hande, worse I hope wee cannot be. All thinges are heare as they were, Sr Ric ffoster hath payed 500li for your rent, and hath acquittance only for so much, but no information, what the contracte is, or how much is still in arreare. God send us a good meetinge in England, which is not despayred of by, Sr, your very affectionate servt,

E. H.

PARIS May 19. 1653

Sir R. Browne

*Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer*

20 May, 1643

Right Honble, yesterday I gaue you Honr notice of my being called to Nantes ; this morninge as I am ready to put foote in stirrop, Captain Sadlington's<sup>c</sup> fregat arriues from the coast of Irland with the bearer hearoff O'Sullivan Beirne<sup>d</sup>, a person whom I find noe lesse by his owne discourse then by the testimonye of

<sup>a</sup> This is that Bennet of whom Clarendon remarks : 'he was a man bred from his cradle in the Court, and had no other business in the world than to be a good courtier, in the arts whereof he succeeded so well, that he might well be reckoned in the number of the finest gentlemen of the time ; and, though his parts of nature were very mean and never improved by industry, yet, passing his time always in good company, and well acquainted with what was done in all businesses, he would speak well and reasonably to any purpose.'

<sup>b</sup> An allusion to the memorable event of the 20th April, 1653, when Cromwell entered the House of Commons at the head of a party of soldiers, forcibly dissolved the Parliament then sitting, took away the mace, and ordered the doors to be locked up. A few days afterwards a bill was stuck upon the door 'This House to be let unfurnished'. One of the *Intelligencers* of the same day published an alleged letter from Paris, stating : 'Charles Stuart pretends to be as glad at the dissolution of the Parliament of England, as at the coming of his brother Henry to him, but I think they are both but frolics. He hath received intelligence from Rome, that the Pope will have nothing to do with him, and in no case have dealing with him, as being not only inconstant and unsettled what to do, but unable to do anything.'

<sup>c</sup> Captain Sadlington was retained in the royal service after the Restoration, and fell gallantly fighting in the year 1673, on the 4th of June, in the action with Van Tromp. He then commanded the *Crown*, under the orders of Prince Rupert.

<sup>d</sup> O'Sullivan Beirne was a gentleman of some landed property in Ireland, living near Berehaven, and was of such consequence in that part of the country, where the clans of O'Sullivan were numerous, that he was chosen general of the forces raised in aid of the Royal cause. The reason of this visit to France seems to be accounted for by the following extract from the *Severall Proceedings* of the 30th June, 1653 : 'From Ireland it is certified, that a party of Irish, of General Bear's men, had a design to have surprised some garrisons ; but, having notice, a party fell upon them in their march, routed them, and killed many ; and Bear himself, with some other officers, got into a boat, and fled over into France.'



all his countrymen here, very well affected to his Maties service: He comes deputed from such of his Maties faithfull subjects as yett remaine in the west side of Munster: and hastens now towards Paris to giue his Matie an account of those parts: which though of it selfe it bee recommendation enough, yett at his request, I take the boldnesse by these to addresse him to yr Honrs acquaintance, and by yr fauour to his Maty: The state of whose affaires, I hope hee may by Gods goodnesse find in a condition able to afford such reliefe as may excite and animate these embers of loyalty into a fire, nay flame, sufficient to destroy and consume the circumambient and the now too predominant contrary of haynous treason and unparaleld rebellion. In which good omen I kisse yor Honrs hands, and rest yrs, &c. &c.,

R. BROWNE

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, I receaued yours of the 7. 3 dayes since and yesterday your other of the 10. and returne this by the same hande which brought me yours, which seemes to be very sollicitous and confident to returne it safely and speedily to you: I haue sent you such a letter from his Maty to the Marshall, as in my vnderstandinge is necessary, and I hope if any thinge would, will præuayle with him To have inserted the memoire it selfe would not haue bene so proper, since it cannot be supposed to be within his Matys proper cognisance. Your letters concerninge O'Sullivan Beare are not come to my hands.

Upon the receipt of your former I did send the inclosed to Mr. Bennett, who hath notwithstandinge not vouchsafed to conferr with me a worde about the businesse, and when I sent to him to know whether he would send any thinge to you, and lett him know what his Maty had directed, he returned me answer that I might haue spared his Maty that labour, for the Duke had done the same, but I hope actes of supererogation in this kinde will do no harme: it may be he will send his letters under this cover.

Ther is no questyon that I know concerninge your accounte, it is fitt you should alwayes haue it ready, and produce it when it is called for, and I doubt not you will receaue all iust allowance, and truly I am heartily glad that it hath brought so seasonable a reliefe to you<sup>a</sup>: our Master thinkes of remoouinge, but when or whither is not yett determined. Wee exspecte euery day news of an engagement at sea betweene the two ffeetes, the successe of which may probably alter<sup>b</sup> the temper in both Councells, at London and at the Hague, the last still pressing most vnreasonaly ther desyres of treaty. I am very heartily, Sr, your most affectionate Servt,

E. H.

PARIS this 14 of *June* 1653

Sir Ri: Browne

<sup>a</sup> It was much matter of remark in the public journals that a seasonable supply had arrived for the Royal family at this moment. The *Faithful Post*, of the same date as this letter, says, in a communication from Amsterdam: 'Here is arrived the adventurer called the *Spanish Bark*: coming from Rochelle: he hath taken three prizes about the West, which he hath sold in France, amounting to a great value, which is distributed by the Commander in Chief, Capt. Grimes, as followeth—to the poor distressed widow our late Queen, £1000; King of Scots, £3000; Duke of York, £2000; Duke of Gloucester, £1000'.

<sup>b</sup> The action did take place, and the Dutch were defeated. The consequences, if we are to believe a letter from Paris in one of the weekly *Intelligencers*, were very hostile to Charles's interests at the Court of France. 'The news of the defeat given by the English to the Dutch', says the writer, 'much startled the Court, and indeed all France; those of Charles Stuart's followers gave out reports at first that the Dutch had beaten the English, and that he was to go to Holland, and that they would do great things for him, and the English went vapouring of it up and down the streets, and some of them were soundly *foxed*: but the next day came news to several merchants of this city, besides letters to the Courts (which were kept more private), that the Dutch were beaten, and had sustained a very great losse: upon this there was a great meeting of the Council with the King, and their countenances very sad all about the French Court, and diuers of the English going through the streets of Paris were so mocked and jeered that they have been ashamed almost to show their heads abroad.'



*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, I haue receaued yours of the 30 of June by Mr. Holmes, & a duplicate of by your mayde, to nether of which ther needes any answer, my last which you since haue had satisfyinge the contents of those. Since, your other of the 5. of July are come to my handes.

To what concerne the Marshall I can add nothinge, till I know in the way I advised what his prætences are; nor haue I any reason to imagyne that he hath taken any excepcons to your person, only when I asked, why it was desyred that the busynesse might be referred to Pr. Rupert, since being not upon the place, his Highnesse could not so easily giue direction upon it, answer was made to me, that it might be, that the Marshall desyred not to treate with Sr Ri. Browne: and truly in those cases, when men aske vnreasonable thinges, it is no wonder that they haue no minde to be pressed by publique Ministers<sup>a</sup>.

I doubt I shall not be able to finde a copy of your peticon and order from the Kinge, if I can I will, nor will I do any thinge upon that busynesse, till upon your view of the whole accounte you can see in what state you are, and then I will procure such orders as are necessary; till then it is to no purpose to discourse of it: nor is it proper for me to send to Mr Windham<sup>b</sup> (with whome I haue no correspondence) to know what you haue receaued from him, you will state all that upon your accounte. The course I propose to my selfe to obserue is, that the Kinge signe a warrant to you, to deducte out of your receipts satisfaction for all such warrants which he hath formerly signed upon others, and which haue prooued ineffectuall to you; and if that satisfyes for the time past, advise what will bee best, to order for the future.

Wee are full of exspectation what will be the issue of the treaty in Englande betweene the Dutch and the Rebels, which our frends ther do not belieue like to produce any reconciliation: and then I hope wee shall quickly leave this place, the which our poore Master prouydes to doe. The same day brought the newes of the takinge Bourgue by the Duke of Vendosme and Rhetell by Marshall Turgu, and yett the Prince of Condé is confident the English will relieue Burdeaux<sup>d</sup>. I am, Sr, your very affectionate humble Servt, EDW. HYDE

PARIS this 12 of July (1653)

Sr Ri. Browne

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

PARIS this 30th of July (1653)

Sr, I haue receaued yours of the 23. of July, as I had before your other of the 16. I deliuered your other to Pr. Ruperte, and he hath promised mee to write to the Marshall, who he sayes he knowes will make no scruple to deliuer those parcells to you, and the Dukes officers which concerne the 10th & 15ths, which beinge done, you are not to make any instances in the Kings name, for the rest, till his Maty shall be better informed, and you receaue other orders: so that you are only to looke for the 15. and 10ths<sup>e</sup>. I desyred the Prince to send his letter for

<sup>a</sup> An allusion to the rapacious conduct of the Marshal with regard to the prizes, and the stores of the ships that were sold.

<sup>b</sup> Mr. Windham, as early as 1652, had been appointed the receiver of the King's fifth in all prizes; and this by the King's special appointment, in opposition to the Duke of York's recommendation of the Bishop of Derry. The situation was one which Sir Edward Hyde had been very anxious to obtain for his godson, son to Sir Edward Nicholas. See the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii, pp. 112, 118.

<sup>c</sup> The London *Intelligencers* were at this time giving a very different view of the feelings of Charles's little exiled Court, asserting that they were constantly engaged 'in forms of Common Prayer' for the success of the Dutch fleet over that of England! Nor were the Puritan party at home particularly anxious for peace, protesting that the 'work of the Lord is not yet done; that the sword must not be sheathed untill they had brought down the tyranny of Rome, and restored poor ignorant captives to a gospel enjoyment of the universal freedom'.

<sup>d</sup> The Prince of Condé was mistaken.

<sup>e</sup> This necessity of temporizing with the avaricious detainer of their captured property, to which the exiled Court was obliged to submit, is not only a convincing proof of the inhospitable conduct of the French Government, but also (if they did not participate in the plunder) of their want of authority over their own officers.



the Marshall inclosed to you, but he was not willinge to do that, because ther is an agent heare of the Marshalls with whome he transacts all, and by whome he promises such directions shall be giuen, that upon your repayinge to the . . . Gouvernour (which is all you neede to do) that shall be done which wee exspecte: it is now the tyme that the businesse of the pryze is transactinge, and therefore the Prince desyres that all compliace be vsed towards the Marshall, and that wee do nothinge to anger him: I finde the Mar: pretends the stoppinge the other goods upon pretence of much money dewe to him as Admirall of Britany, upon many pryzes brought into those portes by the owners of those goods. I yett heare nothing of Anthonio.

I know not what to say to your mayd, nor the information shee hath receaued, but I assure you, the King takes all possible care that the house receaues no affronte, and to that purpose hath had a consideracon of it in Councell within these 3 dayes, in which, particular order is taken, that his former directions to you, and to Dr. Cozens, reuiued and renewed, for the keepinge up the service<sup>a</sup> carefully when he shall leue this place: and I had order to sende for your landlord and together with Sr Ri: ffoster, to renew to him his Matys gracious promises that he shall not be any looser: I intende this day to send to him to come hither: ther are yett only 500lis, payde of the rent by Sr Ri: ffoster: when mony can be gotten, more shall: in the meane tyme, the King himselve commanded me to write to you; that you should if possible returne some money to the landlorde, in parte of the rent, out of your receipts ther, with such a letter for his encouragement that he may vnderstande it to be his Matys mony, and sent by his order, and I thinke you will be no looser by it, for heareby I shall be able to keepe off all prætences and importunities for other orders, wch his Maty hath promised to me. I have no more to say, but that I am, Sr, your very affectionate humble Servt,

E. H.

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, I haue receaued yours of the 26. of the last monthe, and by this tyme I suppose Pr: Ruperte<sup>b</sup> is with you at Nantes, so that you can iudge what is like to become of your businesse better than I, but his Highnesse seemes to me to be confident that the Marshall will make no question of deliueringe the 10th and the 15th, but it seemes he claymes accounts for the rights of his Admiralty at Britany<sup>c</sup>, upon which he thinkes ther is a greate arreare dew to him from all those who haue carryed pryzes into Brest: And to this pointe you shall do well to instructe your selfe as well as may be, and whether his Officers at Brest ever demanded any thinge before he made this seizure at Nantes, for in truth I know not how to answer this; if he hath the rights of Admirall due to him in all the portes of Britany, and none of our shippes haue euer payd him any, by virtue of ther deere-bought protection at Brest, I do not wonder he takes the best way he can

<sup>a</sup> Dr. Cosins (afterwards Bishop of Durham) was one of the King's Chaplains. He is often mentioned by Evelyn in his diary and letters; and the allusion in the text is to his having the service of the Church of England regularly performed at Sir Richard Browne's house, which Evelyn tells us was always done.

<sup>b</sup> The Prince had nearly lost his life a few days before this date, as a journal of the period records: 'Paris.—We have not much of newes here; but the river Seine had like to have made an end of your black Prince Rupert; for some nights since hee woulde needes coole himselve in the river, where he was in danger of drowning, but by the help of one of his blackmores escaped. His Highnesse (it seems) has learnt some magic amongst the remote islands: since his coming hither he hath cured the Lord Jermin of a fever, with a charme; but I am confident England is without the jurisdiction of his conjuring faculty.'

<sup>c</sup> There were also other difficulties respecting the prizes: the French Court at this period, or at least Mazarin, being so anxious to conciliate the favour of Cromwell, that an arrest was even permitted to be made upon them. Indeed all the affairs connected with these prizes were very badly managed, as Sir Edward Hyde observes in another place, by Sir Edward Herbert, whom he describes as despising all men, and looked upon by Prince Rupert as an oracle. See the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii, p. 177. The shabby conduct of Mazarin, surpassed even by that of Marshal Melleray at Nantes, in these matters, may be further seen by reference to Clarendon's *History*, vol. iii, pp. 405-6, where Melleray is also spoken of with justly merited severity.



to recouer his dewes, when wee fall into his dominions : Ther is not the least thought of Ostende in the pointe : My opinion is, that you should do the best you can to gett the 10th and 15th. and you are to vse his Matys name to no other purpose, and then lett the rest petition the Prince (since his Maty hath referred the matter to him) to mediate for fauour to the Marshall, for it is playne he will haue somewhat out of it, if not the whole : God blesse me from your ffrench Governours : Concerninge your house I can add nothinge to my last : nor will any care be omitted to keepe up the seruice. God præserue you. I am, Sr, your affectionate humble Servt,  
E. H.

PARIS this 2d. of Aug. (1653)

Sir Ri: Browne

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, yours of the 31. of the last (which is the last I haue receaued from you) gaue me so much ioy, that as soon as I receaued it, I thought it my duty to imparte the good newes to the Kinge, who upon reading that clause, made not the least scruple that Mr. Morrice<sup>a</sup> was in safety, of which since wee see no euidence, I pray send me worde, how it was possible for you to be deceaued, and how the reporte came to you : I told you in my last, that it is too manifest,

<sup>a</sup> From this mention of Mr. Morrice's escape, it would seem as if some report now prevailed that a Royalist of that name, who was supposed to have been (and in fact was) put to death in 1649, had made his escape, and remained in Ireland. This Morrice had in the latter year got possession of Pomfret Castle, and held it some time for the King till it was besieged and taken by Lambert. Morrice, who was excepted from the terms of surrender, managed to make his escape at the time ; but he was afterwards seized and executed at Lancaster, as Whitelock tells us. His story, as given by Lord Clarendon, is a curious episode of the civil war, and sufficiently brief to be worth repeating here :

A young man, in the beginning of the war, had been an officer in the King's army, but engaged in the Parliament army with some circumstances not very commendable. By his courage and pleasant humour he made himself very acceptable, and obtained a commission as Colonel ; but being a free speaker, and living licentiously, he was left out in new modelling the army, but not without compliments. He had a competent estate in Yorkshire, to which he went, and resided there. As he grew older, he repented of having left the King's service, and meant to take an opportunity of returning to it. His humour was so cheerful and pleasant, and he mixed so much with men of all parties, that he had great weight with all of them. The Governor of Pomfret Castle was his most intimate and particular friend, and was so fond of him that he was never easy without him ; he was continually at the Castle, and the same bed served him. He now concerted with the King's party to surprize the Castle, and he so artfully managed with the Governor, telling him that there was such a design, that he mixed with those concerned, in order to communicate everything to the Governor, that he completely lulled that gentleman to sleep, and made him inattentive to notices which he received from other quarters. He also ingratiated himself with many of the soldiers, and at length effected his purpose. Cromwell was then gone for Scotland, so that they had time to repair the fortifications, and collect a good garrison. Cromwell ordered Rainsborough to go with a few troops to keep them in check ; and whilst he lay at Doncaster, 10 miles from Pomfret, they sent 20 picked men, who by the most dexterous management actually surprized Rainsborough in his bed, and mounted him on a horse ; but when he found how few there were who had surprized him, he called to his soldiers, and then the captors, finding they could not carry him off, actually killed him, and then all made their way back to the Castle.

At length Lambert was sent to besiege the Castle ; the garrison made a most gallant defence, but finding no hopes of relief, they at length offered to surrender, if they might have honourable conditions. Lambert said, they were gallant men, and he would do all he could to preserve them ; but Col. Morrice and five more of those who had destroyed Rainsborough, must be given up, and he could not save their lives. The garrison said they never would deliver up any of their companions, and desired six days, that these six might deliver themselves as well as they could, the rest being at liberty to assist them. Lambert generously consented. The garrison made several sallies to effect the desired escape, in one of which Morrice and another escaped ; in another sally two more got away ; and when the six days were expired and the other two remained in the castle, their friends concealed them so effectually, with a stock of provisions for a month, that rendering the castle, and assuring Lambert that the six were all gone, and he was unable to find them after the most diligent search, and had dismantled the castle, they at length got off also.

The subjoined notices are from Whitelock's *Memorials* :

*April*, 1649. Col. Morris, late Governor of Pomfret Castle, and one Cornet Blackburn, who had a hand in the death of Col. Rainsborough, and who were excepted persons on the surrender of the Castle, were taken at Lancaster in disguise<sup>1</sup>.

*Aug.*, 1649. They were arraigned at York before Baron Thorp and Judge Puleston, for levying war against the kingdom. They made a stout defence on points of law, all of which were over-ruled, were found guilty, and Morrice being manacled with irons, complained of a soldier being so treated, but got no relief<sup>2</sup>.

Before the end of the month Morrice was executed<sup>3</sup>. It is not said whether Blackburn suffered.

<sup>1</sup> P. 382.

<sup>2</sup> P. 405.

<sup>3</sup> P. 407.



that Innisboffin is deliuered up, so that there is nothinge to be done with those dispatches, but to keepe them. I cann add little of newes, only that the Court hath new argument of tryumph, upon a late victory of some considerable party of the Pr. of Condé<sup>a</sup> wher they tooke many prisoners and some officers of eminent quality : The Dutch yett proceede very slowly, as well in order to ther allyance with this Crowne, as in any declaracon for our Master, notwithstandinge which my hopes are not abated, nor do I thinke a peace almost possible to be made betweene the two Commonwealths, and all this addresse which is so much spoken of, is only a letter from a priuate man, without any knowledge of the Pro: of Hollande, much lesse of the States Generall, who resent the præsumption. Lett me know, whether Mr. Bennett did euer requyre the ffees from you upon any of the Commyssions which I deliuered to you, or how he comes to prætende to them : howeuer you shall by no meanes take the least notice of this question, nor declyne the course you intended, for I am sure I neuer intended to receaue penny fro' them, but would gladly know how he claymes such ffees. I wish you all happynesse, and am, Sr, your very affectionate Servt, E. H.

PARIS this 19. of Aug. 1653

Sir Ri: Browne

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, I haue receaued yours of the 15. of Octo: but nether know nor can imagine<sup>b</sup> the reason of your longe silence, but conceaue it proceedes from some such cause as made you wish that it might not be interrupted by any provocation from me : and yett it was not possible for me to do you any seruice without beinge instructed by you in the way, the businesse standinge as it did. I heare nothinge of Choquez, and what his undertakinge is I know not. I asked the Kinge whether he knew anything of the businesse, and I haue reason to believe that he nether hath nor will giue any order in that affaire without askinge me how the case standes ; but if you give me no cause to move publicquely in it, it is no wonder if I say nothinge of it, and if you do write upon the argument, you will write so that the letter may be reade at Councell, any other advertisements you will put in a paper aparte. I heare nothinge of the wyne, nor know not any thinge of Nantes, when they come away, who are ther, or what they do ther.

The Kinge hath spent the last fortnight in the country at Chantilly, and returned hither on Wensday last : and proposes to goe backe thither agayne tomorrow, and I suppose will spende his tyme ther, till the fayre weather be done : I can tell you little of newes, the distractions I thinke are so high in Englande, that ther must be some suddayne alteration : and I depende more on that, then any thinge that can happen abroad, wher ther is little care of honour, or any thinge but ther owne present conveniences. It may be, all the pause in your businesse is in contemplation of the great pryze, and I would not interrupt that, by any meddlinge in a matter so particular and inferior as the other ; but if that were at an end, or I knew what were like to come of it, I would be very importunate to knowe what the grounde of the proceedinge is. If ther be no reason to the contrary, I shall be gladd to heare from you, and as particularly as

<sup>a</sup> The conduct of the Condéan army at this period was of a most discreditable kind, if we are to believe the following statement in a letter from Paris of the 8th of August, 1653, in the *Faithful Scout* : ' The Prince of Condé is become very considerable, and exceeds the K. in number of forces, being 7000 foot and 1000 horse, besides the Spanish auxiliary army under the command of Gen. Fuensaldague, which makes 13,000 horse and foot. His Highness hath sent several challenges to Marshall Turen to fight ; but he declines ; so that he hath given Condé an opportunity to get within eight leagues of Paris, plundering all, his Germans ravishing the nuns, and ransacking all religious houses, firing suburbs of towns, and enforcing contributions from others. He made way so far as to come and dine at his own house, where he and his commanders were as merry as so many Princes.'

<sup>b</sup> Though Hyde was too sanguine in the hopes expressed in this letter, yet the plain good sense it shows, and indeed his general conduct in exile, where we have neither to mark the listless apathy which deadens enterprise, nor the hasty enthusiasm which mars it, admirably justify that place in Charles's councils which his talents and services continued to secure to him, notwithstanding many counter intrigues.



you please ; but if you thinke it in any consideration inconvenient, I reffer it wholly to you, and am very heartily, Sr, your very affectionate humble Servt,

PARIS this 26: of Oct: (1653)

E. H.

Sr Ri. Browne

*Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer*

Right Honble, with humble acknowledgments of your last favour of 26. Octobr I can now give your Honr this brief account of my businesse here on which I haue soe longe and with much charge and trouble attended. Captain Anthonio hath without any consent of mine, nor doe I know with what power from the rest of the witnesses, payed the Marl fifteen thousand livres, and by this meanes obtained *mainlevée* [removal of the arrest] of all the goods arrested, and consequently gotten them all into his hands. By H. H. Prince Rupert's order I haue now commenced a sute in law for recoverie of the fifteenths, and the Duke of Yorkes interest (both which the Marl allways intended to restore without diminution) and his highnesse doth soe nobly support and countenance me therin, that I hope eyther by decree of justice, or by the Captains voluntary rendition, to have a speedy end, & therby be soon able to remit to Paris that money his Maty hath ordered towards satisfaction of my Landlord.

I haue (together with money for the charges of the carriage) committed to Mr. Killigrews care, a butt of Canary wine divided into three barrells. The one wheroff I humbly present to his Maty, the other to his R. H. and the third to the Lords at Court<sup>a</sup>.

Soe praysinge God for his Maties happy recovery of health, and dayly prayinge for the same.

NANTES first Nor 1653

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, I haue yesterday receaued yours of the 1 and the 4 of this month together, & this day gave the Bill of Exchange to Mr Deane, who will be very glad that he is provyded to comply with some parte of your landlordes importunity, and we shall all have the more ease by it. I heare the Canary wyne is come to Paris, but no men'con of the delivery of it, being conceaved to be Mr. Killigrews owne wyne, so that I expecte a very small share of it, but have acquainted his Maty and my L.Lds with that parte of your letter, and my Ld Chamberlyne will enquire after it: You cannot imagyne I can misinterprett any acte of yours, which I know can not want kindnesse to me; your silence was very fitt, and I guessed so much at the reason of it, that I complied with it, and yet (as you say) all is little enough, and ielous natures will alwayes finde somewhat to worke upon, to disquyett themselves and others, and I know no cure to apply to those, who are not pleased with fayre and open dealing<sup>b</sup>.

I hope you haue not suffered your selfe to be too much a loser by Capt: Anthonio, with whom you know how to deale well enough: at least if he intends to haue any more to do with us: I hope ther is care taken to giue Geo: Carterett satisfaction, who ever apprehends discourtesy from hence, and that he was putt out of the Kinges protection, when God knowes the Kinge resolved to do all he could for him and the other adventurers, as soon as the case should be so stated that he knew what to presse, but it seemes all is now composed, and it is a notable ffyne you have payd to the Marshall, if the commodities were not of a

<sup>a</sup> The politic attention of Sir Richard in this instance shows how fit he was for a courtier, even upon the smallest scale; though his worldly prudence in trusting Killigrew with the wine may be open to some doubt. It will be observed in the next letter, that suspicions of Killigrew, by no means surprising, appear to have occurred to Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

<sup>b</sup> It has already been hinted that Sir Richard Browne had many enemies at the exiled Court. Hyde had many also; and no doubt all this caution in the correspondence of the two friends was for the purpose of guarding against the Court sycophants opposed to them. See Hyde's preceding letter of the 26th October.



huge value : God preserve me from such governours. Wee are yett in the country, which the Kinge is better pleased with then with Paris, and truly he hath recovered his health most miraculously : But if the weather changes, as it is like to doe, I suppose we shall looke backe to Paris : and then any good newes will carry us away. I wish you all happynesse, and am very heartily, Sr, your most affectionate huble Servt,

EDW. HYDE

CHANTILLY this 10: of Novemb: (1653)

*Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer*

Right Honble, I have here received your Honrs of the 10th Nov. for which I sende humble thanks, as bringinge with it the assurance of my standinge upright in your opinion : your friendship being one of the greatest consolations I have in the midst of all my sufferinges. I humbly submitt the adjoynd for your management : yf you approve not theroff, and had rather convert the summ mentioned to your own use, order it how you please and to whom you would have the bill made : perhaps you may think Mr. Edgman a fitt person to be trusted with the secret, that soe little notice may be taken. The three barrells of Sacke are yett here ; in company with them goes a fourth vnder Sir Gervais Lucas<sup>a</sup> his name, which is a present I make to yr Honr wherewith to rejoyce yourselfe and friends : Only I intreat you that the good Lady Lucas may have her physicall proportion out of it . . . warmed keepes her alive as shee herselfe sayth. That you will not give Dr. Earles half a dozen of bottles I cannot doubt. The person I last mentioned in cipher will tell you notable stories when he comes to you. To him I refer all. You may beleeeve him, for hee is much a man of honour. Being ready to goe from hence I expect to find your answer hereto in Mr. Richards his hands at St. Malo's. This is all at present from yr honrs most faithfull and most obliged humble servant,

R. BR.

The following is the Paper adjoynd :

I have formerly acquainted you that I cannot make up my accounts untill I returne to Brest, which I am now hastening : In the interim, finding that some monyes of his maties will remaine with me, I humbly submitt it to your Honrs consideration whether a hundred Lewises in gold will not be acceptable to his Maty to be by your Honr privately delivered into his owne Royall hands towards his merry playing<sup>b</sup>, wherewith to passe his time at cards this approaching Christ-masse. This I shall be able to performe from St. Maloes, if I may there meet with encouragement. This is all at present from, yr Honrs most faithfull and most obliged humble servant,

R. BR:

NANTES 18. Novr. 1653

Mr. Chan: of the Excheqr

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, I haue receaued yours of the 18, and since you are so well provyded, I cannot but commende your designe, and as I believe the Kinge does not expecte such a present, so I am sure it will be most wellcome to him, and I will promise you to present it to him, in so secrett a manner, as nobody shall know it but himselfe ; and be confident I will never converte one penny that belonges to him, to my owne use, in what straights soever I should be.

I like very well your distribution of the sacke, and I will not bragge of my share, nor fayle of delivering the proportion you assigne, and if the good lady comes hither, (as by yours I guesse she intendes to do though Paris at present is a place of prodigious expence, every thinge double the pryse of what it was when you left it) the vessell shall stay with her ; and I there shall be sure of iustice, and I

<sup>a</sup> The whole of this is confirmation of the remark made in the foregoing note. Sir Gervais Lucas had been a cavalry officer in the Royal cause during the Civil Wars.

<sup>b</sup> See *post*, p. 872. Of Lord Jermyn's conduct generally as cashier for the Royal expenses, Clarendon roundly asserts in his *History* that while Jermyn kept a coach of his own, and an excellent table for those who courted him, yet the King, even when under the most urgent want of twenty pistoles, could not find credit to borrow them.

will fetch my allowance in bottles : Lett me only giue you this warninge, that the carriage be payd for, as I thinke you told me in your former that it was, and I am sure I cannot do it, and then, the sooner it comes the better<sup>a</sup>. Wee are full of expectac'on of good newes from all quarters, and I hope some of it will be of such a nature that will call us from hence, which I will be sure to giue you an accounte of as soone as I can : I wish you all happynesse, and am very heartily, Sr, your most affectionate huble Servt,

EDW. HYDE

PARIS this 24 of Novemb: (1653)

Sr Ri: Browne

*Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer*

Right hon, Monsr de Varennes, Intendant of Marqu. de Castlenau's affairs at Brest, havinge beene from that towne deputed to the States of Bretany, Marsl de Milleray did there declare unto him that he pretended nott to abate any part of what belonged unto him in the loading of the flette which hee had seased, and for *mainlevée* wheroff hee had receaved 15000 livres. Wheruppon this gentleman came hither to demand his right, & after a weekes digladiation at law with Captain Antonio, the Captain yeelded up the cudgells and gave him satisfaction. My desire to see the issue of this suite in law causeing my stay here longer then I intended, hath brought me hither your Honours favour of 15 Nov. which containinge an intimation of something of complaint against (as they call itt) the King of Englands Admiralty at Brest, I considered myselfe whether it will be fitt for mee to goe now into Low Bretany before I haue once again shewed myselfe to the Mar and received his commands (who they say will bee here shortly) least he againe come uppon us with a second costly after-reckoninge, grounded uppon pretence of not beinge sufficiently applied unto, or of being neglected in his government ; at least not untill I have your Honrs sence her-uppon, which I humbly beseech you to vouchsafe me, sending yr letters as you please, eyther directly hither, or by the way of Mr Richards, thorough whose hands I expect answers of my last of 18th currant.

I render humble thanks to your Honr for the sanguine part of your letter, resultinge out of the good newes from Germany and England. God of his mercy improve these comforts to us ; and preserue his Maties sacred person, and vouchsafe him a speedy establishment uppon the throne of his Royal progenitors. Soe prayes dayly and heartily, yr Honrs, &c.

NANTES 29 Nor 1653

*The Same to the Same, accompanying the preceding letter*

Right Honble, I am told that the Prince [Rupert] hath now totally settled his businesse with the merchant, and stayer only to see performance. Meane time Sr Gervais Lucas hopes to be goinge with his lady some time the next weeke for Paris; and takes along with him that commodity for your Honr wch I thought would have accompanied the other 3 which are upon their way. Mr. de Varennes carries a letter recommendatory from mee to yr Honr. Yf hee uppon his maisters the Marqu. de Castlenau's recommendation hath thus enjoyed the benefit of favour and protection in his part, how much more might wee (had not an unhand-some eclipse happened) his Maties subjects and servants uppon our Royal Maisters gracious owning of us ? beleeeve me the Captain doth now sufficiently repent his unprofitable, unadvised, nay precipitate performance of Monsr Choquere his bargain.

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, I haue receaved both yours of the 29. of the last, & cannot imagyne, how any thinge I sayd to you in my former letter could make you deferr your journey, nor can I add anything to what I then sayd, havinge not heard since of the complayntes, and you must indeed know the temper of those places much better

<sup>a</sup> The whole of this letter is a curious illustration of the distresses of a man who was afterwards Lord Chancellor of England, and father-in-law to a King.



than I can doe : I perceave by what you say of Mons. Varrennes that wee are nothing beholdinge to the Marshall, who it may be without our frends helpe would not have beene able to have done us so much prejudice. Lett me know when you goe from thence, and wher my letters may finde you. The Capt. doth well to quitt his old frends, and betake himselfe to new who know better how to use him. Wee heare not yett of Pr. Rupertes comminge hither, but meethinkes he hath bene long absent. Hath Sr Ge: Lucas absolutely quitt his ffarme in Britany, or doth he only repayre hither for health. Meethinkes the comodity you mencon should not be worth the charge of so longe a voyage by lande. The Duke of Yorke is returned hither, full of reputac'on & honour<sup>a</sup>, and the ffrench Courte is expected on Sunday or Munday. I can tell you little newes : our frends in Hollande do not believe the treaty will produce a peace, and for an instance that the States do not so much depende upon it, they have given a licence this last weeke to . . . Ge: Middleton<sup>b</sup>, to transporte armes and ammunicon for Scotlande, which is a good signe : I suppose you heare frequently from Englande, where sure the confusion is very high, and it is expected that they will declare Crumwell Protector of the 3 kingdomes, that his single influence may compose those distractions, which the multitude cannot doe, for Mr. Peters himselfe now professes that Monarchy is the best government. God send us well under it. I am, Sr, your most affectionate Servt, E. H.

PARIS this 6. of Decemb: (1653)

*Sir Richard Browne to Sir Edward Hyde*

Right Honble, this being onely to give course to a bill of exchange for one hundred Lewis's of gold in specie payable at sight unto Mr. William Edgman, which I haue desired Mr. Richards to inclose herin at St. Malos.

NANTES 10 Dec: 1653

*The Same to the Same*

NANTES 20 Dec. 1653

Right Honble, my last unto your Honr were of 10. Dec. with an inclosed bill, which Mr. Richards assures me will be punctually payed this very day (20 Decr.) at Paris. My desire now is (in case you approve theroff and will at my humble request vouchsafe to accept this poore tender of my seruice) to transmitt to your Honr a supply of money for your owne occasions in that now extraordinary deare place, which I am the more apt to beleive in regard that the price of all thinges here raysed a third since my cumminge into this province. I doe nott designe lesse than a thousand livres, and am very sorry I cannot performe it untill I draw a somme from Brest, in which I find great difficulty at present, noe man being willinge to meddle with money, in regard of the approachinge fall at the end of this month. By this abatement in the species I am like to sustaine not an inconsiderable losse, for I heare they have this good while payed the Kings dues at Brest according to the rate the money went many monthes since, when the commodotis were sold (*viz.*) Lewises of gold at 12 livres and of silver at 3*l.* 9*s.* And I am told the Duke of Yorkes receivers can get noe better quarter. I know not why I should nott make the just reparation of this losse as an article in my account, as well as the Treasurer of the States of Bretany, who hath on this consideration lately had seven thousand crownes indemnification adjudged him by Act of the States. By way of St Malos your Honrs next commands will find mee, and you may well imagine your presence, tho not possible, will be most heartily wished, and your health noe lesse cordially celebrated.

I am now to acknowledge your Honrs favour of the 24. Nov. & 6 Decr. The three first vessells of sacke are doubtlesse long since arriued by water at Orleans,

<sup>a</sup> The Duke had been serving under Turenne, and had just before the date of this letter distinguished himself at the siege of Mousson. Being disappointed in his wishes to be present at the siege of St. Meneshould, he had repaired to his brother's Court, in order to accompany him during part of his route from France to Germany.

<sup>b</sup> Middleton bore the rank of lieutenant-general, and was very active in Scottish affairs, as Charles's agent, with the Highlanders and other Royalist adherents in that country.



there expectinge Mr. Killigrew's order, who is desirous to present them himselfe. I have allready furnished him with some money towards the charges, and have taken care to defray at Paris the whole port of them and of the 4th which went hence in boate the beginnunge of this weeke with noble Sir. G. L. [Gerv. Lucas] and his lady, who have quite abandoned this province, the Ladies intention being to goe 'ere longe into the greater Bretany. I desire your Honr to give credit to him in many thinges with which hee will acquaint you, for hee is much a man of honour and integrity. Hee will tell you to what degree wee have (as you well call it) had our freinds healp and furtherance in the payment of the 15 thousand livres fine, &c. I did not till verry lately know that my Lord Percy now Lord Chamberlain was come to the Kinge, and I am likewise told that he is much in your intimacy, of which, if true, I am verry glad, for hee hath beene my noble freind of a date little lesse than 30 yeares old. I pray if your Honr thinke it fitt be pleased to present my humble seruice and congratulations to his L<sup>pp</sup>.

Prince Rupert hath now quite finished his businesse with the marchant that lost the sugar prize, and speakes of goinge hence for Paris within few dayes.

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, I have yours of the 20. as I had before your former with the bill, which was punctually payd<sup>a</sup>, and delivered to the Kinge, for which you shall have his acquittance, and I must tell you, it came very seasonably to him, and most acceptably, of which you shall heare more hereafter. ffor your new noble offer, I am not in a condic'on so plentifull to refuse, for I must tell you that I have not had a Lewes of my owne these 3 moneths; therefore when you send the bill, lett me know whether you lend me so much out of your owne little stocke, or whether it be the Kings money, for in that case, his Maty shall be the disposer, since my office hath never yett nor shall intitle me to take his mony without his derection<sup>b</sup>. Ther is no question any fall of moneyes is a just grounde for demaunde of allowance upon accounte. If you are at Duncy, wish me with you, as I do heartily. I write to the Governour the way he dired, and must be informed when he returnes to his dominion.

I hope you thinke it strange to heare that I have bene in Englande, and have had private conference with Cromwell, and [that you] are not sorry that my enimes can frame no wiser calumny against me: Pr: Rupert is not yett arryued, nor is ther any newes of the sacke: I shall be gladd to see Sr Ge: and his lady heare. Though my Ld Chamberlyne<sup>c</sup> and I lyue ciuilly together, and I can menc'on you to him, yet it is fitt you write a congratulatory letter to him, which if you

<sup>a</sup> See *ante*, p. 870. Paper adjoined to Sir Richard Browne's letter.

<sup>b</sup> The charges to which Hyde alludes in this letter were those brought against him by intriguers of the Queen-mother's party, who were unwilling that he should execute the office which Lord Jermyne had formerly discharged, the disposal of the King's private funds. Mr. Long, the Ex-Secretary, was therefore brought forward to concoct this story of the conference with Cromwell on the evidence of one Massonet, or rather on his second-hand hearsay evidence from a maidservant in London, who assured him that she had seen Sir Edward go into Cromwell's chamber at Whitehall. Charles of course had the sense to laugh at it, being himself in fact a competent witness to prove an alibi. See Clarendon's *History*, vol. iii, p. 402. When Charles the First appointed a Council for the Prince of Wales in 1644, Mr. Long was their Secretary; but after this was suspected of holding a correspondence with the Earl of Essex, on which he went into France, and made great complaint to the Queen-mother, who always strongly supported his interests. After the death of Charles the First he became Secretary to the young King in his exile, was created a Baronet shortly after the Restoration, was Auditor of the Exchequer, and a Privy Councillor. Suspicion attached to him of having been secretly a Roman Catholic, and this is partly borne out by a legacy in his will. See Manning and Bray's *History of Surrey*, vol. ii, p. 606.

<sup>c</sup> This was Lord Percy, to whom the office had been granted in lieu of that of Master of the Horse, to which he had some claim, but which had been reserved by the King for Prince Rupert, who afterwards very ungraciously threw it up. The whole affair as related in Lord Clarendon's *History*, vol. iii, p. 411, is illustrative of many of these letters.



thinke fitt, I will deliver. God send you a merry Christmasse. I am, Sr, your  
most affectionate humble servt, EDW: HYDE

PARIS this 27 of Decemb. (1653)

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, yours of the 30. of January came not to my hands till within these 2 dayes ; and you haue before this tyme I conceaue receaued some of myne since that date, which have informed you how much wee have bene all deceaued in the imaginac'on of the breach of the treaty betweene the Dutch and the Rebels. It is now looked upon as concluded in a peace, and though the other Prouinces are not yett reconciled to the condic'ons, wee have very fainte hopes, that ther opposic'ons will be able longe to deferr what the Province of Hollande so importunately and vehemently pursues : and I do belieue that this Crowne will labour all they can (and I thinke with successe) to gett it selfe into the allyance<sup>a</sup>, for the facilitatinge wherof I suppose they wish our Master gone from hence, and wee shall gratify them in it, the Kinge resoluinge to goe as soone as he can gett away you shall do well to hasten all accounts with your Capts as soone as may be, least they grow lesse respectfull of the Kings authority, and what they owe to him, when they finde that they are like to finde little protection heare. I am in greate payne, therefore you must excuse me, that I say no more, but that I am, Sr, your very affectionate huble Servt, E. H.

PAR: this 17 of Feb. 1654

*Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer*

Right Honble, Captain Wm Arundell the bearer hearoff being dispatched<sup>b</sup> by Coll O'Sulleuan Beirne to giue his Maty a particular account of his proceedings hitherto, and to receiue our royall and gracious Maister's farther directions and orders for the future, in case he may be soe happy as (in the present conjuncture) to be found any way vsefull & serviceable to his owne Souueragine, in whose just quarrell he much rather chuseth accordinge to duty and alleageance to loose his life as he hath already donne his estate and fortune, than to drawe his sword in the service of any forraigne Potentate : I am desired to giue your Honr this summary account of what hath beene here transacted since his arriuall in these partes some few weekes since, with diuers persons of quality, leading men of the severall cheife provinces of Irland<sup>c</sup>, about 30 barrills of powder and some other armes ; for transportation of which whole equipage into the south-west part of Munster, O'Sulleuans country, there to make an impression, Mr Holder and myselfe had here preuailed with Mr Griffin, Captain Smyth<sup>d</sup>, and Captain Dillon (whose readinesse to serue his Maty on this occasion hath beene very laudable, and ought soe to be represented unto his Maty as nott unworthy of his particular taking notice thereof) who in their three fregats had undertaken to passe them ouer & by Gods goodnesse to haue given a happy beginning to this generous

<sup>a</sup> So certain were the politicians of that time of a treaty between the French King and the Protector, that in a letter from Paris, of the 20th of January, in one of the public *Intelligencers*, it was expressly stated, ' Here is much talk, as if the Peace were concluded between France and England '. It did not take place so rapidly, however ; for, notwithstanding Mazarin's overtures to Cromwell, the Protector showed no extraordinary eagerness to meet them. In writing to Cromwell, about this time, Mazarin concluded with, ' Votre tres humble serviteur ', which obtained nothing more from Oliver than ' Your affectionate friend to do you service '.

<sup>b</sup> There are no historical records of the specific events in Irish affairs to which this letter alludes ; the letter therefore itself supplies matter for history.

<sup>c</sup> A *Mercurius Politicus* of the 22nd February gives expression to the hopes and fears that agitated the opposite parties at this time : ' The Irish are much troubled to hear of the dissolution of the late Parliament, in whom they had great hopes, but, blessed be God ! their hopes are prevented.'

<sup>d</sup> How very trifling this naval force was, may be surmised from the fact that Capt. Smith's vessel only mounted eight guns ; whilst another, commanded by Meldrum, carried two.

and loyall enterprize : offering further in case they could at their landinge gett possession of any fortifiable place, fitt and considerable, to furnish them with 2 or 3 peecees of canon out of each vessel : and to afford them what other assistance might lye in their power. But just as they were ready to sett sayle, comes the certain advice that Mortagh O'Brien (to whom O'Sullevan chiefly intended to joyne himself, and whose party was it seemes the principall foundation of his hopes) had layd downe armes ; by which unexpected newes, this soe probable designe auertinge for the present, O'Sullevan hath neuer the lesse thought fitt to aduenture a kinsman of his owne name, an experienced soldier, with some few others, and some powder, to goe in Captain Dillon's fregat, *tanquam explorator*, at whose returne hee hopes within 2 or 3 weekes to be able to giue a full account of the state of affaires in that kingdome, and what likelyhood there may bee of attemptinge any thinge there for his Maties service and aduantage, which failinge, this noble person and his company are ready to transport themselves into Schottland, or what other part of his Maties dominions may be thought expedient.

BREST 30 Aprile 1654

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sra, the last weeke I receaued yours of the 23. of the last moneth, & by this post your other of the 1 of this moneth, to both which I shall neede reply no more, then to assure you that what I wrote to you was not out of the least unkinde purpose towards you, or doubt of your punctuallity in accounte, or opinion that you had receaued so much as people give out (yett, as you say, the Duke of Yorkes officers can make a shrew computac'on, and are not very nice of publishing what they conceave may aduance his Matys service) : but I was willinge to be ready to answer any questions the Kinge himselfe might be induced to aske ; and the truth is his necessityes are so greate, and so like to encrease, that all wayes must be thought on to draw supply to him, and therefore make what you can ready, and I had rather you should prevent him by sendinge Bills before he expectes them, then that I should be required to call upon you : if you procure Bills upon any honest able marchant at Antwerpe, payable to Patrick Garlande<sup>b</sup>, or his order, and send them to me, I can easily draw it from thence to Cullen, or to any place wher the Kinge will neede it. I can make no other conclusyon by the discourses of peace or warr betweene Cromwell and that Crowne, but that the Cardinall<sup>c</sup> will do all that is in his power to prevent a warr, which very many believe he will not be able longe to doe, and the Spanyard is very much abused, if he be not sure of a firme coniunction with him. I doubt the tyme of our deliverance is not so neere at hande as was expected. God will send it at last : you may be very confident that I will never cease to be, Sr, your very affectionate Servt,

EDW. HYDE

BR: 22: Apr: (1655)

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, I haue receaued yours of the 10. of the last moneth, and shewed it to the Kinge, who hath sent drection to Sr Geo. Ratcliffe<sup>d</sup> to returne the 2000li. to

<sup>a</sup> Between this and the preceding letter there is an interval of twelve months ; during which time the King and his friends, having left Paris in June, 1654, had been resident in Flanders and Germany. The reader will find a curious anecdote relating to these changes in their place of exile in Clarendon's *History*, vol. iii, p. 413, and another at p. 422.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Patrick Garland, who was long in confidence with Sir Edward Hyde.

<sup>c</sup> Mazarin personally admired Cromwell, and was therefore the more likely to be averse to a war between France and England.

<sup>d</sup> Ratcliffe, instead of Lord Byron, had once been thought of by Charles the First as Governor to the Duke of York in his infancy. He was a Privy Counsellor, and lived at Oxford during the siege, before which the Queen had desired him either to bring the Duke to her at Paris, or carry him to Ireland ; but this Ratcliffe refused, on the plea that he dared not to convey any of the King's sons out of the kingdom without an express order from the King. In the 'Life of James the Second,' evidently written with



him as soone as he receaues it, and I assure you it will come very seasonably hither, wher ther is as much pouerty as you haue knowne at Paris. I doubte Mr Crumwell hath putt a periodd to your receipts, but it is not impossible that Dunkirke<sup>a</sup> and Ostende may prooue as hospitable to our shippinge as Brest hath bene, for they say, upon closinge with ffrance, the Rebels will have a briske warr with the Spanyard, and looke every day to heare that they are possessed of some considerable place in the Indyees, which is at last believed at Bruxells; wher they finde how they haue bene fooled. I am newly returned hither, hauinge bene kept in my way hither at the Hague by a greate sicknesse, for above a moneth, but God be thanked I am now well recovered, beyonde the hope of many of my frends, and contrary to the wishes of those who are not so: I hope I may live to see better dayes: I haue not heard from George Carterett these very many monthes, though I am sure he hath many letters of myne upon his handes, so that you may tell him, I thinke he despayres, and hath given me ouer: God send us a good meetinge, wher you shall receaue all seruice from, Sr,  
your most affectionate humble Servt,

EDW. HYDE

COLL: *this 8 of June* (1655)

Sr Ri: Browne

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, though it be many monthes since I heard from you, I had not at this tyme troubled you, if by letters which I receaved the last weeke, I had not cause to believe that one which I writt above a moneth since to you, is miscarried: I then told you how seasonable your 200 pistolls would come to the Kinge, who hath bene and is still in straight enough, since which tyme it is receaued, but not till within these 3 dayes, it being returned very unskilfully to be payd at Amsterdam upon double usance.

I told you likewise in that, that his Maty would haue you giue a deputac'on to Monsr Marces<sup>b</sup> to collecte and receaue the duties dew to him in 2 or 3 of the lesser and more obscure portes in Britanny, untill he should haue receaued the sum of 200 pistolls which are owinge to him, and he was well content to receaue them this way: I thought it more proper that the deputac'on should be given by you, then an immediate grante of it from his Maty to him, therefore I pray (if my former letter miscarried) lett him know that you haue receaued such derections, and lett him have a proper instrument accordingly. I doubte it will be very longe before he will out of those portes receaue that summ, but the request is the more modest, and could not well be denied, his Maty lookinge upon the man as one who hath done him many services. You can exspecte little newes from us, who have only courage enough to looke for better tyme; the apprehensions the whole Empyre hath that it shall not longe inioy ther peace, and the terroure the Kinge of Sweade<sup>c</sup> gives them by his inroade into Poland, wher he carries all before him, prooue of no small præiudcie to our master, who is therby much dis-

authority from that Prince, speaking of this affair it is remarked, 'which nicety, or I may rather call it indiscretion of his, might have cost his Highness dear, as being the occasion of his being put into the Rebels' hands'. When the Duke of York was taken prisoner at Oxford by the Parliamentary army, Fairfax ordered Ratcliffe to continue with him, until the pleasure of the Parliament should be known; and he was only discharged from his attendance on the Earl of Northumberland being appointed Parliamentary Governor to the Duke. In consequence of his early acquaintance, Ratcliffe retained much influence over James, to the great dislike of the Queen, and also in opposition to Lord Byron. He was at Jersey with Charles, and afterwards joined him in Flanders. He was also very active in caring for the Duke's interests, when it was reported that the King was dead in Scotland, three years before this period. See Clarendon's *Life*, p. 124.

<sup>a</sup> Many prizes had already been carried into Dunkirk by the Jersey privateers; and in 1635 the Duke of York had been supported solely by the tenths which the captors paid him. See further a letter on this subject to the Spanish minister, in the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii, p. 276.

<sup>b</sup> *Vide* p. 878.

<sup>c</sup> Gustavus, the successor of Christina, whose disputes with the King of Poland were a source of great confusion and disturbance to Germany.

appointed of the mony he was promised from those Princes, so that the truth is wee are no richer than you haue knowen us at Paris : yett trust me wee are farr from despayre, and do promise our selves with reason enough, that wee shall shortly have good frendes, and see a good turne in our fortune, especially if the newes with strange confidence repeated at present heare be true, of Cromwells death : which I doubt is not upon ground enough. The Kinge and his sister are in a private . . . at ffrankeforte<sup>a</sup>, from whence wee expecte them in 4 or 5 dayes : the Qu: of Sweden is this very minute passinge through the towne, wher shee staves not, but lodges this night at Bone, the house of the Elector of Cullen [Cologne].

If you are very rich, and can lend me 20. or 30. pistolls, or such a summ, and returne it to honest Church, he will transmitt it to me, and it will come very seasonably to supply, Sr, your very affectionate humble servt,

CULLEN this 28 of Sept. (1655)

Sr Ri. Browne

EDW: HYDE

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, I write now to you rather to lett you know that yours of the 16. of the last moneth is come to my hands, then to returne a full answer to it, which I cannot do till the next, and then I shall not fayle to do it, except by our intelligence out of ffrance I conclude that it is for the present to no purpose to do it in the way you propose ; as I suppose it will not be, if the peace betweene Cromwell and ffrance be published, which I doubt it is, and then all your armado at Brest will be quickly discharged those harbours, and I heartily wish they may gett off fayrely, without any prejudice or even violence offred to them to oblige Mr Cromwell. If this falls out to be the case, and that you see ther is no more worke to be done ther, you will not be the lesse intent, sollicitous, and dextrous, to oblige the seamen to continue ther affection to his Matys service, and to continue ther commissyons, since ther is no greate doubt we shall prepare a better recepcon for them at Dunkirke and Ostende, then they have found at Brest<sup>b</sup>, and *your owne particular will not be neglected* : I hope to be speedily able to say more to you upon this subjecte, and to tell you that wee shall not be longe confined to Cullen, and I pray dispatch such advices to me as soone as may be, as may be necessary to be considered in that traffique wee are like to have with seamen, how wee may give them encouragements enough and yett retayne a competency for our Masters supporte.

I haue not time to add more, having very much to doe, upon those greate alterac'ons which fall out, which truly I believe will carry us all wher wee desyre to be<sup>c</sup> : God send it, and you shall then have cause to believe me to be, Sr, your most affectionate humble Servt,

EDW. HYDE

CULL: this 9 of November (1655)

Sr Ri. Browne

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, since my last to you, which was of the 9. of this moneth, I have receaved yours of the 23. of the last moneth, and yesterday another of the 28ber, which it may be ought to be of this moneth : you will not wonder that I make no hast in sendinge these dispatches which concerne your Admiralty, which no doubt is now at an end by virtue of this peace, so that if you parte fayre, and they suffer all

<sup>a</sup> This journey to Frankfort has been already noticed. It excited some attention both in England and upon the Continent : for, in one of the papers of the day, a letter from Paris observes, after alluding to the newly-signed treaty with Cromwell, 'In the mean time, it seems, the Princess Royall of Orange is expected here in January, she intending to bestow a visit upon the little Queen, her mother, and bring her all news from Frankfort fair ; what further end there may be in the voyage is not known.'

<sup>b</sup> The facts here mentioned are of importance to the naval historian, should he desire to illustrate a period of which very little, at least with regard to the part of the service which remained attached to the King, has yet been recorded.

<sup>c</sup> It took five years more to make these hopes and anticipations real.



the vessells to get out of ther portes, it is as much as I looke for : and if ther had been any more to be done ther, I should not haue moued the Kinge for such a letter to the Duke of York as you advise, till wee had knowne his Highns pleasure, ffor for the Kinge to declare that he would abate as much of his fifteenths as the Duke would abate of his tenths, before wee know that he thinkes fitt to abate any thinge, were to putt him upon some disadvantage, and ther wante not those who would be gladd upon any occasyon to infuse an opinion of the disrespectes of many heare towards his Highns. Therefore you should adiust all those thinges with his ministers, before any thinge be mooued to come from hence : But at present all that designe is at an end, and wee must consider what conclusyons wee are to make to aduance our marityme affayres in fflanders, wher I hope wee shall finde all encouragement. Whateuer concessyons are to be granted, they must be to all alike, and not with distinction betweene rich and poore, which will interrupt all payment of dewes. I writt to you to send us any advise that upon your obseruance of those people, you thinke necessary to be obserued.

That which wee are sollicitous for is, to gett into fflanders<sup>a</sup>, which I hope wee shall do shortly, and not be without such a benefitt from this warr betweene Spayne and Crumwell, that may giue our frends new courage. I shall add no more, but that I wish you your heartes desyre, and shall alwayes be ready to serue you, as, Sr, your most affectionate humble Servt,

EDW. HYDE

CULL: this 23. of *Nouemb*: (1655)

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, the Kinge is so desyrous to pay Mounr de Marces some parte of the debt that is dew to him<sup>b</sup>, that understandinge that ther is dew to his Maty frome a frende of his the sayd Mor de Marces nine hundred livres, and from another two hundred livres, both which summes are payable to you from them for the fifteenths dew to his Maty : since the former order given on his behalfe hath prooued ineffectuall to him, his Matys pleasure is that you authorize him to receaue the sayd two summes of 900. and 200lis and that you appointe the sayd persons to pay the same to him. I shall neede to add no more, but that you may see, the Kinge hath a very good opinion of Mor de Marces, and a sense of some seruice he hath done him, otherwise you would not haue receaued this commande from him, by the hande of, Sr, your very affectionate humble Servt,

EDW. HYDE

COLL. this 15. of *febb*. 1656

CULLEN this 29. of *febr*: (1656)

Sr, I haue yours of the 31. of January which came not to my handes till the last weeke, and I forbore to answer it till now, supposinge you would not be sooner come to Paris. ffor your men of warr, I know not what to say, they are so fantastick and humorous, that till wee can exercize such a iurisdiction ouer them as to compell them to keepe good order, I care not how little we haue to do with them. In Spayne, I heare they haue sent up an agent to Madrid, to offer to engage in that Kings seruice, and Capt. Martin at Dunkirke hath desyred a commissyon from that Admiralty : But I doubt not, when the Kinge himselfe shall be in fflanders, which I hope will be very speedily, and that by the next post I may send you newes to that purpose : those ffrygates which are manned with his owne subiects, will choose to come into his Matys seruice, & take commissyons from him, and for the rest lett them do as they see cause : you shall

<sup>a</sup> The necessity of this step was rendered imperative by the second article of the new treaty between Cromwell and the French Court providing against any aid to the *enemies* of either ; and also ' that neither of the Confederates shall harbor, or permit their people to harbor, any *pirates* or *robbers* '—terms lavishly applied to Charles's cruisers.

<sup>b</sup> See *ante*, p. 876. This extraordinary anxiety on the part of Charles to pay a particular debt makes one wish to ascertain its cause. Unfortunately there is no means of satisfying so reasonable a curiosity.



do well to encourage Capt: Smith<sup>a</sup> and Capt: Beart to gett up as many seamen English as they can, and to come to Dunkirke or Ostende, wher they will be wellcome.

For your owne condicon, I am very sorry it is no better, yett in one respecte I did not thinke it so good, for I neuer imagined your receipte would have inabled you vpon the assignements the Kinge had given you to haue discharged all your debts at Paris, and thought it would haue prooued well if you were inabled to pay those which were most crying and importunate, which God knowes the poore Resident at Bruxells is not able to doe, but is euery day in danger of an affronte. I am sure you doe not belieue I envy you any advantage you have reaped : I wish it greater with all my heart, and shall alwayes contribute towards it with all my credit ; but trust me I am often putt to answers & replies that I know not how to go through with, when they who know the Duke of Yorke's receipts as Admirall, confidently averr that the King's haue not bene so little as 5000 pistolls, and enquire how mch hath bene payd to his vse. Therefore as soone as you can, send me such an accounte (which neede not be uoluminous) as I may vpon occasyon satisfy his Maty in that affayre, that I may the more confidently propose any thinge on your behalfe, which I shall doe very heartily as, Sr, your most affectionate servt,

EDW. HYDE

Sir Ri: Browne

*Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer*

Right Honble, I returned hither on Sunday night ; and Munday morninge Mr Locker<sup>b</sup> from Mr. Crumwell came into this towne, and had yesterday eueninge publick solemne audience of K. Q. and Cardl. Hee hath bought a coach and talks of hyreinge a house, and though he thus insinuates himselfe as Envoye, yett it is belieued hee will within few weekes produce a latent Commission, and take vpon him the title of Ambassr : Monsieur le Comte de Briene<sup>c</sup> sayd thus much to 668 : 192 : 95 ; whom I was faine to visit *en particulier* by reason of some thinges I left in his hands. *Yf this should cause any alteration in his Maties intentions of continuinge a publike Minister here* (as perhaps much may be sayd *pro* and *con*), I beseech your Honr to giue me timely notice : that yf I remoue, I may dismiss my house and forbear to make a new household : and I pray your Honr to giue mee instructions how to carry myselfe towards 668 : 192 : 95 : whether I shall uisit him in quality of his Maties Minister or not ? The French Court will some time the next weeke remove towards the Frontier.

PARIS 19th May 1656

I haue as yett beene onely once at our Court, wher by misfortune I could not kisse ye hands of your faire daughter.

Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, I am gladd to finde by yours of the 19 that you are returned to Paris, and cannot write at large to you upon what you propose to me in this concerning your selfe, and in some forer, till wee are returned to Bruges, which I conceaue may be by the end of the next weeke : nothing being possible to be maturely weighed and considered in the moc'on we are in. I thinke wee shall be at Bruxells to-morrow or Munday, only priuately, to uisitt Don-Juan<sup>d</sup>, nothinge being to be

<sup>a</sup> Captain Smith was taken prisoner about a year afterwards, as related in the weekly journals. 'Letters come from Plymouth which give an account of a good prize newly taken, and brought in thither by the *Sapphire* frigate. It bears the name of a Brest man-of-war, new built, of 30 guns. He was met with about the Land's End, and had aboard two captains, the one named Meldrum, a famous pirate ; the other named Smith, who sailed by virtue of a commission from Charles Stuart.'

<sup>b</sup> Lockhart soon became a great favourite with Mazarin. He did remain at Paris, and was very active there in 1659. See the *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii, p. 547.

<sup>c</sup> The French Secretary of State.

<sup>d</sup> Don John of Austria ; formerly Viceroy of Catalonia, and recently appointed Governor of Flanders. Lord Clarendon, in his *History*, vol. iii, p. 478, mentions some anecdotes respecting him and the Earl of Bristol, his belief in astrology, &c.



publicly declared on our behalfe till the returne of the Enuoy fro' Spayne, but we haue no cause but to hope very well.

Ther can be no reason for you to discontinue your old frendshipp and neighborwoode with 668 : 192 : 95 : who truly I believe wishes us uery well, and can do no other then he does : when you see him, remember my service to him, and tell him I doubte not but I shall yett lyue to meete him at Whitehall. I shall now heare from you euery weeke, and shall not neede to put you in minde not to omitt to write constantly to Mr Secretary<sup>a</sup> : I shall be gladd to know how your frends do in Englande, who I doubte not continue ther kindnesse to you : If nothinge be done by the ffrech Courte to discountenance you, you will not putt off your house, till the Kinge giues you full order. I pray informe your selfe who of either Nac'on performe most respects to Mr Lockyer. I wish you all happinesse, & am uery heartily, Sr, your most affectionate humble Servt,

ANTWERPE this 26: May (1656)

EDW. HYDE

The letter which included the examinac'ons of the Spy<sup>b</sup> is not yett arriued heare, so that wee haue a very obscure informac'on of that affayre, nor can I imagine what seruice the rogue (whome I know well) could do in these partes, to deserve the charge he hath beene to them. I heare the Life of Cardinall Richelieu is newly come out, or in the presse, I wish you could send it to me<sup>c</sup>.

*Sir Richard Browne to the Chancellor of the Exchequer<sup>d</sup>*

Right Honble, I did not vntill now know of your Honrs beinge in personall attendance on his Maty. This ignorance of mine nott onely depriued me the contentment of beinge assured that I had soe worthy a friend soe neere my Royal Maister, butt also made me guilty of an omission of nott sooner giuing notice accordinge to my duty of my returne unto this my former station : for which I humbly crave your Honrs pardon.

The French Court parted hence a weeke since, and remaines yett at Compeigne. Yesterday came newes that the Marll : de Turene had defeated 4 Regiments of horse, and taken a small place : yf true, a good beginninge of this Campaigne.

Mr Locker, Mr Cromwells Envoye, followes the Court : before his going hence he declared to a person of quality, that he had by him, and would ere long produce, a Commission to be Ambassador ; notwithstandinge that I haue publicly (since my returne hither) appeared in the French Court in presence both of this K. & Queene, and twice beene with the Count of Brienne, yett I find nothinge at all of any the least intimation to retire<sup>e</sup> : And the other day in conference with my Lord Jermyn, his opinion was that this State would permitt me to remaine here as long as his Maty thought good : soe that I expect to heare what his Maties pleasure will bee, in this particular : forbearinge in the meane time to engage for the continuance of my house, or to make a new family : humbly intreating your Honr, that yf his Maty thinke fitt to continue mee here, you will please to move for a settlement of my subsistence uppon some good and well assured funds, without which I shall soone lapse into a very sad condition.

In the conuersation I have had abroad in my trauail, as well as here in Paris since my returne had with the French Protestants, I find them generally much inuolved in Cromwells interests, he hauinge dexterously insinuated into their

<sup>a</sup> Sir Edward Nicholas.

<sup>b</sup> See *post*, p. 881.

<sup>c</sup> The Cardinal seems to have been reckoned a conjuror or prophet by some folks at this period. One of the London newspapers called the *French Intelligencer* says, ' There hath been lately a prophesie found in the Priory of Cardinal Richelieu at Paris, written by his own hand, wherein he foretells the wofull calamities of the family of Stuart, descending from the Lyon, that is, King James, for so he was called, by reason that he brought the rampant Lyon figured upon his breast, in the world with him. He likewise predicts three changes of Government, and domestic divisions ', &c.

<sup>d</sup> Though without signature or address, this letter is evidently from Sir Richard Browne to Sir Edward Hyde.

<sup>e</sup> The temporizing policy of the French Court, still unwilling openly to concede all that Cromwell demanded, yet fearful to offend the Protector by abrupt dismissal of his Envoy, appears in these allusions.



belief that he will maintaine them in the enjoyment of ther preuiledges: a more manifest demonstration of their good inclinations to him may also doubtlessee, their hauinge since Lockers arriuall effaced the name of *Kinge* out of the inscription of the Seate for the English Ambassadors at Charanton, and left only '*pour les Ambassadeurs de la Grand Bretagne*'.

*Olim tempus erit magno cum optaverit emptum  
Intactum Epigraphen.*

And in their discourse uppon all occasions, they fervently declare their great good wishes of the prosperity of the army of the Kinge of Sweden as abettinge uppon that hand in order to the ruine of Antichrist, vnder that Kinge and Crumwells banners<sup>a</sup>.

I humbly beseech your Honr to direct mee how I shall henceforwards addresse my letters unto you. Soe praying for &c.

PARIS 2nd June 1656

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, I had not tyme the last weeke to acknowledge yours of the 23. (whiche I hope you excuse) and I have since receaued your other of the 30. in answer to both which I can say no more, then that you shall be sure of all the seruice I can do you upon all opportunityes, and I hope any improvement of our fortune will administer these opportunityes:—you shall doe well seasonably and naturally to pursue that discourse to Ld. Jermin concerninge your stay ther, and draw an advise from him hither for your reuocac'on, and then wee shall know what is next to be done. All the papers concerninge Martin wee have, and would be gladd to know what is become of the fellow, and whether he be yett hanged, and what goodly confessyon he made in that season<sup>b</sup>. God send us once a good turne, wch it may be may not be farr off: and then we shall have more frends and I hope lesse neede of them. I perceave your spiritts in Paris are not so composed, but that ill accidents may cause some disorders amongst you, and those people do belieue that your designe before Valenciennes may be frustrated; it is a greate stake, and these as much concerned to preserve and you to possesse it. Wee expecte howrely newes of some action before it: I have beene misinformed if Cardinal Richelieu's life be not in the presse. I wish you all happinesse, and am very heartily, Sr, your most affectionate Servt,

E. H.

BRUGES this 7 of July (1656)

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

BRUGES this 11. of Aug. (1656)

Sr, it is uery true, I haue besydes your last of the 4: of this moneth, your other of the 21. and 28. of the last upon my hands, the subiecte of both which beinge such, as I could not discourse upon, before my Ld of Bristolls arriuall<sup>c</sup>, to whom you referred me, I forbore to say any thinge till I could speake to the purpose, and he arrived not till Sunday last: and you will easily believe that in this little tyme wee have not bene able to conferr of halfe the matters of importance which are necessary for present consultac'on: yett wee have spoken of your businesse, wherein I perceive he is farr from hauinge any positive opinion, nor have either

<sup>a</sup> Of all this private history of political chicane the French Court could not have been ignorant. In some respects it may explain the course they found it expedient to hold between the cause of Charles and the demands of Cromwell. Certainly the Protestants had no reason to wish well to Charles.

<sup>b</sup> See *ante*, p. 880.

<sup>c</sup> The hopes and designs of the Royal partisans, now carrying on a rapid intercourse with their friends in England, and seeing happy omens for themselves in the distrust manifested by Cromwell in regard to his own personal security, account for the tone and manner of this letter. Soon after its date Lord Bristol was left as the King's agent at Brussels, whilst the King and his Court went to Bruges, &c. See the Clarendon *State Papers*, vol. iii, pp. 308-10.



of us yett spoken with the Kinge of it : Wee haue many thinges under debate, which must be præliminary to any determinac'on in that pointe, therefor you must haue a little patience, and be confident if you are designed to continue that imployment, prouisyon must be made for your reasonable supporte, and it cannot be most [more] secure then upon that pension, but whether you are to be continued ther I cannot yett tell ; shortly wee may. I do not finde that the Queene or my Ld Jermin haue writt or sent any opinion upon it : I am of your opinion in the matter of Monr Lyon, nor can I discover the least footesteppe of a treaty betweene the 2 Crownes, nor is Madrid a place of that secrecy, but the Venetian Ambassadour in that Courte would discover it. I pray informe your selfe as particularly as you can of Mor Orleanes, whose visitt in this season is not merely upon complement. It is not possible to give such an accounte of our affayres heare, as may satisfy the curiosity of our frends, since if what is intended be not kept secrett, wee shall have little fruites of it : trust me, so farr, as to be confident, our condic'on is very hopefull, and I am as confident that I shall lyue to see you at Whitehall, and serve you ther as, Sr, your very affectionate humble Servt,

EDW. HYDE

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr, hauinge replied as particularly as I can in my last to what concernes your owne particular, I should not at this tyme (when I have very much to do) acknowledge yours of the 11. were it not to desyre your fauour in transmittinge the inclosed. I receaved a letter from Mr. Bourdon, whom I well knew at my beinge at St Sebastians, and I am gladd that ther is such a distinction made ther, for he writes me worde that since the Edicte for the turninge out of towne all the English, Irish, and Scotts, ther is a seconde order, that excepts all those that can make it evident that they are good subiectes to his Maty, and therefore he hath desyred such a certificate, having as he sayes hitherto preserved himselfe by producinge some letters which I writt to him at my beinge at Madrid : I have in the inclosed sent him what I conceive may do him good, and have derected it as he aduised, to Bourdeaux<sup>a</sup>.

We exspecte the Duke of Yorke here very speedily, and then wee shall come the sooner to a resolution in that pointe which concernes you. I pray lett us know more of Don Michel de Castile, and of Mr. Locker : I would be gladd you would send me (if you have it by you) the life of the Connestable De Desguynes, which they say is well written. I wish you all happiness, and am very heartily, Sr, your most affectionate humble Servt,

EDW. HYDE

BRUGES this 18: of Aug: (1656)

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

BRUGES this 25. of Aug. (1656)

Sr<sup>b</sup>, I have yours of the 18, and as you have greate reason in this perplexed and unsteady condic'on wee are all in, to desyre to know as soone as may be what your owne lott will be, so, you must not wonder that your frends cannot give you so speedy satisfaction in it, as they wish ; wee shall shortly I hope see the Duke of Yorke heare, and then that matter will be most properly and seasonably consulted ; besydes, the case is now very different from what it was understoode to be, when you returned to Paris, for the Romance of Don Miguell will prove authentique History, and it may be Mr. Lockier may retyre with lesse glory then he entred, and Sr R: Browne stay ther with more respecte : ther is one thinge no doubtte you may depend upon, which is, if you are continued ther, some fitt assignac'on will be made for your supporte, and if you are called away, no doubtte your Master will thinke of some other prouisyon and imployment for you. Our businesse does not goe so ill, but that wee may reasonably hope that wee shall all have somewhat to doe. The Declarac'on of the freedome of

<sup>a</sup> This transaction seems to have had reference to the expected war between Spain and the English Commonwealth.

<sup>b</sup> The hopes of the Royal partisans were now reviving rapidly, as the whole tenor of this letter makes clear.



the Portes is now published accordinge to our heartes desyre, and many other evidences given us, of a full affection from Spayne, and if they do not do all for us that wee desyre, it is only because they are not able : nor are they so weake, and unable to helpe us, nor Mr. Cru'well at so much ease or so confident of his new parliamt that wee have reason to dispayre of better dayes, or that we may not *eate cherryes at Deptforde* agayne.

I returned you by the last post an answer to what was desyred from St Sebastian, which I præsume you received and have sent forward. I do believe ther will be occasyon for me the beginninge of the next weeke to repayre to Bruxells and Antwerpe, and therefore if you please lett your letters be putt under couer to Sr H. De Vic, or Mr. John Shaw at Antwerpe : Sr H. De Vic complaynes he knew not of your returne to Paris, till some letters from you came into his handes to be sent to a 3d. person. Corresponding with each other may be usefull to you both. I am, Sr, your most affectionate Servt, E. H.

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr,—I haue yours of the 8. upon my hands, and this last nyght at my cominge I founde your other of the 22. and how longe I shall stay heare I knew not, my businesse dependinge upon the pleasure of others, who will mooue faster or slower as they haue a minde to it, and the ill newes of the losse of Valenza, and the march you haue putt this army to make, by your attempt upon la Chappelle<sup>a</sup>, makes the season lesse fitt for those kinde of negociac'ons then I belieue other wise it would haue prooved ; howeuer I hope sometyme the next weeke to be agayne at Bruges, and then after the Kinge hath conferred with the Duke of Yorke, I conceaue some resoluc'ons will be taken concerninge your owne particular, and it may be the Cardinall<sup>b</sup> will finde wee can be as angry as hee, and with more reason : I will enquire of the letter you say was writt to the Jesuite, and I pray haue as strict an eye upon the Knight, and informe your selfe of him, as you can : and likewise of the moc'ons of the Cardinall de Retz<sup>c</sup> which is an intrigue I do not understande : you must excuse me for writinge so impertinently at this tyme, when the truth is, I haue so much to doe, that I hardly gett this tyme to write at all : and I pray lett me heare from you of any thinge you thinke fitt to imparte, I mean when I am fro' Bruges, for whilst I am ther, your letters to the good Secretary will serue us both : God send us good newes fro' England, which is expected by, Sr, your very affectionate Servt,

ANTWERPE this 29: Sept: (1656)

EDW. HYDE

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr,—I had not tyme the last post to acknowledge yours of the 29. of the last moneth, and I haue since, by your reasonable guesse of the slownesse of all dispatches heare, receaued your other by the last post without a date, which was the only one I receaued fro' Paris, all my other frends conceauinge as they had reason that I would be at Bruges, and therby they are all now without any letter fro' me. The truth is, my stay heare hath beene beyonde all possible expectac'on, and hath so tyred my patience, that though this day be not like to giue so good an ende to my businesse as I desyre, yett I resolute (God willing)

<sup>a</sup> An allusion to the events of the Low Country wars, and the campaign in Italy. The Valenza here mentioned is in the Milanese, and was taken, at this period, by the Duke of Modena and the Duke of Mercœur.

<sup>b</sup> Mazarin.

<sup>c</sup> De Retz had always been extremely active during the contest between the King and Princes. He was the bitter enemy of Mazarin, and also of Condé, playing a double part, and ruling the Duke of Orleans in all things. De Retz also, before this period, had been joined in an accusation brought against Charles, as the mere creature of Cardinal Mazarin. We quote the *Mercurius Politicus* of July 1, 1652 : 'In the mean time the Cardinal, by his creatures, the pretended King of Scotland, the Cardinal Retz, Madame Chevreuse, Monsieur le Chasteauneuf, and Montagu, have plaied their game so well that they have drawn the Duke of Lorraine to declare for the King, and to forsake the cause of the Princes.'



to be gone to morrow towards the Kinge, from whom I haue been now about a fortnight : Wee are willing to believe that these seasonable raynes will dispose both armyes to enter into ther winter quarters, and then wee shall do our businesse the better : Ther is a discourse of the Marq : of H. . . . court goinge this winter into Spayne, which meethinkes yett he should not haue leaue to doe : you menc'n your neighbour the Venetian Ambassadour, but you neuer speake of your next neighbour my old friend the Holl: Ambassadour<sup>a</sup>, I would gladly know what he thinkes of these alterac'ons, and whether his old affections continue to us : I haue nothinge to add but hearty wishes of your happinesse fro' Sr, your most affectionate Servt,

EDW. HYDE

ANTWERPE this 13. of Octob: (1656)

Sir Ri: Browne

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne*

Sr,—I must give you many thanks for your fauour of the 25. And the great ciuility you expresse to me, which I assure you you will finde returned to you by all the seruices I can doe : it is indeede to melancholique a tyme, to feele any praferment<sup>b</sup> with that *gusto* that it hath vsed to carry with it, and I wish that considerac'on would abate somewhat of the enuy that will attende it, but wee must submitt to the burthen and uneasinesse of the last, without any refreshment from the former : I hope the tyme is not far off, that God Almighty will give some change to the sadd condic'on of our poore Master, and then wee his seruants shall haue abundant matter to reioyce in, be our condic'on what it will : myne, trust me, will be much the more pleasant to me, if it shall giue me any power to lett you see how heartily I am, Sr, your most affectionate Servt,

BRU: this 5. of feb: 1658

EDW. HYDE

Sir Ri: Browne

*Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne<sup>c</sup>*

Sr,—I doe very seldome trouble you with my letters, knowing very well that the good Secretary<sup>d</sup> informes you of all things that passe here : But I write now vpon a particular occasion, in which his Majesties honour is concerned : and justice and charitie obliges vs to doe all wee can : and though you are not in your publique capacity, and soe cannot move any thing in the Kings name, I doe beseech you for charities sake, to take a little paynes to informe your selfe and therevpon to apply your selfe to my Lord Jermyn, or Mr. Montague<sup>e</sup> on the poore mans behalfe : and I cannot but presume but they will so farre interpose, and vse their credit, that there may be no further proceeding vpon so foul an arrest, but yt the man may be sett at liberty ; and if it be possible, with some reparation. You cannot but remember that scandallous arrest of the Parliament of Rennes, whilst the King was at Paris, of which the Court being informed was so ashamed, that they gaue present order in it, which I thought had beene so effectually, that there would have beene no record left of it : nor did I since heare any thing of it, till within those last fourteen dayes Mr. Crowther told mee that Mr. Bullen was in prison vpon the same arrest. I presume ye Duke

<sup>a</sup> Mynheer Borell, before referred to.

<sup>b</sup> An allusion to his own appointment as Lord High Chancellor of England, shortly after the Great Seal had been surrendered by Lord Keeper Sir Edward Herbert. Curious anecdotes respecting its surrender may be found in Clarendon's *History*, vol. iii, pp. 411, 412. It was not very long after this that the Duke of York was privately married to the Chancellor's daughter. A serious misunderstanding had for some time existed between Charles and the Duke, and a separation between them had actually taken place whilst the former, during great part of 1657, resided at Bruges.

<sup>c</sup> This letter only bears the signature and postscript of Lord Clarendon.

<sup>d</sup> Sir Edward Nicholas.

<sup>e</sup> After diligent search it has been found impossible to ascertain to whom this letter alludes. Lord Jermyn and the Abbé Montague were at this time in active confidence with the Queen at Paris, as appears from a letter of the Marquis of Ormond to the Chancellor, written in 1659. *Clarendon State Papers*, vol. iii, p. 547.

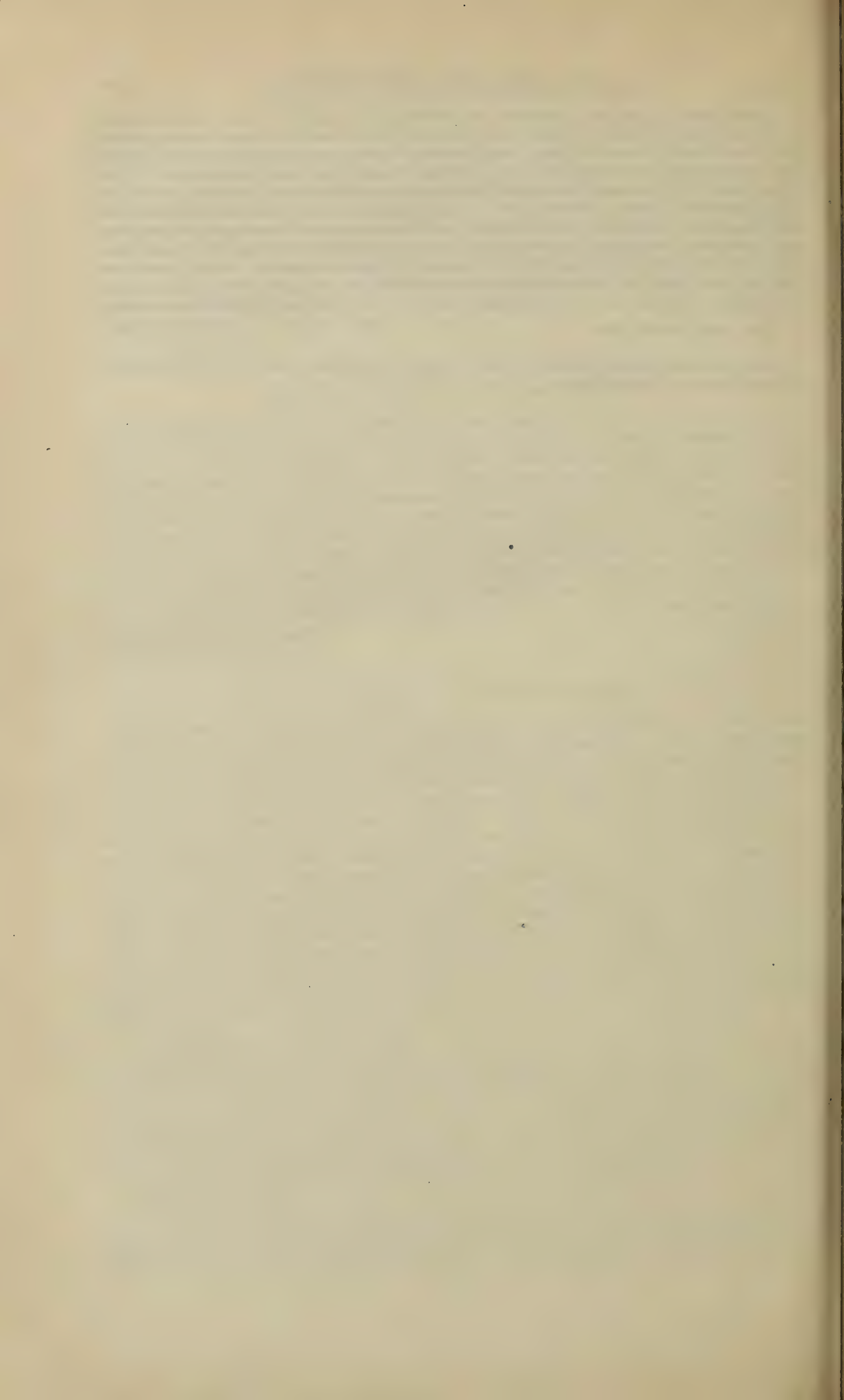
of Yorke hath, vpon the addresses about that time made to him, recommended it to some sollicitation ; howeuer the enclosed letter com'ing to my hands within these two dayes, and the King being absent at this time from hence, I cannot but recommend the matter to you, and doe desire you upon perusall of . . . his letter, and the processe, which will informe you of all that I can say, that you will likewise take the paynes, if it be necessary, to call vpon the Superiour of the Benedictines for the other papers, and therevpon to take such course, that such letters of evocation may bee sent, as are necessary ; & that the poore man may bee sett at liberty, and out of danger of future vexation : and I hope the conjunction may not be vnfavourable towards the advancement of such acts of justice. I wish you all happiness, and am, Sr, your very affectionate servt,

BRUX: 16th August 1659

EDW. HYDE

If Sr George Carterett be in towne, desyre him from me to do all the good offices he can in this affayre.





A SELECTION FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE

OF

SIR RICHARD BROWNE

AMBASSADOR AT PARIS





# SELECTION FROM THE CORRESPONDENCE

OF

## SIR RICHARD BROWNE

THE subjoined extracts are taken exclusively from the letters and papers of Sir Richard Browne, Evelyn's father-in-law, of whom such frequent mention is made in the *Diary* and Correspondence now brought to a close. They will be found to refer chiefly to matters strictly historical, having been selected for the occasional new facts they contribute to that series of remarkable events which form the subjects of the various correspondences contained in this volume. They require little illustration, beyond what has incidentally been supplied in notes already given. The first paper contains instructions for Browne's special embassy to Holland; but, with this exception, all the extracts given relate to his official residence in Paris, in the interval between 1642 and 1651. What followed the latter year has been the subject of the correspondence just given between himself and Clarendon. If the reader refers to the *Diary*, p. 188, he will observe that it was shortly after the date when the last of these letters was written, the result of the fight of Worcester having put a decided close to all further Royalist effort for the time, that Sir Richard Browne sent his son-in-law Evelyn over to 'compound with the soldiers', and take possession of Sir Richard's seat at Sayes-Court, Deptford, with a view to permanent residence, 'there being now so little appearance of any change for the better, all being entirely in the rebels' hands'. Shortly after Evelyn had so left Paris, at which his young wife was to remain, with her father, till Sayes-Court should be prepared for her reception, Sir Richard Browne had to communicate a piece of news of much domestic interest to his son-in-law, and his notes on the occasion may be given here not inappropriately, whether as specimens of Sir Richard's more intimate and friendly manner of writing, or as connected very closely with the family story of the Evelyns. The first is dated from Paris, on the 11th of May, 1652. 'Dear Son,—Dick Hoare hath formerly given you notice of the safety of your lost half, or half lost Ben: Johnson, and will also tell you by what good fortune I have (paying the half-pistole) got possession of your letter post. I am now to acquaint you, that your wife will (God blessing her with safety) bring you a depositum you left behind you here, of far greater value, viz. a *Hans in Kelde*, a young cavalier, who hath within these few days unexpectedly discovered his vivacity, and plainly manifests his intention within few months to come forth, and be a citizen of this world. This (though yet a secret here) is so real a certainty, that I exceedingly joy to give you this first notice thereof. And if grandfathers love more tenderly their remote offspring, you will not I hope envy me my share in the great contentment, who so passionately wish you and yours all happiness, under God's eternal, and the temporary blessing of your ever dearly loving father, to serve you, R: BROWNE'. —The second is dated three days later, and addressed 'My son Evelyn'. Thus it runs: 'Dear Son,—Lest what I sent you by the last post should by accident have gone astray, I now repeat what much concerns you to know, that you may, as soon as may be, participate our joy, the nature whereon is to be diffusive. Your wife, by being since your departure so free from nausea's and other ordinary indications of child-bearing, hath so deceived us, that until very lately, we scarce other ways than in wishes thought of so great a blessing; of the certainty whereof there is now no doubt to be made, though as yet it be here so much a secret, that none but my wife and I and your maid do know it. God accomplish prosperously this His mercy, to His glory, your comfort, and the singular contentment of your dearly loving father to serve you, RICHARD BROWNE'.

*Instructions for our trusty & well-beloued Seruant Richard Browne, Clerke of our Privy Councell &c. (in 1640)*

CHARLES R.—Hauing occasion to send a person of trust into Holland, unto our deare Sister the Queene of Bohemia, and our Nephew the Prince Elector Palatin, Wee are pleased to make choise of you for the imployment, and for your better direction therein, to prouide you with the Instructions following :



You shall represent unto our Sister, and Nephew<sup>a</sup>, (wee being informed he hath a desire to pase over into these partes) how inconuenient it would be for our seruice if att present he should undertake the journey, and that wth all, it can noe ways aduantage his owne affaires, since we shall still haue the same care and affection for them, in his absence, as if he were present, and now especially in this Treaty between us and the States of the Vnited Provinces, and the Prince of Orange, wherein his interests shall not be forgotten.

That for the paper wch Sr Richard Cave<sup>b</sup> hath given us, Wee find it soe directly contrary to the interests of the States, and in itselke impracticable, that from that ground, Wee cannot hope any effects conducible to the good of our Nephewes affaires, yet in the present Treaty we are resolu'd to endeaour ye interest of him, and the House Palatene, soe farre as the present conjuncture of affaires will permit, it being one of the principall motiues that induced us to harcken to this Alliance wth the States, and the Prince of Orange.

You are further to giue our Sister and Nephew, all reall assurances of our loue and affection to them, and particularly of our desires, that all misunderstands (if such there chaunce to haue bin) that haue happened either in circumstance or otherways, concerning the ouuertures of this Marriage<sup>c</sup> intended betweene our eldest daughter and the Prince of Oranges son, may be taken away : Wee foreseeing that nothing can be of more aduantage to them in their present condition, then that there be a cleare vnderstanding, and all reall friendship betweene them, and the Prince and Princesse of Orange : wch you are effectually to represent vnto them by all the arguments and reasons you can frame, and of what dangerous consequence the contrary may be to their interests and restitution.

You shall likewise give unto our Sister and Nephew, a true and particular knowledge of the state of the Treatyes betweene us and the States Ambassadors (as our principall Secretary shall informe you) as well of that of the Marriage, as of ye Confederation, in the latter of which, we are resolu'd (as aforesaid) to take a special care of their interests.

You are to acquaint them, that although the two Treatyes are not come as yett to a conclusion, neuerthesse hauing been pressed by the Prince of Orange, that his son might passe into England before his going to the Field, Wee haue so farre giuen our assent thereunto as that wee haue left it to him, to doe therein as he shall thinke fitt.

You are to impart these our Instructions vnto Sr William Boswell our Resident, and to take his aduise in all things that may concerne our seruice, and you are wth him to addresse your selfe in our name to the Prince & Princesse of Orange, & to passe like offices wth them for the endeaouring & settling of a good understanding betweene our deare Sister, our Nephew, and them, according as wee soe earnestly desire, and their interest requires : Giuen under our Signe-manuall att our Court at Whitehall ye 23th of Febru: 1640. (Signed) H. VANE

Indorsed : ' His Maties Instructions to Mr. Browne, going into Holland 1641 '.

*Instructions for our trusty and welbeloued Richard Browne, Esq. one of the Clerkes of our Privy Councell, and our Agent wth our good brother the most Christian King : (in 1641)*

CHARLES R.—Wee hauing occasion to imploy our right trusty and right welbeloued Cousin the Earle of Leycester<sup>d</sup>, our extraordry Ambassadr with our

<sup>a</sup> The Elector Palatine had been in England before this date, and was then elected Knight of the Garter. In consequence of the present negotiation, he did not proceed to England until 1643, two years afterwards. Charles the First may already have suspected the young Prince of the design which he afterwards did not scruple to carry into effect by joining the party arrayed against his uncle.

<sup>b</sup> This Sir Richard Cave appears to have been much engaged in the affairs of Holland and the Palatinate. In Bromley's Collection of Royal Letters he is mentioned by the Count Palatine in a letter to the Queen of Bohemia, as Captain Cave ; he was then serving in the army, and occasionally employed in diplomatic affairs.

<sup>c</sup> The marriage took place on the 2nd of May, 1641, when the Princess was only twelve years of age ; and it is a curious fact in Charles's private history, that it was celebrated with great magnificence in the interval between the sentence and the execution of the Earl of Strafford.

<sup>d</sup> Robert Sidney, nephew of the gallant Sir Philip.



good brother the French King, in the gouvernement of our Realme of Ireland, as our Lieutenant generall there, and to that end being now to recall him from his employment in France: Wee haue that confidence of your fidelity, and abilities, and particularly of your experience in those parts, that wee haue thought fitt to make choice of you for to be our Agent there, and that you may the better acquitt your selfe in that charge, you shalbe provided with the instructions following:

First vpon your arriuell in that kingdome, you shall addresse yoreselfe vnto our said Ambassadr extraordry for to be by him presented vnto that King, to whom you shall delieur yor l'res of Credence, and impart your charge:

And when you shalbe thus admitted to his presence, you shall in due, and the best manner, lett him know the great affection wee beare to his person, and the good aduancement and prosperity of him and his affaires, and how much wee doe desire, according to the antient friendship and strait obligations betweene us, to maintaine all good intelligence and correspondence. To wch end, that there may be nothing wanting on our part, We haue now, vpon the comming away of our Ambassadr, sent you to reside there: And soe you are accordingly to make this your principall aime, as it is indeed the proper charge of all Ambrs. Legats, and Agents, to nourrishe and maintayne a good correspondence betwixt the two Crownes.

And therefore you are to informe yoreselfe of all former Treatyes, and more especially of the last and most freshe in practice, betweene these Crownes, being the rule by wch the proceedings of the subjects of both sides are to be regulated.

And that you may better know wherein Wee, or our subjects, are any wayes concerned in those parts, whether in suites, processes, or otherwayes, you are to take all fitting and necessary information from our said Ambassadr, and what businesse shalbe left in agitation by him for ore seruice, you are in our name to continue the prosecution thereof, and to giue account of yor proceedings therein.

Another part of your charge is, that you watch carefully ouer the motions of that State where you are, what treaties, alliances, assistances, or ennemyties shalbe moued with other States openly, or vnderhand, wherein our affaires may be any wayes concerned; and for yor better light and information herein, you are to keepe intelligence wth our Ambassadors and Agents wth other Princes and States, to whom wee will giue orders to correspond wth you.

And as there shall further occasion arise for you to negotiate in, for our seruice, you shall receiue directions, either immediately from our selues, or from our principall Secretaries in our name, wch you are to obserue & follow, as if it came vnder our owne hand, and from time to time to aduertise them (or vs as the importance of the occasion may require) of all yore proceedings, and what soeuer else may come to yore knowledge, wch may be usefull and necessary for the good of our affaires. :—Whitehall the 23th of July 1641.

H. VANE

'Instructions for Mr. Browne'.

July 23, 1641

CHARLES R.—Nostre feal et bien amé Richard Browne, Gentilhom'e de Nostre Chambre Privée, Secretaire en Nostre Conseil Privée, et Nostre Resident en France, salut. Comme ainsi soit que ceux contre qui Nous auons a faire presentemt touchant le reste des derniers Dotaulx<sup>a</sup> de Nostre tres chere Epouse la Reyne, se veulent servir contre Nous de certains pretendus Ordres donnez l'un au mois d'Octobre 1633, par feu Nostre Grand Thresorier<sup>b</sup>: l'autre par Nour du 20me Jun 1639 a Barwick. Nous vous declarons & tous aultres qu'il appar-tiendra, que Nous desauouons celuy pretendu du dit N're Grand Thresorier, com'e estant donné hors son pouuoir, et contre le bien de Nos affaires et interests, & contre Nostre intention. Et pour celuy donné au dict Barwick, Nous le reuoquons absolument, com'e ayant esté tiré de Nous par surprise & du tout contre Nre intention & le bien de Nos affaires. Ce que vous declarez et noti-

<sup>a</sup> This resumption in regard to the Queen's dowry was to facilitate supplies from the Continent; her Majesty at this precise period transmitting to the King a considerable sum of money raised upon the pawned jewels of the Crown. She had gone to Holland on the 23rd of February preceding.

<sup>b</sup> Richard Weston, Earl of Portland.



fierez quand ainsi vous adviserez éstre affaire. Et pour ce faire, ces Nos Lettres vous seront Garrant et Authorité suffisante. Donn   sous Nostre signet le dixneufiesme jour de Juillet a Nre Cour a Beuerley, 1642, l'an XIIIXme de N're Regne.

A Nre feal et bien am   Richard Browne, Gentilhom'e de N're Chambre Priv  e, Sec're en N're Conseil d'Estat & Priv  , et N're Residt en France. 1642

CHARLES R.—Trusty and well beloved Wee greet you well. Whereas one Walter Strickland<sup>a</sup> hath bin very lately sent in ye name of both Houses of Parliamt heere with credentials to treat with ore Allyes the States G'rall of the United Netherlands, as pretended, for the publick good, though without any concurrence or knowledge of Us, which We must interprett the highest act of affront & disobedience wch hath bin committed against or Royall person & dignity; And this example leading us to a beleefe of what Wee haue bin told, but were not apt to creditt whilist there was any shew of reverence of or knowne Regalities yet remaining, that Augier<sup>b</sup>, or some other person, is by the said Houses sent with their usurped comission into France; Wee haue thought fitt hereby to authorise & com'and you to use yre best and utmost meanes as well privatly as publickly & in Our Name to hinder & oppose any audience, countenance, or treaty in any kind to be afforded the said Augier or other whatsoeuer craving the same of ore Brother the French King, the Princes of the Blood, or any of the Protestant Party, ore Friends & Allyes, without Warrant under owre owne hand. And if, notwithstandg, Augier or any other shall prevaile, That you then in Ore Name solemnly protest there against the highest violacon of their Allyance & Friendship with Vs, against wch Wee shall seeke such reparacon as by God's assistance Wee shall be enabled. For all wch as these ore Letters shalbe yre sufficient Warrant & Protection, So we shall expect hereof yor faithfull & bounden discharge as occasion therefore shalbe offred vnto you. Giuen at ore Court at Nottingham the 12th day of Septembr in the Eighteenth yeare of ore Reigne 1642.

'To our trusty & welbeloved Richard Browne, Esq.  
Our Residt with or Brother the French King'.

Indorsed: 'From his Maty 20th day of *Sept*r 1642<sup>c</sup>'.

CHARLES R.—Trusty & welbeloved Wee greet you well. Wee beleeeve that before this Letter the Capucins<sup>d</sup> of Somersett house, or some from them, wilbe arrived at Paris & haue represented there how disgracefully they were lately entreated at London. Wee are exceedingly displeased that soe high an affront hath been put upon the Treaty between Vs & the French King Our Brother, & upon Our owne Authority. But forasmuch as this barbarous Act is the child of that monstrous Rebellion wch goes big with confusion & destruccon to our Person & Posterity as well as our Laws & Rights. Wee wilbe cleere of any imputacon thereof, disavowing the same, the authors, actors & abettors thereof, as Wee doe disavow & detest all their traytrous machinacons against Vs & the Peace of Our Kingdoms, leauing them obnoxious to the iust indignacon & revenge wch God shall inflict upon them in his due time. And to this effect Wee will & command you in Our Name to make yore addresse to Our said deare Brother the French King for his satisfaction & the discharge of Our conscience & affecon

<sup>a</sup> Strickland was afterwards a member of the House of Commons, and strenuous in the affair of the 'Self-denying Ordinance'.

<sup>b</sup> Augier had formerly been engaged in the diplomatic negotiations on the Continent with regard to the Eector Palatine.

<sup>c</sup> This letter was written a month after the King had raised his standard at Nottingham.

<sup>d</sup> An allusion to the complaints, so long existing, against the Queen's Popish attendants. So strong was the feeling on this subject, that the King, unable to resist it, was under the necessity of conceding to Parliament their demands that he should by royal proclamation require all statutes concerning Popish recusants to be put in execution, that the seven condemned Popish priests should be banished, and that all Romish priests should be ordered to depart the Kingdom in twenty days.

to Him in this regard. And soe Wee bid you farewell. Gieuen at Our Court at Oxford the 5th day of Aprill in the Nineteenth yeare of Oure Reigne, 1643.

‘To our trusty and welbeloued Richard Browne, our resident with our deere Brother the French King’.

From his Matie 5th April, 1643

The extracts which now follow are from letters written by Sir RICHARD BROWNE whilst Ambassador at Paris. They generally, but not always, indicate to whom they were addressed, but the topics sufficiently explain themselves. In a few instances, a general abstract of the subject of the letter precedes the particular extract given.

21 Oct. 1642

Richd Browne, Esq, Ambassr at Paris writes to Sr Edwd Nicholas, Secretary of State : That by his Matys late speech at . . . Shrewsbury & by other advices, he heares the possibility of a thing wch he hopes will never come to pass, that his Maty will be constrained to sell or engage his fairest parks or lands : that there is at Deptford certain pastures called Sayes Court, reserved in his Matys hand for the special service of his household, for wch being so near London, there may in these intruding times, be persons ready to deale : he beseeches Sr Edw. to move his Maty that they may not be sold, but if (wch God defend) his Maty shod have just cause to part from them, that he wod let some sufficient persons (whom he shall find out) to deale for them, have the first offer, not above 260 acres ; no man shall give a clearer light than he will, for they have been long in the custody of his ancestors, by whom the dwelling house thereon was built at their own charge, & it is the only seat he has, & is the place wherein he was borne.

To Sir Edward Nicholas

7 Nov. 1642

That [*in cypher*] doth continue his assistance to the Irish, furnishing money to buy arms, wch they send away for Ireland ; that he has made reiterated complaints by his Matys express order, & in his name, with so little success that it is useless to endeavour any more. The Irish priests as well as the soldiers flock very fast into their country & pretend bishopricks and other benefices by donation from Rome. Col. Tirel is here lately come out of Portugal and hastens into Ireland. Col. Beligne (late prisoner in England) hath obtained his liberty, & is now in this town.

To the same

9-19 Nov. 1642

The Prince of Condé lately sent for me & told me the Counsellors of France had hitherto beene contrary to his Maty, excused and asked pardon for his complyinge : bad mee assure his Maty he would henceforward do all that lay in his power to serve him, that he would in confidence advertise me (and only me) of all that passeth, and (yf neede so require) hee would himselfe endeavour assistance for his Maty.

Use may be made hereoff yf cherisht & kept secrett, especially in regard the French King is not like to live longe, & the Princes of the blood will probably have their share in governmt then yf not sooner.

To the same

13-23 Jan. 1642-3

The whole numbers of the Scotch who doe allready serve or have contracted to serve this Crowne, are,

Colonel Douglas his foot Regt . . . . .	2000
Earl of Erwin his new Regt of Guard consisting of 30 companies . . .	4500
My Lord Gray one Regt of Foote . . . . .	1000
My Lord Lundy one Regt of foote . . . . .	1000
Colonel Fullerton one Regt of foote . . . . .	1000
Earl of Laudian (is sayd) shall have auncient company of Gens d'Armes	100
	9600



## Of these, already here

Coll. Douglas Regt	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1000
The Earl of Erwins	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2000
Coll. Fullerton's	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	500
									<hr/>
									3500
									<hr/>

The rest expected, butt much difficulty to find men in Scotland.

I have seene letters lately written from a person of great quality in Scotland, bearinge the Earl of Laudian's speedy comminge over hither with his Matys leave to treatre the renewinge of the auncient allyances betweene the Crowns of Scotland and France; uppon which Treaty many particular interests depend, as, the re-establishinge the Marquis Hamilton in the Dutchy of Chatelraut, of the Marq. Douglas in that of Turenne, of restoringe the Captainship of the Scottish Archers and Guardes-du-corps to one of that nation, &c. . . . relative to which negotiations [*cypher*] and Monsr de la Ferte Imbault pretends to have in favour of him erected a new office of Colonel de la Nation Escossoise, of the same nature and in all points of profitt and honour equall to that of the Suisses.

Mr. Chambers hath very honestly beene with mee and tells mee unlesse the Earle Laudian come (as he pretends) with his Maties leave, and that his Maty doe well approve of the employment whertoo hee is designed, he shall not bee very forward so farre to quit his allegiance to his lawfull Soveraigne as to accept theroff.

I beseech yr Honr lett me receive yr orders how I shall carry myself in this business.

Monsr de la Ferte Imbault is nott only a vehement stickler for the Scotch, butt in a manner also agent for the Parliament here. I havy by me the authentique copie of a letter written lately to him by a Peere . . .<sup>a</sup> in the name of the Upper House to sollicit a businesse here. In all his discourse he rayseth their reputation to what heighth hee can, and depresseth his Maties causelessly, dishonestly, and maliciously.

*To the same*

11-21 March, 1642-3

Passports to treat for a general Peace to assemble at Munster. The Earle of Laudian with Sr T. Dishington sollicite very earnestly here for the sendinge an Ambassi into England, to treat of an accommodation, by order as is presumed of the Parlt in England, and Mr Fert Imbault is noe lesse earnest to bee the man. These three are all one and violent Parliamentarians.

[An inclosure in cypher.]

*To the same*

2-12 June, 1643

By the letters I recommended to Mr de Gressy's safe delivery, your Honr will have understood in what a miserable condition I am for want of some present supply of money, my friends haveinge plainly signified unto mee that I must expect no more from them, or from my estate in England already engaged to its utmost extent.

By the same opportunity I likewise give yr Honr notice of Sr Balt. Gerbiers manner of proceedinge here at his first arrival, since which he continues his frequent visits to the Queene, Princes, and Ministers, taking much uppon him, and using his Maties name how hee pleases uppon all occasions, not onely givinge out here, butt also writing into other parts (as I have received notice by letters from good hands) that he is sent hither by his Maty to condole about other business of great consequence. I shall be glad to know what yr Honr thinkes of this kinde of carriage of his, and whether it bee his Maties pleasure to have a pretended Ambassadr where he hath already an avowed Resident.

<sup>a</sup> In this part of the original, the words 'my lord of Holland' are scratched through with a pen.

*The Elector Palatine to Mr Browne*

Sir,—Yrs of the  $\frac{1}{2}$  past, brought along wth it soe good effects of yr endeavours in my affaires, as that besides yr owne assurances & my Residt Pawls constant testimonie of yr assiduity, the contents of what it hath procured in my favour, doth clearly confirme me in confidence, & augment my obligation towards you.

My constant ill fortune hath taught me not to stand att this time much upon formalities wth those whose helpe I need, therefore I must rest satisfied wth what the mentioned letter wants thereof, in hopes it will be supplied wth reallity when it comes to the push.

I thank you also for yr good advertisements to Pawel, & am very glad to find by yr last concerning Madlle de Rohan<sup>a</sup>, the care wch the King my gracious Vncle hath of those that doe him acceptable service. And soe desiring the continuance of yor good offices in wht still further concerne the good of my interests, I assure you that I shall euer remaine yr most affectionate friend, CHARLES

HAGHE, the 7th of Sept: 1643

' For Mr. Browne<sup>b</sup>, Residt to the King of Gr: Britt: att Paris '.

Indorsed : ' From Pr: El: Palatine 7 : Sept. 1643 '

*Sir Richard Browne to Sir Edward Nicholas* 3 Sept. 1643

[*Cypher*] concerning which moneyes as I treated with 335 . 420 (who hath very much contributed to the findinge out and sendinge this summe) hee knowinge my case, of himselfe offered mee to move 335 . 501 . to reserve here what part I would towards payment of my entertainment until they received his Maties order to put it into my hands, but I replyed that though my necessities did much presse mee, yett I would nott presume to stopp or divert any supply whatsoever sent to his Maty. Here is a very considerable quantity of 259 [and ammunition<sup>c</sup>] . 82 : 91 . 83 . sent and sendinge from hence, the particulars wheroff are I assure myselfe well knowne to his Maty and to yr Honr. — prays for money & to be preserved from perishing.

*To the same* 3 Sept. 1643

— the welcome newes of 20,000<sup>l</sup> sterling which this good Queene sends to their Maties by her Ambassr. They offered to put part into his hands, but he refused it, tho' his necessities were great, as he wod not intercept any supply sent to his Maty.

Much arms & ammunition sent : lord V. Mountague had 50,000 livres Tournois to purchase arms : 35,000 only expended : prays the other part may be orderd for him.

<sup>a</sup> This lady was only daughter of the Duke de Rohan, one of the great leaders of the Huguenot party in France ; and who signalized himself in the affairs at Rochelle and the Isle du Rhé. In Hardwicke's *State Papers* there is a letter from Sir Henry de Vic to Lord Conway, dated from the coast of France in 1627, in which she is said to be on the point of marriage with the Count de Soissons ; a match which the Duke of Buckingham also describes as most desirable for the Protestant Cause. See Hardwicke's *State Papers*, pp. 34-38. It was at one time intended by Charles the First that Prince Rupert should marry Mademoiselle de Rohan : and in the Harleian Collection there is a letter from the King to Prince Maurice in favour of the match. The Elector Palatine, Charles Louis, the writer of the letter in the text, returned soon after its date into England, where he had long been a pensioner. His brothers were constant to the Royal cause ; but he took part with the Parliament, and sat in the Assembly of Divines. The truth was, that, being the next heir to the English Crown in case the family of Charles the First were set aside, a section of the popular leaders had undoubtedly cast their thoughts towards him as a means by which some settlement might be effected similar to that which was made with the Prince of Orange between forty and fifty years later ; and there can be as little doubt that the young Elector, who had nothing amiable or generous in his disposition, and who felt bitterly his dependence on his royal uncle's generosity and charity, caught greedily at the bait held out.

<sup>b</sup> Afterwards Sir Richard.

<sup>c</sup> The words ' and ammunition ' are struck through with a pen in the original.



*To the same*

10-20 Nov. 1643

The Queene is in a manner wholly governed by Cardl Mazarine, who is secretly leagued with the Prince of Condé, but governed by Monsr de Chavigny; this last being by this means though in a close way more powerfull than ever. The whole triplicity I feare will league noe very favourable influence on England. Mr. Croft is gone to Rouen joyntly with my Ld V. Mountague & others to treat with som merchants for furnishing his Maty with armes & ammunition, &c.

*To Lord Digby*

6 Jan. 1644

Delivers the Kings passe for 100 barrells of powder, 12,000 waight of match, 2000 swords & 500 case of pistols to be by a mercht put aboard his Matys 2 men of war at Havre. The passe was drawn according to my memoire, for the king of Gr. Br. service, but the Secretary of State caused it to be new written, and those words left out: wch among many other things I have observed, makes me think, those here very far from declaring for either side in England.

*To the same*

25 March, 1644

I have received your L'sps letter of 21. Feb. that some supplies of money will speedily be sent to me, & intimating his Matys gracious pleasure to conferre upon mee (not lesse unexpected than undeserved) the dignity of Baronett; as yr Lop has happily joyned these two together, soe I humbly beseech . . . they may not be separate butt for mutual support and ornament march hand in hand. To attend yr Lops commands in both I have desired the bearer hereoff Mr. William Prettyman (a younger brother of my wife's) to make a journey to Oxford: within few dayes I shall have better opportunity to express my thankfulness more at large.

I humbly beseech yor Lp to represent my most abundant gratitude to his Maty.

*To Lord Jermyn*

3-13 June, 1644

Yr Lop hath obtained from his Maty a grant of the perpetuity here in France of 2822 livres tournois pr an. If yor Lop should not already have made sure thereof, I know not how Mr. Aubert's pretensions may interfere with this of yor Lops; for three days since his Agent here signified his Matys order to mee for payment to him of 25m livres and returning from him the diamond; which sume not being to be had out of the arreares, it is probable hee will now make a demand of the rents themselves, which if he doe obtain, and that they be made over to him in that lowe and underhand rate hee expects, he will make up his summe, sweep away not only the rents themselves, but alsoe the remaining part of the arreares.

*To Lord Digby*

June, 1644

The inclosed arret will lett yor Lp see that I have at last finished the longe dependinge suite for recovery of a remainder of His Maties portion-money longe since deposited here for the payment of certaine creditors & servants of His Matie. The rents of perpetuity tenn yeares since bought with this money, with the arrears of the sayd rents, I have been forced to wrest out of violent hands uppon the best terms I could; for to say the truth, they were in a manner swallowed up by some greedy cormorants in too great place and power here, who never thought to have thus regorged them to their true owner his Maty. Of the tenn yeares arreares of 2822 livres p. an. there are little above seaven at present to be found in ready money (the rest being nott yet payed), which present money will all be disposed off partly by the arret itselfe, and partly for necessary compositions, charges, and gratuities (as shall appeare by my just and good account), so that to his Maties profit there will come cleare only the perpetuity or rents themselves, and betweene two or three yeares arreares.

These rents stand his Matty in twelve yeares purchase, but by reason of the seasures the late French King and this have since these warres made uppon rents of this nature, and of the uncertaine condition of these times, they will not now bee sold at so good a rate as they may improve to after a general peace.

*To Lord Digby*

7-17 June, 1644

Writes earnestly for money : inevitable ruin must befall him : has not where withall to provide himself out of mourning, a new Coat and Liveries, wch will much tend to his Maties disreputation. 'I appeall to all the world whether I have not in this absolutely dearest part of Christendom for these three yeares maintained his Maties honour beyond what could be expected from my quality in these distracted times, my estate lying all in Kent and Essex yielding little or nothing, the moneys I take upp coming uppon much disadvantage, and a constant great interest paid'.

*To Lord Jermyn*

Right Honble my singular good Lord,—Accordinge to yr Lops command to send you the English newes, I now begin by this opportunity of Mr. Besse's departure: What London affords this inclosed printed will acquainte yr Lop. Besides which the letters containe little or nothings, onely some hopes of misunderstanding and diuisions amonge the Parlementary Generalls.

Yesterday the Pr: Elector Pal. his Agent came to acquaint mee that His Elec: High: hee thought was by this time in London : and to declare the cause of his journey thither to bee, partly to see what aduantages he might reape to himselfe from his Maty and Parl: according to both their promises, in case they treated an accommodac'on ; & partly to sollicit some supplies of money for ye Queene his mother and himselfe, without which they can neyther of them subsist any longer. And this hee desired mee to write to their Maties. And I thinke the same excusatory account will bee brought within fewe dayes to yr Court by Pr. Edward, who was also yesterday with mee to consult where he might most speedily and most conueniently find His Maty.

The Duke of Orleans is on his way hither, and yf what I heare be true, will visit his Maty ere long at Bourbon. Of the Duke d'Anguien's action at Fribourg, I will nott giue an account till the lame Post bee come, and then I shall send it by a speedier conueyance. It shall suffice that by this sure hand I present my humble service to yr Lop. and giue assurance of my diligent endeauours to obey yr commands. Beseeching yr Lop to take some speedy care for the subsistance of a creature of yours whose sole ambition it is to bee vsefull to you : Many haue already passed by and pitied his condition ; butt yr Lop is the Samaritan from whom alone his vrgent necessities expect that balme must cure them. In which happy omen I take the boldnesse to kisse yr Lops hands in quality off, yr Lops, most faithfull humble Servt,

RICHARD BROWNE

PARIS 19 Aug. 1644

Sr,—After seuerall negotiations betweene the Palais Cardinal and the Court of Parliament, the Queene Regent vppon Tewsdays last signified to the Parlamt that being well informed of their good intenc'ons and sincerity, she approued of their proceedings, willinge them to meet frequently and to continew dilligently their consultations for the publique good ; wth all acquaintinge them, that the Ennemy was vppon the ffrontier, and that the King wanted mony, wherefore they might doe well to bring their resolutions to maturity wthin the space of 8 dayes : since wch satisfactory answere the Parliament is uery busy in finding meanes how to reforme the abuses in the gouvernement chiefly in that of the Kings reuenews, in which worke the rest of the Parlements of ffrance will doubtlesse comply wth this of Paris. And some great Ministers may perhaps be sacrificed to the people, who have already confessed their feares by disfurnishinge their houses of their choicest moueables.

Heere is all possible care taken to furnish the Prince of Condé wth mony, and



heere is also much seeking after horses to sende to him, wherewith to remount his Caualliers ; the Prince is wth his army neere Guize, where he hath lately arrested a gent' of Piccardy (whose name is Ragny) for hauing giuen intelligence to the Spaniard, and hauing drawne great pensions from them any time this 6 or 7 yeares.

The ffrench ffeet consistinge of 13 shippes and 19 gallies hath presented it selfe vppon the coast of Naples, but as yet without any success at all.

This weeke hath safely brought hither Mr. Langton, with all your noble tokens, for all which (particularly for the rare booke to mee), I render you my hearty acknowledgements, as also your two letters of 15. & 19. June, containinge (as allways of late) feares and hopes. God in his mercy direct thinges to some tolerable end or other. I wrote to Mr. Spencer this day seauenight, as to you also ; and hope it went safe, though I find some of the former Post (none of mine, for I wrote nott) were intercepted. Our Prince being disappointed of the somme of money hee expected from the French for his iourney, goes the beginninge of the next weeke to Callice, butt with lesse traine than hee intended, which is all I can say to you of that matter, onely that all his Maties Priuie Councillors in France haue orders to attend his Highsse at Callice : my Lord Treasurer, Lord Bristoll, Sir Ed. Nicholas, are on their way thither.

Our best respects to the good company with you in the Country : where I hope you enjoy yourselues, and amongst other diuertisments with that of hay-making, the season for which now approaches ; and ought (yf you haue there had soe wett a growinge time as here) to afford you store of exercise. Farewell,  
D. S. Yours for euer.

PARIS 4. *July* 1648

From Sir Ric. Browne

Sr,—I know not yet what judgment to make, or what the euent will bee of the affaires now in agitation betweene our Royall and our pleadinge Pallace heere. For notwithstandinge that the exiled members of the Parliament be restored ; that the reuocation of the Intendants out of the Prouinces bee reslouted (three onely excepted) namely, in the Lyonnois, in Champaigne, and in Piccardy, where theire employment is restrained onely to the affaires of the armies and that ye Queene hath condescended to ye erection of a Chamber of Justice, as they terme it, wch is to consist of a selected number of Parliament men, whereof the Kinge (to saue the reputac'on of his authority) is to haue the nomination, and is established to inquire, and informe against financiers, partisans, and others that haue misbehaued themselves : yet it will be a difficult matter to reconcile other differences, for there is much dispute about the remittinge ye arrears of the Tailles of ye yeares 44, 45, and 46, and about abatinge of the 8th part of the Tailles of the yeare 47, and the fourth part of 48 and 49 ; about the regulating the impositions vppon the entry of merchandises, about the reuokinge those Edicts by which the rents vppon the Towne house and the wages of Officers are diuerted to the Kings vse, and generally whatsoever almost hath passed without the verificac'on of the Parliament, is subject to question. Nor is the Counsell altogether compliant wth the Court of Parliament, hauing lately by their arrest cashiered an arrest of Parliament against the Dutchesse of Aiguillon. Nor is the Parliament vndiuided in ittselfe, the Kinge hauinge a party there amongst whome the Sr Boulanger, Concr. in the first Chamber, two daies since pleadinge very earnestly on the Kings side, in behalf of the Partisans in whose handes he is sayd to haue great sum'es of money, fell downe dead in the House, wherevppon the Duke of Orleans retired, the meeting dissolved, and the people conclude this blow to bee a judgment of God vppon him for defendinge soe bad a cause.

Marsll de Gramont is come hither, whose privat businesse being not yet knowne, what appears is that he hath addressed himselfe to the Parliament to acquainte them wth the necessities of the army, and to demand supplyes of them, seeing all other meanes of raysinge monyes are now, by their stirringe, soe disordered, that the new sur-intendant can neither by intreatyes or threats dispose the partizans to aduance one penny till they see farther what settlement these disputes will produce.

The ffrrench ffilet is returned from the coast of Naples (not hauinge made any impression at all vppon that people) to Piombino & Portolongone. Nor doe I heare that Prince Thomas is yet embarqued.

My Lord Jermin went hence towards Callice Munday last. The Queene is returned to St. Germaines. My Lord Marqs of Ormond prepares for Irland. And my Ld Marqs of Newcastle goes next weeke towards Holand by the way of Flanders, with his Lady, &c. God blesse you and vs. And send vs a happy meetinge. Yours euer to loue and serue you.

PARIS, 18 July 1648

From Sir Ri. Browne

Sr,—The businesse of the Parlament this weeke hath been to deliberate vppon, and examine the declaration wch the King brought them, hauinge appointed fower of theire members to make report thereof vppon the 16th of this moneth; in the mean tyme they make great difficulty to obey that part thereof, wherein the Kinge com'andes them not to assemble any more in the Chambre St. Lewis; and this notwithstanding that the Duke of Orleans hath seuerall tymes beene wth them to maintaine the King's authority, and to vrge the conueniency, yf not the necessity, of theire obedience; so that, by what yet appeares, the Parlamt yf they meete not in the Chambre St. Lewis yet they will doe theire businesse in some other place, and perhaps at last make a foule house; for that is certaine, that some other Parlements of ffrance doe manifestly declare and followe theire example.

The Prince of Condé findinge great difficultyes in the reliefe of Tourné<sup>a</sup> is encamped at Bethune, there expectinge the succors yt Erlack, Vaubecour, and others are to bring to him.

At Naples the affaires betweene the King and people (ill-satisfied wth the Spaniards non-performance of treaty, and murmoringe by reason of the scarcety of bread) are againe fallen into great disorder: insomuch as it is thought the ffrrench ffilet may therevppon make yet an other journey to attempte some new impression in that Kingdome. The newes of the seidge of Cremona is confirmed, not without hopes of the speedy takinge thereof.

The Marquis of Ormond is vppon his departure for Irland, Wee are here, God be prayسد, in good health. Butt when will our deare Brother William come? I am glad to heare our cottage hath beene dignified with such good company as your brother, to whom I longe to present my seruice. Our honest cousin Stefens (who will well deserue your acquaintance, and whom I recommend vnto your affection) will perhaps by that time these come to you, bee arriued. Which yf hee bee, I pray present my seruice to him, and soe with our relative cordiall affections, I rest yours euer.

PARIS, 8 Augst 1648

Our Court wants money, and liues very quietly at St. Germaines: where no peere appeares but my Lord Jermin. The Lord Marq. of Worster, the Lords Digby & Hatton, though yett in France, yet liue for the most part in Paris.

From Sir Ri. Browne

Sr,—Since ye Com'ittinge of the King's declaration to fower Members of the Parlament, to bee by them examined wth order to make reporte thereof on Munday next, the Parlament hath followed theire ordinary course of businesse, and this interim seemes to bee a kind of truce betweene the Royall and ye pleading Pallace.

The losse of Tourné hath not yet exasperated ye Prince of Condé into any newe vndertakinge against the Spaniard, wch now vppon ye joyninge of Erlack's troops vnto him, it is expected hee shoulde, soe that probably wee shall soone heare of his remoue from Bethune. In this stationary, or rather retrograde, condition of the ffrrench affaires in fflanders, the certaine expectation of the

<sup>a</sup> Note appended: 'Which is lost'.



taking Cremona, and the weaknesse of the Spaniard in Catalonia, are very considerable supports : but aboue all, the relaps of Naples into (as they heere thinke) a more desperate state than euer, doth raise their mindes, and giues here great hopes of the losse of that Kingdome to the Spaniard. In order to wch the ffrench ffeet hath set saile for L'Abruzzo, there to joyne wth the Conte de Conuersano, who hath reuiued yt rebellion and is at the head of a considerable army.

The Com'andeur de Souuray prepares for his journey into Holland, in quallity of Ambassador from the Religion of Malta, there to demande restitution of the Com'andaries, wch the States of Holland doe possesse.

The Duke of Beaufort (who 'tis thought hath not beene out of ffrance) attended wth 40 or 50 horse, hath lately (as is saide) appeared in Brittany, wherevppon there are some troopes sent thither, and into Normandy, to secure those Provinces. And to Cardll Mazarin they speake of giuinge a guard of 100 horse, for the safety of his person.

The Marquiss of Ormond two daies since begane his journey towards Ireland.

Thankes for yours of 28 & 31. most wellcome. All your relations here salute you most cordially. To my brother yf nott com away, & to my cousin St. yf arriued, present my loue and seruice, the like to all the good company with you. Farewell, my deare S. Yours for euer louingne.

PARIS, 15 Aug. 1648

From Sir Ri. Browne

Sr,—Yf thorough the difficult and hazardous passage, these lines come safe to you, they will conuey my serious and hearty congratulations of that condition you are now in neere his Maty, wherein his gracious fauour and your owne merit haue concurrently placed you. Though I haue receiued noe letter from you since your arrivall in Schotland, yett I injoy the fruits of your care and kindnesse towards mee, witnesse the two warrants of his Matie, dated ye 4 Aprill 30 Car. 1651, directed to Prince Rupert and to Mr. Windam in my behalfe, for which as I render all humble acknowledgements to my most Gracious and Royall Maister, soe I giue you also my hearty thankes for beinge soe happily instrumentall in a concernment of mine, though hithertoo neyther of them haue proued any way aduantageous unto mee, for I can giue noe account where Pr. Rupert is since his comminge into the Ocean, and takinge some rich shippes belonginge to the Kinge of Spaine, and to the Genoese : And when I addresse any demands to Mr. Windham, hee makes mee noe returne butt these kind of warrants, such as the inclosed, of which he hath many. Soe that unlesse his Maty be pleased eyther to thinke of some other way of supply for mee, or direct some more effectuall commands to Mr. Windam, your kinsman and his family must (for ought I see) begge bread (or starue) in the streetes of Paris. In March last Mr. Windam assigned mee a thousand guilders of Dunkirke money, which makes little aboue fourescore pistolls here. Butt the man (one John Arden) in whose hands he had deposited the prize goods out of which this summ was to bee raysed is soe insoluent that he lyes in prison eyther nott able or not willinge to giue any satisfaction. The truth of this will bee confirmed to you by word of mouth by Mr. Edgman, of whose safe arrinall with you, and returne into these parts, I should be gladd to heare.

The affaires of this kingdome are in a dubious condition, occasioned chiefly by reason of some jealousies betweene the Queene Regent and the Princes ; to which the neere approachinge majority (the 6th. 7r.) will in probability giue a period, one way or other, by a more firme settlement of the authority, ministrye, and direction of affaires. As for the aspect towards us all I can say to you is, it will bee answerable to the successe of his Maties affaires in schotland, vppon which they here looke as the North Pole-starre by which they intend to steere. Our good Queene spends much of her time of late in a new Monastery at the end of Queene Mother's Cours (formerly the faire and pleasant house of Marl Basompere at Challiot) of which shée is the titular foundresse ; and the sweete Duke of Yorke doth here subsist vppon the allowance of one thousand crownes a month payd him from this state, beinge greatly esteemed by all for his comeliness and personall dexterity, in his behaiour and exercises.

Amongst all the publique and priuat calamities wherwith it hath pleased God to visit my poore family, wee yett (by His gracious blessinge and mercy) injoy our healths and the hopes of a better condition, when eyther our humiliations or our enemies sinnes shall moue the Divine power to looke more favourably vppon us; in order to the obtaininge wheroff I yet make shifte to keep vp a chappell and the English Liturgie in my house, where, by ordinary and extraordinary deuotions wee implore Gods blessinges vppon his Maties person and just cause. To that diuine Omnipotency recommending you (with all our cordiall and kind salutes) I rest, dear cousin, yr most affectionate kinsman and faithfull humble seruant,

R. BR.

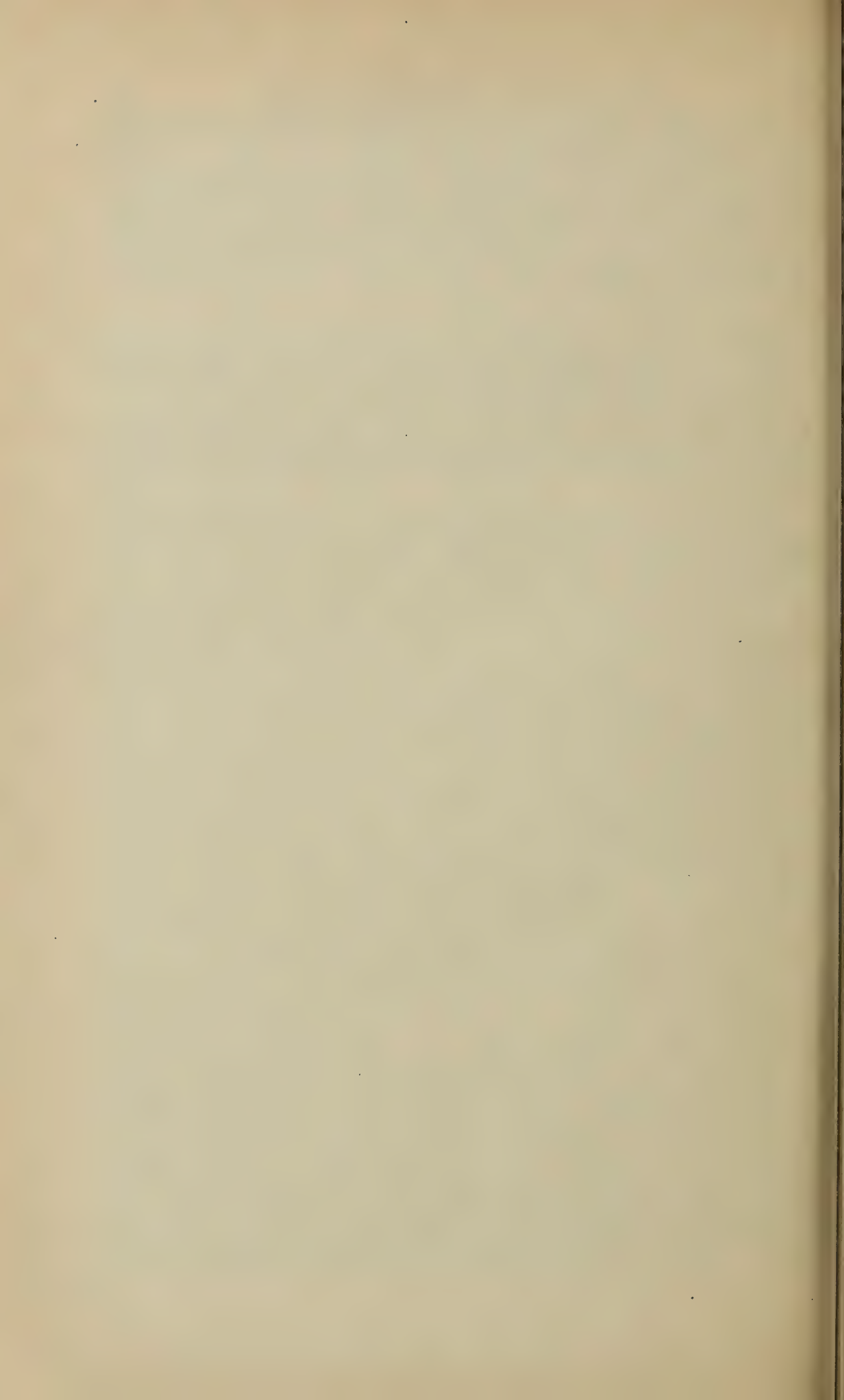
PARIS, 19 Aug. 1651

I pray present my seruice to all such worthy friends of mine of our owne nation in whom you find any memory of or kindnes for mee. Butt faile nott to render mee most louinge and most respectfull to my noble friend to me still (for I know nott his new titles) Mr. William Murray.

Postscript. Extract of a letter from Nantes. 15th Augt.—Prince Rupert is arriued with his prizes in Portugall, 15 leagues from Lisbone and there hee fitts his shipps with some others that belonge to the Kinge of Portugall, to goe against the Kinge of Spaines gallions. This is written by a good hand from Lisbone.

Wee heere hope the newes of Schottland, and the defeat in Fife is nott soe bad as the London prints would make vs beleue. I pray God send us some comfortable tidinges, and bless his Maty. with victory and successe in all his undertakinges.





## APPENDIX

### NOTES

#### I.

(Page 6)

THE following Letter from George Evelyn, elder brother of Evelyn, written when at College, to his father Richard at Wotton, 26 Sept. 1636, and giving an account of the Visit made by the King and Queen to the University of Oxford, with some particulars respecting himself, contains some curious matter.

' I know you have long desired to hear of my welfare, and the total series of his Majesty's entertainment while he was fixed in the centre of our Academy.

' The Archbishop our Lord Chancellor [Laud] and many Bishops, Doctor Bayley our Vice-Chancellor, with the rest of the Doctors of the University, together with the Mayor of the City, and his brethren, rode out in state to meet his Majesty, the Bishops in their pontifical robes, the Doctors in their scarlet gowns and their black caps (being the habit of the University), the Mayor and Aldermen in their scarlet gowns, and sixty other townsmen all in black satin doublets and in old-fashioned jackets. At the appropinquation of the King, after the beadles' staves were delivered up to his Majesty in token that they yielded up all their authority to him, the Vice-Chancellor spoke a speech to the King, and presented him with a Bible in the University's behalf, the Queen with Camden's *Britannia* in English, and the Prince Elect (as I took it) with Croke's *Politics*; all of them with gloves (because Oxford is famous for gloves) <sup>a</sup>. A little nigher the City where the City bounds are terminated, the Mayor presented his Majesty with a large gilt cup, *et tenet vicinitatem opinio*, the Recorder of the City made a speech to his Majesty. In the entrance of the University, at St. John's College, he was detained with another speech made by a Fellow of the house. The speech being ended, he went to Christ-church, scholars standing on both sides of the street, according to their degrees, and in their formalities, *clamantes, Vivat Rex noster Carolus!* Being entered Christ-church, he had another speech made by the University orator, and student of the same house; the subject of all which speeches being this, expressing their joy and his welcome to the University. Then, retiring himself a little, he went to prayers; they being ended, soon after to supper, and then to the play, whose subject was the Calming of the Passions; but it was generally misliked of the Court, because it was so grave; but especially because they understood it not. This was the first day's entertainment.

' The next morning, he had a sermon in Christ-church, preached by Browne, the Proctor of the University, and a student of the house. The sermon being ended, the Prince Elect and Prince Rupert went to St. Mary's, where there was a

<sup>a</sup> Gloves always made part of a present from Corporate Bodies at that time, more or less ornamented with rich fringes according to the quality of the persons to whom they were offered.



congregation, and Prince Rupert created Master of Arts, also many nobles with him. The reason why the Prince elect was not created Master of Arts, was because Cambridge our sister had created him before. The congregation done, the King, Queen, and all the nobles went to the Schools (the glory of Christendom), where in the public Library, his Majesty heard another speech, spoken by my Lord Chamberlain's third son, and of Exeter College, which speech the King liked well. From the schools the King went to St. John's to dinner, where the Archbishop entertained his Majesty with a magnificent dinner and costly banquet [dessert]. Then with a play made by the same house. The play being ended, he went to Christ-church; and, after supper, to another play, called *The Royal Slave*<sup>a</sup>, all the actors performing in a Persian habit, which play much delighted his Majesty and all the nobles, commending it for the best that ever was acted.

'The next morning, he departed from the University, all the Doctors kissing his hand, his Majesty expressing his kingly love to the University, and his countenance demonstrating unto us, that he was well pleased with this his entertainment made by us scholars.

'After the King's departure, there was a congregation called, where many Doctors, some Masters of Art, and a few Bachelors were created, they procuring it by making friends to the Palsgrave. There were very few that went out that are now resident, most of them were lords and gentlemen. A Doctor of Divinity and Bachelor of Arts were created of our house [Trinity], but they made special friends to get it.

'With the £30 you sent me I have furnished me with those necessaries I wanted, and have made me two suits, one of them being a black satin doublet and black cloth breeches, the other a white satin doublet and scarlet hose; the scarlet hose I shall wear but little here, but it will be comely for me to wear in the country.

'Your desire was that I should be as frugal in my expenses as I could, and I assure you, honoured Sir, I have been; I have spent none of it in riot or toys. You hoped it would be sufficient to furnish me and discharge my battels for this quarter; but I fear it will not, therefore I humbly entreat you to send me £6. I know what I have already, and with this I send for, will be more than enough to discharge these months; but I know not what occasion may fall out.

'Trin. Coll. Oxon, 26 July, 1636.'

## II

(Page 231)

In the edition of Sir Richard Baker's *Chronicle*, published with additions by Edward Philips (Milton's nephew), there is an account of the transactions between Evelyn and Colonel Morley, with particular reference to the influence strenuously used to induce Morley, after Cromwell's death, to declare for the King. In a subsequent edition, in 1730, this account is considerably altered. But among Evelyn's papers at Wotton has been found the original account drawn up by Sir Thomas Clarges, and sent to Mr. Philips. It is in Sir Thomas's own handwriting, had been evidently sent to Evelyn for his perusal, and is thus endorsed by him:

<sup>a</sup> By William Cartwright, a student of that college. In this play one of his fellow-students (afterwards the famous Dr. Busby) performed a part (that of Cratander) so excellently well, and with so much applause, that he is said to have narrowly escaped the temptation of at once becoming an actor on the public stage.

‘ Sir Thomas Clarges’s (brother-in-law to the Duke of Albemarle) insertion of what concerned Mr. Evelyn and Colonel Morley in continuation of the *History* written by Mr. Philips, and added to Sir Rich. Baker’s *Chronicle*. Note that my letter to Colonel Morley was not rightly copied ; there was likewise too much said concerning me, which is better, and as it ought to be, in the second impression, 1664.’

Mr. Philips’s account is as follows :

‘ In the seven hundred and nineteenth page of this history we omitted to insert a very material negociation for the King’s service, attempted upon the interruption given to the Parliament by Colonel Lambert and those that joined with him therein, which was managed by Mr. Evelin, of Says Court, by Deptford, in Kent, an active, vigilant, and very industrious agent on all occasions for his Majesty’s Restoration ; who, supposing the members of this suppositious Parliament could not but ill resent that affront, thought to make advantage of fixing the impression of it to the ruin of the Army, for the effecting whereof he applied himself to Colonel Herbert Morley, then newly constituted one of the five Commissioners for the command of the Army, as a person by his birth, education, and interest, unlikely to be cordially inclined to prostitute himself to the ruin of his country and the infamy of his posterity.

‘ Mr. Evelin gave him some visits to tempt his affection by degrees to a confidence in him, and then by consequence to engage him in his designs ; and to induce him the more powerfully thereunto, he put into his hands an excellent and unanswerable hardy treatise by him written, called *An Apology for the Royal Party*, which he backed with so good arguments and a very dexterous address in the prosecution of them, that the Colonel was wholly convinced, and recommended to him the procurement of the King’s pardon for him, his brother-in-law, Mr. Fagg, and one or two more of his relations. This Mr. Evelin faithfully promised to endeavour, and taking the opportunity of Sir Samuel Tuke’s going at that time into France, he by him acquainted the King (being then at Pontoise) with the relation of this affair, wherewith he was so well pleased as to declare if Colonel Morley, and those for whom he interceded, were not of those execrable judges of his blessed Royal father, they should have his pardon, and he receive such other reward as his services should deserve. Upon the sending this advice to the King, the Colonel left London, because of the jealousy which Fleetwood and Lambert had of him ; but, before he went, he desired Mr. Evelin to correspond with him in Sussex, by means of Mr. Fagg, his brother-in-law, who then lay in the Mews.

‘ Mr. Evelin had good reason to believe Colonel Morley very capable of serving the King at this time ; for he had a much better interest in Sussex than any of his party ; whereby he might have facilitated his Majesty’s reception in that county, in case his affairs had required his landing there ; but, besides his power in Sussex, he had (as he said) an influence on two of the best regiments of the Army, and good credit with many of the Officers of the Fleet.

‘ But before the return from France of the King’s resolution in this matter, there intervened many little changes in the posture of affairs.

‘ Upon the advance of General Monk in favour of the Parliament, and the general inclination of the Army to him, Colonel Morley expected the restitution of that power, and with it of his own authority, and was leagued with Walton and Hazlerig in a private treaty with Colonel Whetham, the Governor of Portsmouth,



for the delivery of that garrison to them ; and Fagg went privately from London to raise a regiment in Sussex to promote these designs ; but was suppressed before he got any considerable number of men together.

‘ Mr. Evelin, not knowing of these intrigues, in vain endeavoured by all imaginable ways to communicate the King’s pleasure to Morley, who was by this time in the garrison of Portsmouth.

‘ But when the Parliament resumed their power, and he [Morley] was placed in the government of the Tower, he [Evelin] thought it expedient to renew the former negotiation betwixt them for his Majesty’s service, and in order thereunto, he often by visits made application to him, but could never but once procure access ; and then he dismissed him with a faint answer, ‘ That he would shortly wait upon him at his lodging.’

‘ This put Mr. Evelin into so much passion that he resolved to surmount the difficulty of access by writing freely to him, which he did in this manner.

“ TO COLONEL MORLEY, LIEUTENANT OF THE TOWER <sup>a</sup>

“ SIR,

“ For many obligations, but especially for the last testimonies of your confidence in my friendship, begun so long since, and considered so inviolably through so many changes, and in so universal a decadence of honour, and all that is sacred amongst men, I come with this profound acknowledgment of the favours you have done me ; and had a great desire to have made this a personal recognition and to congratulate your return, and the dignities which your merits have acquired, and for which none does more sincerely rejoice ; could I promise myself the happiness of finding you in your station at any season wherein the Public, and more weighty concerns did afford you the leisure of receiving a visit from a person so inconsiderable as myself.

“ But, since I may not hope for that good fortune, and such an opportunity of conveying my respects and the great affections which I owe you, I did presume to transmit this express ; and by it, to present you with the worthiest indications of my zeal to continue in the possession of your good graces, by assuring you of my great desires to serve you in whatsoever may best conduce to your honour, and to a stability of it, beyond all that any future contingencies of things can promise : because I am confident that you have a nobler prospect upon the success of your designs than to prostitute your virtues and your conduct to serve the passions, or avarice of any particular persons whatsoever ; being (as you are) free and incontaminate, well-born, and abhorring to dishonour or enrich yourself with the spoils which by others have been ravished from our miserable, yet dearest country ; and which renders them so zealous to pursue the ruin of it, by labouring to involve men of the best natures and reputation into their own inextricable labyrinths, and to gratify that which will pay them with so much infamy in the event of things, and with so inevitable a perdition of their precious souls, when all these uncertainties (how specious soever at present) shall vanish and come to nothing.

“ There is now, Sir, an opportunity put into your hands, by improving whereof you may securely act for the good of your country, and the redemption of it

<sup>a</sup> The letter following is taken from Evelyn’s own copy.

When I transacted with him for delivery of the Tower of London, and to declare for the King, a little before General Monk’s, and which had he done, he had received the honour that great man deserved and obtained soon after.

from the insupportable tyrannies, injustice, and impieties under which it has now groaned for so many years, through the treachery of many wicked, and the mistakes of some few good men. For by this, Sir, you shall best do honour to God, and merit of your country ; by this you shall secure yourself, and make your name great to succeeding ages : by this you shall crown yourself with real and lasting dignities. In sum, by this, you shall oblige even those whom you may mistake to be your greatest enemies, to embrace and cherish you as a person becoming the honour of a brave and worthy patriot, and to be rewarded with the noblest expression of it ; when by the best interpretations of your charity and obedience to the dictates of a Christian, you shall thus heap coals of fire upon their head ; and which will at once give both light and warmth to this afflicted Nation, Church, and People, not to be extinguished by any more of those impostors whom God has so signally blown off the stage, to place such in their stead, as have opportunities given them of restoring us to our ancient known laws, native and most happy liberties.—It is this, Sir, which I am obliged to wish to encourage you in, and to pronounce as the worthiest testimony of my congratulations for your return ; and which, you may assure yourself, has the suffrages of the solidest and best ingredient of this whole nation.

“ And having said thus much, I am sure you will not look upon this letter as a servile address ; but, if you still retain that favour and goodness for the person who presents it, that I have reason to promise myself, from the integrity which I have hitherto observed in all your professions ; I conjure you to believe, that you have made a perfect acquisition of my service ; and, that (however events succeed) I am still the same person, greedy of an opportunity to recommend the sincerity of my affection, by doing you whatsoever service lies in my power ; and I hope you shall not find me without some capacities of expressing it in effects, as well as in the words of

“ Honourable Sir, &c.

“ COVENT GARDEN,

“ 12th Jan. 1659-60.”

‘ In a note he adds : Morley was at this time Lieutenant of the Tower of London, was absolute master of the City, there being very few of the rebel army anywhere near it, save at Somerset-House a trifling garrison which was marching out to reinforce Lambert, who was marching upon the news of Monk’s coming out of Scotland. He was Lieutenant of all the confederate counties of Sussex, Surrey, Hampshire, &c. ; his brother-in-law Governor of Portsmouth and Hampshire ; his own brother William Morley, Governor of Arundel Castle ; in sum, he had all the advantages he could have desired to have raised the well-affected of the City and Country universally breathing after a deliverer (uncertain as to what Monk intended), and so had absolutely prevented any [other] person or power whatever (in all appearance) from having the honour of bringing in the King, before those who were in motion could have snatched it out of his hand. Of all this I made him so sensible, when I was with him at the Tower, that nothing but his fatal diffidence of Monk’s having no design to bring in his Majesty because he had [not] discovered it whilst matters were yet in the dark (but the design certainly resolved on) kept him wavering and so irresolute (though he saw the game sufficiently in his hands) as to sit still and put it off, till Lambert and his forces being scattered and taken, Monk marched into the city triumphant with his wearied army, possessed the gates, and with no great cunning and little diffi-



culty, finding how the people and magistrates were disposed, (whatever his general intentions were, or at first seemed to be),—boldly and fortunately brought to pass that noble Revolution, following it to his eternal honour by restoring a banished Prince and the people's freedom. This poor Morley saw, and implored my interest by what means he might secure himself and obtain his pardon. This is, in short, a true account of that remarkable affair.'

Philips proceeds thus from Sir Thomas Clarges's paper :

'We shall not here determine what it was that induced Colonel Morley (at the time of his being Lieutenant of the Tower) to decline commerce with Mr. Evelyn for the King's service ; whether it was that he doubted of the concurrence of his officers and soldiers, who had been long trained up in an aversion to monarchy, or whether by the entire subjection of the Army to Monk, and their unity thereupon, he thought that work now too difficult, which was more feasible in the time of their division. But it is most certain that he took such impressions from Mr. Evelyn's discourses and this letter that ever after he appeared very moderate in his counsels, and was one of the forwardest to embrace all opportunities for the good of his country ; as was evident by his vigorous and hazardous opposition in Parliament to that impious oath of abjuration to the King's family and line (hereafter mentioned), before it was safe for General Monk to discover how he was inclined ; and by his willing conjunction and confederacy after with the General for the admission of the secluded members, in proclamation for a free Parliament for the King's restoration <sup>a</sup>.'

<sup>a</sup> In 1815 Baron Maseres republished some tracts relating to the Civil War in England in the time of K. Charles I, among which is *The Mystery and Method of his Majesty's happy Restoration, by the Rev. Dr. John Price, one of the late Duke of Albemarle's chaplains, who was privy to all the secret passages and particulars of that Glorious Revolution. Printed in 1680.* In this tract it is stated that Monk's officers, being dissatisfied with the conduct of the Rump Parliament, pressed him to come to some decision, whereupon, on 11 Feb. 1660, they sent the letter to the Parliament desiring them first to fill up the vacancies, and then to determine their own sitting and call a new Parliament. Dr. Price then says 'The General yielded at length to their fears and counsels, and the rather for that he was assured of the Tower of London, the Lieutenant of it (Col. Morley) having before offered it to him. This the noble Colonel had done in the City, pitying the consternation of the citizens, when he saw what work was doing, [Monk's pulling down the City-gates a few days before by order of the Rump Parliament] and what influence it would have on the country.' He adds, 'that though the Rump did not dare to take away the General's commission as one of their Commissioners for governing the Army, they struck out his name from the quorum of them, which virtually did take away his authority, and he and Morley were left to stem the tide against Hazlerigg, Alured, and Walton'.

These are the only mentions which he makes of Morley, by which it seems that the first communication between him and Monk was when the latter had broken down the City-gates on the 9th February.

Had there been any previous concert between Monk and Morley, the latter would not have required Evelyn's assistance to obtain his pardon. This he not only did want, but obtained through Evelyn. See *ante*, p. 232.

## III

(Page 247)

*Narrative of the Encounter between the French and Spanish Ambassadors at the landing of the Swedish Ambassador, September 30, 1661*

'There had been many troubles and disputes between the Ambassadors of France and Spain for precedence in the Courts of foreign Princes, and amongst these there was none more remarkable than that on Tower-hill, on the landing of an Ambassador for Sweden, 30th September, 1660, which was so premeditated a business on both sides, that the King, foreseeing it would come to a quarrel, and being willing to carry himself with indifference towards both, which could not be otherwise done than by leaving them at liberty to take what methods they thought proper for supporting their respective pretences; but to show at the same time his concern for the public tranquillity, orders were given for a strict guard to be kept upon the place, and all his Majesty's subjects were enjoined not to intermeddle, or take part with either side. The King was further pleased to command that Mr. Evelyn should, after diligent inquiry made, draw up and present him a distinct narrative of the whole affair <sup>a</sup>.'

This was done accordingly, and printed: but not being now to be met with, except in *Biographia Britannica* (Ed. 1750, vol. iii. ; Ed. 1793, vol. v.), it may be worth while to print it from Evelyn's own copy.

## A FAITHFUL AND IMPARTIAL NARRATIVE OF WHAT PASSED AT THE LANDING OF THE SWEDISH AMBASSADOR

Upon Monday last, being the 30th of September, 1661, about ten in the morning, the Spanish Ambassador's coach, in which were his Chaplain with some of his gentlemen, attended by about forty more of his own servants in liveries, was sent down to the Tower wharf, and there placed itself near about the point where the ranks of ordnance determine, towards the gate leading into the bulwark. Next after him came the Dutch, and (twelve o'clock past) the Swedish coach of honour, disposing of themselves according to their places. About two hours after this (in company with his Majesty's coach royal) appeared that of the French Ambassador, wherein were Le Marquis d'Estrade, son to the French Ambassador, with several more of his gentlemen, and as near as might be computed, near 150 in train, whereof above forty were horsemen well appointed with pistols, and some of them with carabines, musquetoons, or fuzees; in this posture and equipage stood they expecting upon the wharf, and, as near as might be, approaching to his Majesty's coach, which was opposite to the stairs. About three in the afternoon, the Swedish Ambassador being landed and received into his Majesty's coach, which moved leisurely before the rest, and was followed by that of the Swede's the French Ambassador's coach endeavoured to go the next, driving as close as possibly they could, and advancing their party with their swords drawn, to force the Spaniards from the guard of their own coach, which was also putting in for precedence next the King's. His Majesty's coach now passed the Spaniards, who held as yet their rapiers undrawn in their hands, stepping nimbly on either side of the hindmost wheels of their Minister's coach, drew their weapons and shouted, which caused the French coach-horses to make a pause; but, when they

<sup>a</sup> Continuation of Heath's Chronicle.



observed the advantage which by this the Spanish Ambassador's coach had gained, being now in file after the Swede's, they came up very near to the Spaniards, and at once pouring in their shot upon them, together with their foot, then got before their coach, fell to it with their swords, both which the Spaniards received without removing one jot from their stations.

During this *demeslè* (in which the French received some repulse, and were put to a second stand) a bold and dexterous fellow, and, as most affirm, with a particular instrument as well as address, stooping under the bellies of the French Ambassador's coach-horses, cut the hamstrings of two of them, and wounded a third, which immediately falling, the coach for the present was disabled from advancing further, the coachman forced out of his box, and the postillion mortally wounded, who, falling into the arms of an English gentleman that stepped in to his succour, was by a Spaniard pierced through his thigh. This disorder (wherein several were wounded and some slain) caused those in the French coach to alight, and so enraged their party, that it occasioned a second brisk assault, both of horse and foot, which being received with extraordinary gallantry, many of their horses retreated, and wheeled off towards St. Katharine's.

It was in this skirmish that some brickbats were thrown from the edge of the wharf, which by a mistake are said to have been provided by the Spanish Ambassador's order the day before.

In this interim, then (which was near half an hour) the Spanish coach went forward after his Majesty's with about twenty of his retinue following, who still kept their countenance towards the French as long as they abode on the wharf, and that narrow part of the bulwark (where the contest was very fierce) without disorder; so as the first which appeared on Tower-hill, where now they were entering, was his Majesty's coach followed by the Swede's Ambassador's, and next by that of Spain, with about twenty-four or thirty of his liveries still disputing it with a less number of French, who came after them in the rear.

And here, besides what were slain with bullets on the wharf and near the bulwark whereof one was a *valet de chambre* of the Spanish Ambassador's, and six more, amongst which were a poor English plasterer, and near forty wounded, fell one of the French, who was killed just before his Highness's Lifeguard. No one person of the numerous spectators intermeddling, or so much as making the least noise or tumult, people or soldiers, whereof there were three companies of foot, which stood on the hill opposite to the Guards of Horse, 'twixt whom the antagonists lightly skirmished, some fresh parties of French coming out of several places and protected by the English, amongst whom they found shelter till the Spanish Ambassador's coach having gained and passed the chain which leads in Crutched Friars, they desisted and gave them over.

Near half an hour after this, came the French coach (left all this while in disorder on the wharf), with two horses and a coachman, who had a carabine by his side, and, as the officers think, only a footman in the coach, and a loose horse running by. Next to him, went the Holland Ambassador's coach, then the Swede's second coach. These being all advanced upon the hill, the Duke of Albemarle's coach, with the rest of the English, were stopped by interposition of his Royal Highness's Lifeguard, which had express order to march immediately after the last Ambassador's coach; and so they went on, without any farther interruption.

This is the most accurate relation of what passed, as to matter of fact, from

honourable, most ingenuous, and disinterested eye-witnesses ; as by his Majesty's command it was taken, and is here set down.

But there is yet something behind which was necessary to be inserted into this Narrative, in reference to the preamble ; and, as it tends to the utter dissolving of those oblique suspicions, which have any aspect on his Majesty's subjects, whether spectators, or others ; and therefore it is to be taken notice, that, at the arrival of the Venetian Ambassador, some months since, the Ambassadors of France and Spain, intending to send both their coaches to introduce him, the Ambassador of Spain having before agreed with the Count de Soissons that they should assist at no public ceremonies, but upon all such casual encounters, pass on their way as they fortun'd to meet ; it had been wished that this expedient might still have taken place. But Monsieur de Strade having, it seems, received positive commands from his master, that notwithstanding any such accord, he should nothing abate of his pretence, or the usual respect showed upon all such occasions, he insisted on putting this injunction of the king his master in execution, at arrival of the Swedish Ambassador. His Majesty, notwithstanding all the just pretences which he might have taken, reflecting on the disorders that might possibly arise in this city, in which for several nights he had been forced to place extraordinary guards ; and, because he would not seem to take upon him the decision of this punctilio, in prejudice of either Ambassador, as his charitable interposition might be interpreted ; his Majesty declaring himself withal no umpire in this unpleasing and invidious controversy, permitted that, both their coaches going, they might put their servants and dependents into such a posture as they should think fittest, and most becoming their respective pretences : but in the meantime commanded (upon pain of his highest displeasure), that none of his Majesty's subjects, of what degree soever, should presume to interpose in their differences. But in truth, the care of his officers, and especially that of Sir Charles Barclay, captain of his Royal Highness's Lifeguard (which attended this service), was so eminent and particular, that they permitted not a man of the spectators so much as with a switch in his hand, whom they did not chastise severely.

As to that which some have refined upon, concerning the shower of bricks which fell in this contest (whether industriously placed there or no, for some others of the Spanish party assigned to that post), 'tis affirmed by the concurrent suffrage of all the spectators, that none of them were cast by any of his Majesty's subjects, till, being incensed by the wounds which they received from the shot which came in amongst them (and whereof some of them, 'tis said, are since dead), and not divining to what farther excess this new and unexpected compliment might rise, a few of the rabble, and such as stood on that side of the wharf, were forced to defend themselves with what they found at hand ; and to which, 'tis reported, some of them were animated by a fresh remembrance of the treatment they received at Chelsea, and not long since in Covent-Garden, which might very well qualify this article from having anything of design that may reflect on their superiors ; nor were it reasonable that they should stand charged for the rudeness of such sort of people, as in all countries upon like occasions and in such a confusion is inevitable. Those who observed the armed multitudes of French which rushed in near the chain on Tower-hill, issuing out of several houses there, and coming in such a tumultuous and indecent manner amongst the peaceable spectators, would have seen that, but for the temper of the officers, and presence



of the Guards, into how great an inconveniency they had engaged themselves. Nor have they at all to accuse any for the ill success which attended, if the French would a little reflect upon the several advantages which their antagonists had consulted, to equal that by strategem which they themselves had gained by numbers, and might still have preserved, with the least of circumspection.

It was evidently the conduct of the Spaniards, not their arms, which was decisive here ; nor had his Majesty, or his people, the least part in it, but what the French have infinite obligations to ; since, without this extraordinary indulgence and care to protect them, they had, in all probability, drawn a worse inconveniency upon them, by appearing with so little respect to the forms which are used upon all such occasions.

There need, then, no other arguments to silence the mistakes which fly about, that his Majesty's subjects should have had so much as the least temptation to mingle in this contest, not only because they knew better what is their duty, for reverence to his Majesty's commands (which were now most express), and whose Guards were ready to interpose where any such inclination had in the least appeared, so as to do right to the good people spectators (whose curiosity on all such occasions compose no small part of these solemnities), that report which would signify their misbehaviour is an egregious mistake, and worthy to be reproved. Nor becomes it the French (of all the nations under Heaven) to suspect his Majesty of partiality in this affair, whose extraordinary civility to them, ever since his happy restoration, has appeared so signal, and is yet the greatest ingredient to this declaration, because, by the disquisition of these impartial truths, he endeavours still to preserve it most inviolable.

*Written by Evelyn underneath*

This, Sir, is what I was able to collect of that contest, by his Majesty's special command, from the Right Honourable Sir W. Compton, Master of the Ordnance of the Tower, and of his major present, of Sir Charles Barclay, and several others, all there present, and from divers of the inhabitants and other spectators, whom I examined from house to house, from the spot where the dispute began, to Crutched Friars, where it ended. The rest of the reflections were special hints from his Majesty's own mouth, the first time I read it to him, which was the second day after the contest.

*Endorsed by Evelyn.*—The contest 'twixt the French and Spanish Ambassadors on Tower-hill for Precedency.—Note, That copies of this were despatched to the Lord Ambassador in France, who was my Lord of St. Alban's. Also, another was written to be laid up and kept in the Paper Office, at Whitehall.

## IV

(See p. 439)

IN Feb. 1687-8, there was printed what was called *A true and perfect narrative of the strange and unexpected finding the Crucifix and Gold-chain of that pious Prince, St. Edward the King and Confessor, which was found after six hundred and thirty years' interment, and presented to his most Sacred Majesty, King James the Second. By Charles Taylour, Gent. London, printed by J. B., and are to be sold by Randal Taylor, near Stationers' Hall, 1688.*

He says, that 'on St. Barnaby's Day (11 June), 1685, between 11 and 12 at noon, he went with two friends to see the coffin of Edward the Confessor, having heard that it was broke; fetched a ladder, looked on the coffin and found a hole as reported, put his hand into the hole, and turning the bones which he felt there, drew from under the shoulder-bones a crucifix richly adorned and enamelled, and a golden chain of twenty-four inches long to which it was fixed; showed them to his two friends; was afraid to take them away, till he had acquainted the Dean; put them into the coffin again. But the Dean not being to be spoke with then, and fearing this treasure might be taken by some other, he went two or three hours afterward to one of the choir, acquainted him with what he had found, who accompanied him to the monument, from whence he again drew the crucifix and chain; his friend advised him to keep them, until he could show them to the Dean (the Bishop of Rochester): kept them three weeks before he could speak to the Bishop; went to the Archbishop of York, and showed them; next morning, the Archbishop of York carried him to the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, and showed them. After this, he procured an exact drawing to be made of them; showed them to Sir William Dugdale.—6th July, the Archbishop of Canterbury told the Bishop of Rochester, who, about four that afternoon, sent for him, and took him to Whitehall, that he might present them to the King; which he did accordingly. The King ordered a new strong wooden coffin to be made to inclose the broken one. The links of the chain oblong, and curiously wrought; the upper part joined by a locket, composed of a large round knob of gold, massy, in circumference as big as a milled shilling, half an inch thick; round this went a wire and half a dozen little beads, hanging loose, running to and again on the same, all of pure gold, finely wrought; on each side of the locket were set two large square stones (supposed to be rubies). From each side of this locket, fixed to two rings of gold, the chain descends, and, meeting below, passes through a square piece of gold, of a convenient bigness, made hollow for the same purpose. This gold, wrought into several angles, was painted with divers colours, resembling gems or precious stones, to which the crucifix was joined, yet to be taken off by help of a screw. The form of the cross nearest that of an humettée flory (among the heralds), or rather the botany [botonée]; yet the pieces not of equal length, the perpendicular beam being near one-fourth part longer than the traverse, as being four inches to the extremity, whilst the other scarce exceeds three; yet all neatly turned at the ends, and the botons enamelled with figures thereon. The cross of the same gold as the chain, but exceeds it by its rich enamel, having on one side the picture of our Saviour Christ in His passion wrought thereon, and an eye from above



casting a kind of beam on Him ; on the reverse, picture of a Benedictine monk in his habit, and on each side of him these capital Roman letters :

On the right,

(A)

Z A X

A

And on the left,

P

A C

H

This cross is hollow, to be opened by two little screws towards the top, wherein it is presumed some relic might have been conserved. William I commanded the coffin to be enshrined, and the shrine covered with plates of gold and silver, adorned with pearls and precious stones. About one hundred and thirty-six years after, the Abbot resolved to inspect the body, said to be incorruptible, and, on opening, found it to be so, being perfect, the limbs flexible : the face covered ; Gundolph, Bishop of Rochester, withdrew the cover, but, with great reverence, covered it again, changing the former vestments, and putting on others of equal price. In 1163, Thomas à Becket procured a canonisation of the King, and in the ceremony the Abbot opened the coffin, found the body lying in rich vestments of cloth of gold, having on his feet buskins of purple, and shoes of great price ; the body uncorrupted ; removed the whole body from the stone repository to another of wood, some assisting at the head, others at the arms and legs ; they lifted it gently, and laid the corpse first on tapestry spread on the floor, and then wrapping the same in silken cloths of great value, they put it into the wooden chest, *with all those things that were found in the former, except the gold ring which was on the King's finger, which the Abbot, out of devotion, retained*, and ordered it to be kept in the Treasury of the Abbey.

' In 1226, King Henry III again removed the coffin to a chapel built for the purpose.'

## V

### EVELYN'S PUBLICATIONS

THE SUBJOINED LIST IS FROM A LETTER OF EVELYN'S TO DR. PLOT, DATED  
16 MARCH, 1682-3

#### *Translations*

1. *Of Liberty and Servitude*, Lond. 1644, 12mo.
2. *The French Gardener and English Vineyard*, 1658, 12mo. 3rd edit.
3. *An Essay on the first Book of Lucretius*, 1656, 8vo.
4. Gaspar Naudæus, *Instructions concerning Libraries*, 1661, 8vo.
5. *A Parallel of the Ancient Architecture with the Modern, with a treatise on Statues*, &c. 1664, folio.
6. *An Idea of the perfection of Painting*, 1668, 8vo.
7. *The Mystery of Jesuitism*, 2 parts, 8vo.
8. *St. Chrysostom's Golden Book for the Education of Children, out of the Greek*, 1659, 12mo.

#### *Original Works*

1. *An Apology for the Royal Party*, 1659, 4to. Three Editions.
2. *Panegyric at his Majesty's Coronation*, 1661, folio.
3. *Fumifugium, or a prophetic Invective against the Fire and Smoke of London, with its Remedies*, 1661, 4to.

4. *Sculptura, or the History of the Art of Chalcography*, 1662, 8vo.
5. *Public Employment and an active life preferred to Solitude*, 1667, 8vo.
6. *History of the Three late Impostors*, 1669, 8vo.
7. *Kalendarium Hortense*, 1664, 1679, 8vo. Six Editions.
8. *Sylva*, 1679, folio. Three Editions.
9. *Terra*, 1679. Two Editions.
10. *Tyrannus, or the Mode*, 8vo.
11. *The Dignity of Man, &c.*, not printed, nearly ready.
12. *Elysium Britannicum*, not printed, nearly ready.

*Prepared for the Press*

*A Discourse of Medals.—Of Manuscripts.—Of Stones.—Of Reason in Brute Animals*<sup>a</sup>.

In a letter to Dr. BEALE, 11 July, 1679, Evelyn says, 'I have sometimes thought of publishing a Treatise of *Acetaria*, which (though but one of the chapters of *Elysium Britannicum*) would make a competent volume, accompanied with other necessities, according to my manner; but whilst I as often think of performing my so long-since promised (more universal) Hortulan work, I know not how to take that chapter out, and single it for the press, without some blemish to the rest. When again I consider into what an ocean I am plunged, how much I have written and collected for above these twenty years upon this fruitful and inexhaustible subject (I mean Horticulture) not yet fully digested to my mind, and what insuperable pains it will require to insert the (daily increasing) particulars into what I have already in some measure prepared, and which must of necessity be done by my own hand, I am almost out of hope, that I shall ever have strength and leisure to bring it to maturity, having for the last ten years of my life been in perpetual motion, and hardly two months in a year at my own habitation, or conversant with my family.

'You know what my charge and care has been during the late unhappy war with the Hollanders; and what it has cost me as to avocations, and for the procuring money, and attending the Lord Treasurer, &c., to discharge the quarters of many thousands.

'Since that, I have upon me no fewer than three executorships, besides other domestic concerns, either of them enough to distract a more steady and composed genius than is mine.

'Superadd to these the public confusions in church and kingdom (never to be sufficiently deplored), and which cannot but most sensibly touch every sober and honest man.

'In the midst of these disturbances, who but Dr. Beale (that stands upon the tower, looks down unconcernedly on all those tempests) can think of gardens and fish-ponds, and the *delices* and ornaments of peace and tranquillity? With no little conflict and force on my other business, I have yet at last, and as I was able, published a third edition of my *Sylva*, and with such additions as

<sup>a</sup> Of the four Treatises here enumerated, the *Discourse on Medals* only has been printed. There is at Wotton a copy of that on Manuscripts in thirteen leaves, 4to., which seems to contain all he intended on this subject. There is also a chapter of an essay, entitled, *De Baculis*, which from the proem seems to have been intended as jocular, but it begins with great gravity.



occurred ; and this in truth only to pacify the importunity of very many (besides the printer), who quite tired me with calling on me for it, and above all, threatening to reprint it with all its former defects, if I did not speedily prevent it. I am only vexed that it proving so popular as in so few years to pass so many impressions, and (as I hear) gratify the avaricious printer with some hundreds of pounds, there had not been some course taken in it for the benefit of our Society. It is apparent, that near £500 has been already gotten by it ; but we are not yet economists.

‘ You know what pillars we have lost : Palmer<sup>a</sup>, Moray<sup>a</sup>, Chester<sup>b</sup>, Oldenburg<sup>c</sup>, &c. ; and through what other discouragements we still labour ; and therefore you will excuse the zeal and fervour of what I have added in my Epistle to the Reader, if at length it be possible to raise up some generous soul to free us, or emerge out of our difficulties. In all events you will see where my inclinations are fixed, and that love is stronger than death ; and secular affairs, which is the burial of all philosophical speculations and improvements : though they can never in the least diminish the great esteem I have of your friendship, and the infinite obligations I daily receive from your favours.’

Of Books which he had designed to publish, we find various Memoranda in his letters, &c.

In a letter to Mr. BOYLE, 8 August, 1659, he says he had intended to write a *History of Trades* ; but had given it up, from the great difficulty he found in the attempt.

In another, 23rd Nov., 1664, he says, ‘ One Rhea [qu. Ray ?] has published a very useful book concerning the Culture of Flowers ; but it does nothing reach my long-since attempted design on that entire subject, with all its ornaments and circumstances, but God only knows when my opportunities will permit me to bring it to maturity.’

In the Preface to the *Acetaria*, published in 1669, he mentions a work on which he had spent upwards of forty years, and his collections for which had in that time filled several thousand pages. The author of the *Biographia Britannica* believes that this was the work, part of which he had showed to his friends under the title of *Elysium Britannicum*, but which in that preface he calls *The Plan of a Royal Garden*, &c. ; and that his *Acetaria* and *Gardener’s Kalendar* were parts of it. This is confirmed by the preceding letter to Dr. Beale.

Amongst the MSS. at Wotton there are parts of two volumes with the running title of *Elysium Britannicum*, consisting of miscellaneous observations on a great variety of subjects, but nothing digested, except a printed sheet of the contents of the intended Work, as follows :

<sup>a</sup> Dudley Palmer, Esq., born in 1602, and died in 1666, and Sir Robert Moray, Knt., who died July 4, 1673, two of the first Council of the Royal Society.

<sup>b</sup> John Wilkins, D.D., Bishop of Chester. He died Nov. 19, 1672.

<sup>c</sup> Secretary to the Royal Society, who died in September, 1677.

## ELYSIUM BRITANNICUM

## IN THREE BOOKS

*Præmissis præmittendis, &c.*

## BOOK I

Chap. 1. A Garden derived and defined, with its distinctions and sorts.—2. Of a Gardener, and how he is to be qualified.—3. Of the Principles and Elements in general.—4. Of the Fire.—5. Of the Air and Winds.—6. Of the Water.—7. Of the Earth.—8. Of the Celestial Influences, particularly the Sun, and Moon, and of the Climates.—9. Of the Four Seasons.—10. Of the Mould and Soil of a Garden.—11. Of Composts and Stercoration.—12. Of the Generation of Plants.

## BOOK II

Chap. 1. Of the Instruments belonging to a Gardener, and their several uses.—2. Of the situation of a Garden, with its extent.—3. Of fencing, enclosing, plotting, and disposing the Ground.—4. Of a Seminary, and of propagating Trees, Plants, and Flowers.—5. Of Knots, Parterres, Compartments, Borders, and Embossments.—6. Of Walks, Terraces, Carpets, and Alleys, Bowling-greens, Malls, their materials and proportions.—7. Of Groves, Labyrinths, Dædales, Cabinets, Cradles, Pavilions, Galleries, Close-walks, and other Relievos.—8. Of Transplanting.—9. Of Fountains, Cascades, Rivulets, Piscinas, and Waterworks.—10. Of Rocks, Grots, Cryptas, Mounts, Precipices, Porticos, Ventiducts.—11. Of Statues, Columns, Dials, Perspectives, Pots, Vases, and other ornaments.—12. Of Artificial Echos, Music, and Hydraulic motions.—13. Of Aviaries, Apiaries, Vivaries, Insects.—14. Of Orangeries, and Conservatories of rare Plants.—15. Of Verdures, Perennial-Greens, and perpetual Springs.—16. Of Coronary Gardens, Flowers, and rare Plants, how they are to be propagated, governed, and improved; together with a Catalogue of the choicest Trees, Shrubs, Plants and Flowers, and how the Gardener is to keep his Register.—17. Of the Philosophico-Medical Garden.—18. Of a Vineyard.—19. Of Watering, Pruning, Clipping, Rolling, Weeding, &c.—20. Of the Enemies and Infirmities to which a Garden is obnoxious, together with the remedies.—21. Of the Gardener's Almanack, or Kalendarium Hortense, directing what he is to do Monthly, and what Flowers are in prime.

## BOOK III

Chap. 1. Of Conserving, Properating, Retarding, Multiplying, Transmuting, and altering the Species, Forms and substantial qualities of Flowers, &c.—2. Of Chaplets, Festoons, Flower-pots, Nosegays, and Posies.—3. Of the Gardener's Elaboratory, and of distilling and extracting of Essences, Resuscitation of Plants, with other rare Experiments.—4. Of composing the Hortus Hyemalis, and making books of Natural Arid Plants and Flowers, with other curious ways of preserving them in their Natural.—5. Of painting of Flowers, Flowers enamelled in Silk, Wax, and other artificial representations of them.—6. Of Hortulane Entertainments, to show the riches, beauty, wonder, plenty, delight, and use of a Garden-Festival, &c.—7. Of the most famous Gardens in the World, Ancient and Modern.—8. The Description of a Villa.—The Corollary and Conclusion.



Amongst the MSS. at Wotton also, on a separate paper, are the following Memoranda in Evelyn's handwriting :

' Things I would write out fair and reform, if I had leisure :—

*Londinum Redivivum*, which I presented to the King three or four days after the Conflagration of that City, 1666.

Pedigree of the Evelyns.

The three remaining Meditations on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, being the remaining course of Offices ; to which belongs a Book of Recollection bound in leather.

A Rational Account of the True Religion, or an History of it. With a packet of Notes belonging to it.

*Oeconomist to a Married Friend.*

*The Legend of the Pearl.*

Some Letters of mine to Electra and to others in that packet.

*The Life of Mrs. Godolphin.*

A Book of some Observations, Politicals, and Discourses of that kind.

*Thyrsander*, a Tragi-Comedy.

*Dignity of Mankind.*

My own Ephemeris or Diary.

*Animadversions upon Spinoza.*

Papers concerning Education.

Mathematical papers <sup>a</sup>.

Of the works by Mr. Evelyn actually published, the list now finally subjoined, comprising many which are included in the collection of Evelyn's *Miscellaneous Writings* edited by Mr. Upcott, will, it is believed, be found tolerably accurate.

1. *Of Liberty and Servitude*, 1649, 12mo.

2. *A Character of England, as it was lately presented in a Letter to a Nobleman of France ; with Reflections upon Gallus Castratus*, 1651, 3rd edit. 1659.

3. *The State of France*. London, 1652, 8vo.

4. *An Essay on the first Book of Lucretius de Rerum Natura, interpreted and made into English Verse*, 1656, 8vo. The frontispiece designed by his lady, Mary Evelyn.

5. *Dedicatory Epistles, &c., to The French Gardener*. London, 1658, 12mo.—The Third edition, in 1672, was illustrated by plates.—In most of the editions is added *The English Vineyard Vindicated*, by John Rose, Gardener to King Charles II.

6. *The Golden Book of St. Chrysostom, concerning the Education of Children*. London, 1659, 12mo.

7. *An Apology for the Royal Party, written in a Letter to a person of the late Council of State : with a Touch at the pretended Plea of the Army*. London, 1659, in two sheets, 4to. Three editions.

8. *The late News from Brussels unmasked*. London, 1660, 4to.

<sup>a</sup> Of the ' things ' mentioned in this list as reserved for attention and revision in Evelyn's leisure, the *Diary* and *Letters* and *Life of Mrs. Godolphin* (see also p. 365 of this volume) have since been given to the world ; and the work entitled *A Rational Account of the True Religion, or an History of it*, edited from the MSS. at Wotton, has more recently been published. It embodies the researches and reflections of Evelyn's life on the all-important subject to which it relates.

9. *The manner of the Encounter between the French and Spanish Ambassadors at the landing of the Swedish Ambassador.*

10. *A Panegyrick at his Majesty King Charles's Coronation.* London, 1661, folio.

11. *Instructions concerning the erection of a Library.* Written by Gabriel Naudé, published in English with some improvements by John Evelyn, Esq. London, 1661, 8vo.

12. *Fumifugium ; or the Inconveniences of the Air and Smoke of London dissipated.* Together with some remedies humbly proposed by John Evelyn, Esq. London, 1661, 4to, in 5 sheets, addressed to the King and Parliament, and published by his Majesty's express Command<sup>a</sup>.

13. *Tyrannus ; or the Mode ; in a Discourse of Sumptuary Laws,* 1661, 8vo.

14. *Sculptura ; or the History and Art of Chalcography and Engraving in Copper and Mezzo-tinto.* Lond. 1662, 8vo.

15. *Sylva ; or a Discourse of Forest-Trees.* Lond. 1664, fol. ; 2nd edition in 1669 ; 3rd in 1697 ; 4th in 1733, also in folio.—*Pomona* is an Appendix ; 3rd edition, 1679 ; 4th, 1706 ; 5th, 1729.

16. *Dedicatory Epistles, &c., to Parallel of Ancient and Modern Architecture.* London, 1664, folio ; 4th edit. 1733, fol. ; with *The Elements of Architecture* by Sir Hen. Wotton.

17. Ditto to *Μυστήριον τῆς Ἀπορίας* ; another part of *The Mystery of Jesuitism.* Lond. 1664, 8vo. Two parts.

18. *Kalendarium Hortense.* Lond. 1664, 8vo.—The 2d and 3d edit. was in folio, bound with the *Sylva* and *Pomona* ; also reprinted in octavo in 1699.

19. *Public Employment and an active life preferred to Solitude, in reply to Sir Geo. Mackenzie.* Lond. 1667, 8vo.

20. *History of the Three late famous Impostors.* Lond. 1669, 8vo.

21. *An Idea of the Perfection of Painting, translated from the French of Roland Freart.* Lond. 1668, 8vo.

22. *Navigation and Commerce, their Original and Progress.* Lond. 1674, 8vo.

23. *Terra ; a Philosophical Discourse of Earth.* Lond. 1675, fol. ; and 8vo. 1676.

24. *Mundus Muliebris.* Lond. 1690, 4to.

25. *Monsieur de la Quintinye's Treatise of Orange-Trees, and Compleat Gardener, translated from the French.* Lond. 1693, fol.

26. *Advertisement to the Translation of The Compleat Gardener, by M. de la Quintinye,* 1693.

27. Ditto to M. de la Quintinye's *Directions concerning Melons.*

28. Ditto to M. de la Quintinye's *Directions concerning Orange-Trees.*

29. *Numismata : a Discourse on Medals.* Lond. 1697, fol.

30. *Acetaria : a Discourse on Salads.* Lond. 1699, 8vo.

31. *An Account of Architects and Architecture*—a tract.

32. *Letter to Viscount Brouncker, concerning a new Engine for Ploughing, &c.* 1669-70.

33. *Dedication to Renatus Rapinus of Gardens,* 1673.

34. *Letter to Mr. Aubrey, concerning Surrey Antiquities,* 1670.

35. *Abstract of a Letter to the Royal Society concerning the damage done to his Gardens in the preceding Winter,* 1684.

<sup>a</sup> Reprinted in 1772, in quarto, with an additional Preface.



36. *The Diary and Letters.* 1818, 1825.

37. *Miscellaneous Writings*, collected and edited by Mr. Upcott.

38. *Life of Mrs. Godolphin.* 1849.

• Evelyn had likewise etched, when he came to Paris from Italy, five several Prospects of Places which he had drawn on the spot between Rome and Naples, to which he prefixed also a frontispiece, intituled,

‘Locorum aliquot insignium et celeberrimorum inter Romam et Neapolin jacentium, ὑποδείξεις et exemplaria.

‘Domino Dom. Thomæ Hensheaw Anglo, omnium eximiarum et præclarissimarum artium cultori ac propugnatori maximo, et συνοψάμενῳ αὐτῷ (non propter operis pretium, sed ut singulare Amoris sui Testimonium exhibeat) primas has ἀδοκιμασίας aquâ forti excusas et insculptas, Jo. Evelynus Delineator D. D. C. Q.’  
*R. Hoare excud.*

I. Tres Tabernæ sive Appii Forum, celebre illud, in sacris Litteris. Act. 28.

II. Terracinæ, olim Anxuris, Promontorium.

III. Prospectus versùs Neapolin, à Monte Vesuvio.

IV., V. Montis Vesuvii Fauces : et Vorago, sive Barathrum internum.

He etched also a view of his own Seat at Wotton, then in the possession of his brother, George Evelyn ; and Putney ad Ripam Tamesis—corrected on one impression, by himself, to Battersea.

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The contractions used in this index are :

act. = account  
f.a. = fact about  
m. = mentioned  
n. = note

q. = quoted  
r. = referred to  
t. = text.

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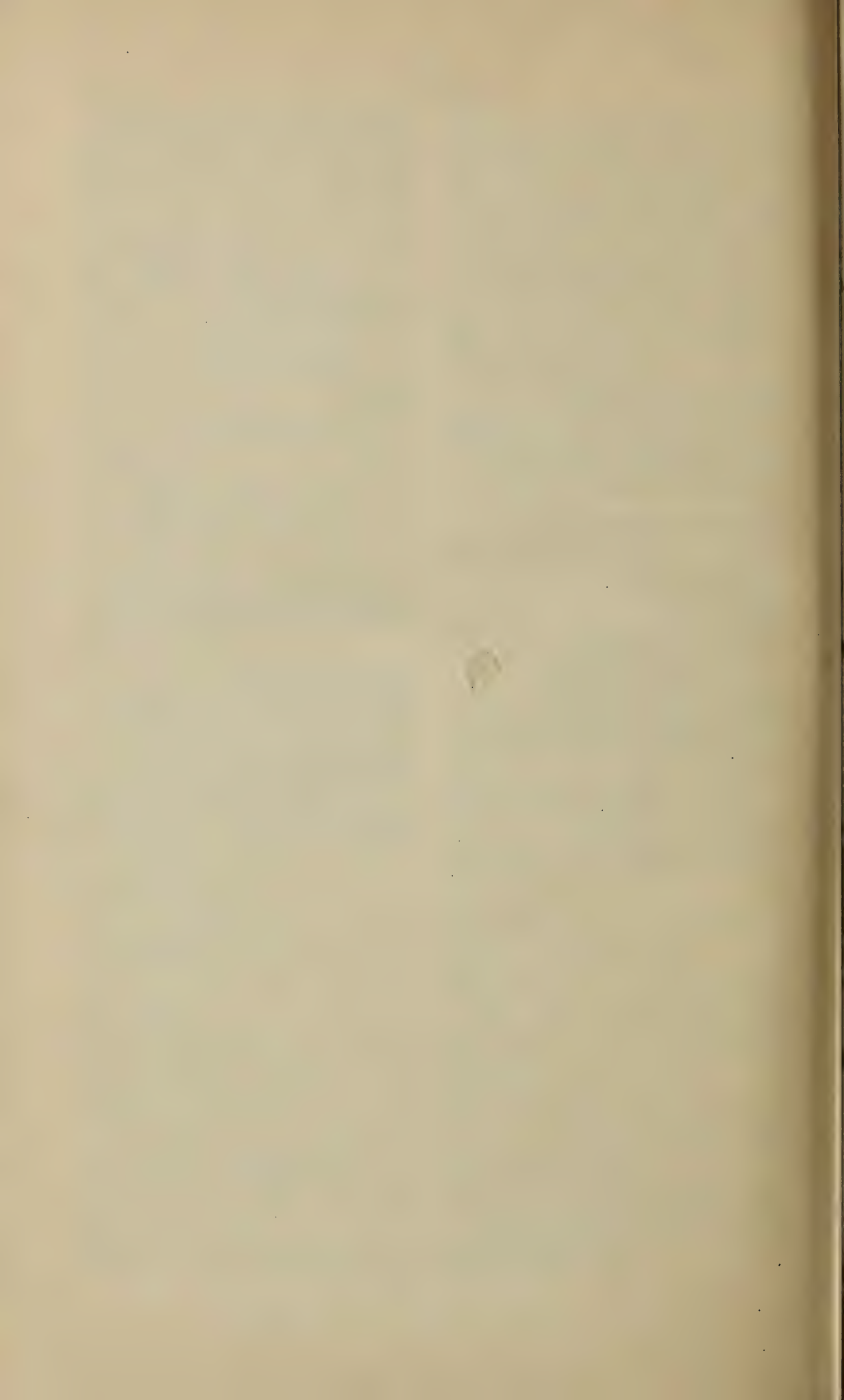


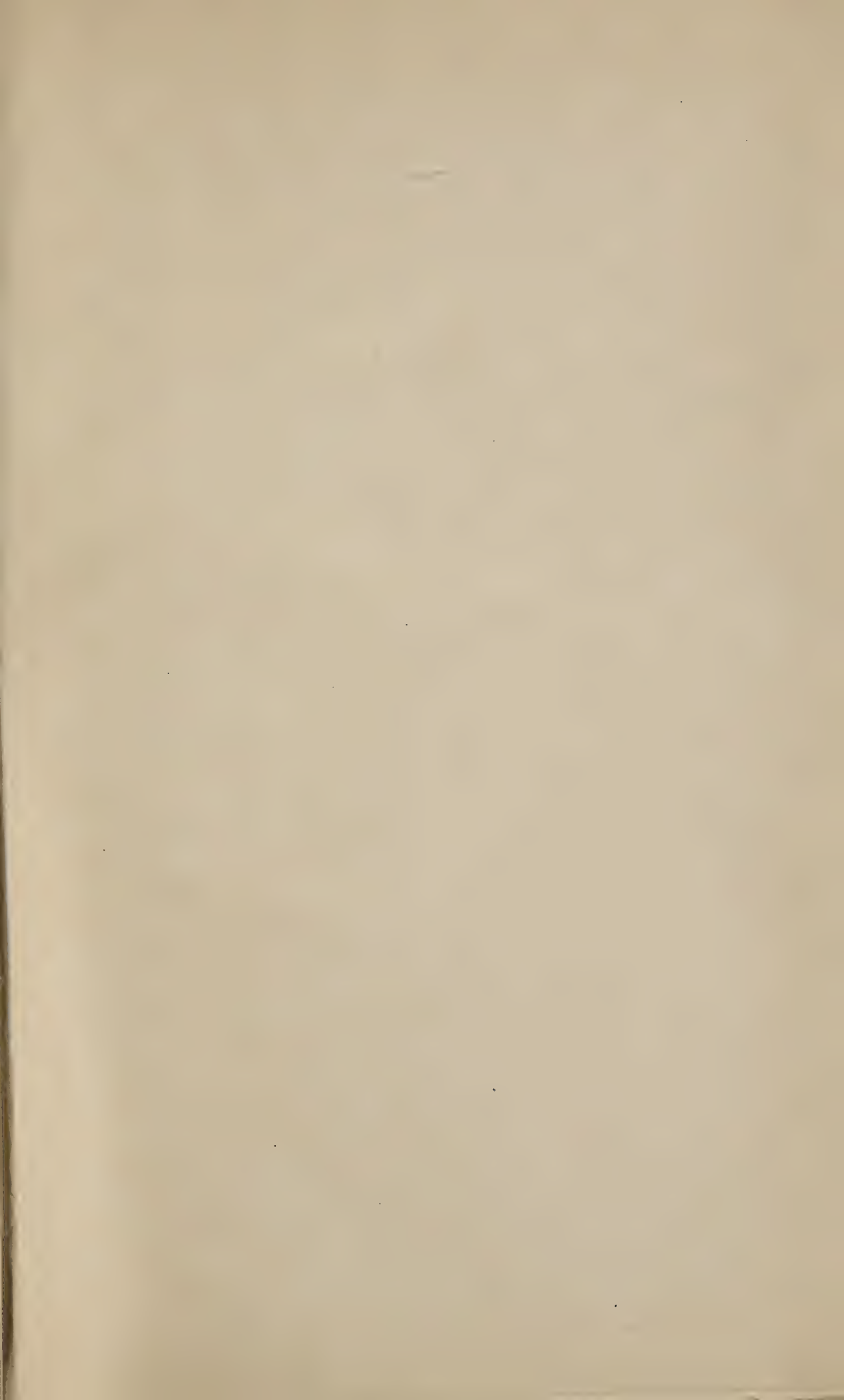
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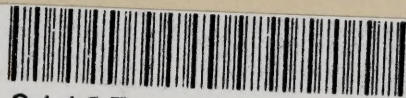






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